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A NEW HISTORY OF PAINTING IN ITALY

Alinari.

MADONNA AND CHILD

Duccio. Central Panel of the Majestas Museo dell' Opera, Siena.

A NEW HISTORY OF PAINTING IN ITALY

From the II to the XVI Century

By CROWE & CAVALCASELLE

EDITED BY EDWARD HUTTON

IN THREE VOLUMES

WITH 300 ILLUSTRATIONS

II

THE SIENESE SCHOOL OF
THE XIV CENTURY
THE FLORENTINE SCHOOL OF
THE XV CENTURY

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A NEW HISTORY OF PAINTING IN ITALY

CHAPTER I

DUCCIO, UGOLINO AND SEGNA

Duccio was the first great painter of the pure Sienese school. His career began after that of Cimabue;[1] earlier than that of Giotto; and he occupies in the annals of his country almost as much space as they hold together in the annals of Florence. He reformed the old manner, and created a new one which was long second only to that of Florence, but which clung too firmly to time-honoured forms of composition and old technical methods of execution. His contemporaries and successors Ugolino, Segna, Simone Martini, the Lorenzetti and Taddeo Bartoli did no more in the fourteenth century than follow the wake which marked his track. They hardly improved the system which he had galvanised into life.

The Lorenzetti, it is true, assumed and embodied some of the practice of the Florentines, infusing into their grand and admirable works some of the spirit of Giotto. They cleared for a moment the barrier which separated the two great schools of Central Italy. But the effort was momentary, and Taddeo Bartoli, at the close of the fourteenth century was as clearly in the beaten path as the second-rates of Siena up to the expansion of his peculiar genius.

[1] [The first unimpeachable reference we have to Cimabue is of the years 1301-2 in Arch. di Stato di Pisa, Libro d'entrata e uscita dell' Opera del Duomo ad ann. c. 62. *Cf.* Tanfani Centofantio, *Notizie degli Artisti Pisani*, and Langton Douglas, *The Real Cimabue*, in *The Nineteenth Century*, March 1903, p. 453 *et seq.* The first notice we have of Duccio is in an account book of the Biccherna for the year 1278, in Arch. di Stato di Siena, Biccherna Libro d'entrata e uscita at ann. c. 34. See Lisini, *Notizie di Duccio pittore e della sua celebre Ancona* in *Boll. Senese* (1898), ann. v., fasc. i., p. 43 *et seq.* Strzygowski, however, in his *Cimabue und Rom* (Vienna, 1888), p. 155, quotes a deed dated January 13, 1272, which he found in Rome, where "Cimabove pictor de Florentia" is spoken of. It remains doubtful, however, if this refers to Cenno di Pepi, whom we call Cimabue. As to the precedence of the Sienese school, see L. Coletti, *Precedenza della scuola Senese sulla scuola Fiorentina* in *Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, an. i. (1905), fasc. iii. p. 95 *et seq.*]

Thus confined within a narrow circle, the Sienese remained true to a system of their own, which they corrected in the fullest measure of which it was capable, without an abandonment of principles sacred alike from custom and prejudice. Chiefly in technical methods of execution was it that they followed traditional habits. They had, one would think, before their eyes the Siculo-Byzantine examples, whose studied and careful execution, whose minute precision of drawing and detail, whose powerful and lively colour and elegant ornament were greatly to be admired.[1] They succeeded in rivalling these models, carrying ornamentation beyond an accessory and making it a principal feature in their pictures.[2] They pursued this path so far that, not merely their draperies, but a nimbus, a gilt background, and the frame which enlivened the composition, were stamped with the most exquisite designs of leaves and branches, with human heads for flowers, or arabesques of a more general form, relieved, coloured and gilt, with all the delicacy of a tasteful Oriental style. That, in such a pursuit of detail, the essentials of composition and form should not have sunk into complete oblivion is remarkable. The result, however, was a material check to the progress of severe simplicity and grandeur, by which the perfect subordination of each part to the whole, and the grand development which characterised the Florentines, were rendered impossible. That colour should become a special study under these circumstances was natural. Tempera pictures, though brilliant and vigorous in tone, could hardly attain light keys of harmony so long as the old system was maintained. This system the Sienese adhered to with extraordinary persistence; and we may inquire why they did so, when in fresco they followed other methods. For a people of a gay and lively spirit, the Sienese were much more patient as tempera painters than the Florentines. The reason is to be found in their fondness for ornament, which re-

[1] [Mr. Langton Douglas, in his *History of Siena* (Murray, 1902), p. 331 *et seq.*, tells us that in the earlier part of the thirteenth century the Sienese began to trade with the East; while it is known that at least one "distinguished emigrant from Greece" settled in the neighbourhood of Siena. *Cf.* Malavolti, *Historia de' fatti e guerre de Sanesi* (Venice, 1559), parte i., lib. iv., p. 40. This was Ranieri, a noble who followed the Emperor Peter de Courtenay, who bought four castles in the Sanese and even obtained citizenship. With him it is extremely likely that Byzantine artists came into Tuscany; and we find indeed their pictures and those of their pupils in the Gallery of Siena. *Cf.* L. Douglas, *Duccio*, in *Monthly Review*, August 1903, p. 136, esp. *note* 1. Mr. Berenson, *Central Italian Painting* (Putnams, 1900), p. 41, *note*, was among the first to recognise that Duccio "must have got his training from some Byzantine master, perhaps in Constantinople." A similar view is expressed by Dr. Richter, the only critic of our day, as Mr. Berenson says, who adds to a profound knowledge of Italian art a thorough acquaintance with the art of Byzantium.]

[2] This is essentially true of Simone Martini.

quired time and trouble to work out. Their rivals, of more simple taste, preferred mastery and breadth of handling. A Florentine altarpiece might be seen at a greater distance, a Sienese panel invited closer attention; but, for this very cause, it demanded more minute finish and more time. A system which had the advantage of affording time for finish might be essential; it was certainly practised by the Sienese, and necessarily involved the continuance of the old technical methods. These methods may be summed up in a few words. Having prepared their materials with the care peculiar to the oldest painters, and covered their panel with a cloth to keep the joints together, as the artists of every school did in that age; they primed it with a white ground of *gesso* on which the drawing was engraved with the minutest attention. The flesh tints were then laid on in one general and dense coat of verde, covering the light parts as well as these intended to be in shadow. Upon this universal ground they began to model, by laying in the lights in a copious stippling, seeking the form by the direction of its lines. Having thus obtained light and shadow by the juxtaposition of the stippling with the original verde, they melted the colours together by working them over and over with excessive labour and patience till the forms had gained a sufficient amount of rounding. This slow process was facilitated by the peculiar capacity for moistness in the original verde. Ruddier tones were now stippled on to the cheeks and lips; high light to the most projecting points, and the whole was finally fused together by transparent glazes. But nothing that the artist could do sufficed to produce any more than a low key of harmony, because the deep verde always reappeared and absorbed too much light to allow of the quality of brightness and clearness. The stippling never succeeded in creating perfect semitones, so that a sharp contrast invariably existed between the light which was too yellow, and the shadow which remained too green. At first, perhaps, these defects were less visible, because of the glazes, but, as in Cimabue's pictures,[1] painted with paler verde on the same principle, so in the altarpieces of Siena, these light and fugitive tints were the first to disappear by abrasion, and the surface was left too green in shadow, too red in the lips and cheeks, too yellow in the highest places. The draperies were produced in another way, where the nature of the colour allowed it, with a general tone, strengthened by deeper glazes of the same in shadow and lighter preparations for the highest lights.[2]

[1] [See *supra*, vol. i., p. 168, *note* 1.]

[2] With lake reds the white ground acted as a repulser, being allowed to peep through; and sometimes, transparent dark red shadows thus obtained,

In fresco, the Sienese never covered the white intonaco with a general verde tint in the flesh. They merely marked the contours and shadows with a reddish brown of a liquid texture, or with red lines and pale verde shadows, mapping out from the first distinct planes, so that light colour never came over dark, and thus Simone and the Lorenzetti produced frescoes uniting power to brightness and clearness of surface. Rejecting in paintings on the wall the system which enabled them to be minute, because frescoes need not be seen closely, they attained to great perfection, fusing the lights and semi-tones into the shadows, so that at times they had even the defect of flatness, obtaining relief by means exactly the reverse of those employed in tempera.

True to the old and typical forms of composition which preceding ages had created, Sienese painters preserved also that vehemence of action which had been traditional, and failed to appreciate the decorous simplicity of the Florentine revival. Hence an absence of balance in pictures, superfluity or insufficiency in composition as in groups and figures. The intention was too frequently better than the result; and movements might usually be found bold to exaggeration. A stern, sometimes convulsed, expression and forced motion in males contrasted with a languid or affected tenderness and grace in females. Gazing eyes in the first proclaimed fearlessness and masculine passion, muscular forms suggested energy and force. In the second, long parallel lids all but closed over the iris, long narrow heads with slender frames or round faces on corpulent ones were characteristic. Draperies, otherwise massive and of a fine cast, clung to the shape and exposed its peculiarities. Broken, cramped, and strange action of hands and fingers supplied the place of natural gesture. Thin and pointed in females, the extremities were short, coarse, muscular, and bony in males. Superabundance of character, form and motion in men was the heirloom of earlier art, affected softness and gentleness in women a pure Sienese element; and in this respect Cimabue furnished the model which artists of the sister republic exaggerated in imitation.[1]

If it should be inquired, which of the painters of Siena most completely displays these general features, one might answer that Simone Martini is their best representative, being above all an easel painter, whilst the Lorenzetti are, as Ghiberti so truly remarked, the dramatic creators of the school, men of great intellect and imbued with the qualities which in their fullest measure combined to form the greatness

stood in juxtaposition with blue or yellow lights. The result was clearness and transparence in draperies, contrasting advantageously with the flesh tints.

[1] [Whoever Cimabue may have been, and whatever works we may assign to him, it is impossible to prove that he had any influence on the Sienese.]

of Giotto. Whilst the latter really incarnated the ideas of the age of Dante, and gave to a new and youthful art the true feeling and grandeur which Angelico remodelled into religious pathos, and Masaccio raised to the grandiose, the Sienese revelled in a medley of coarser elements and affectations of grace and tenderness, readorning the old dress with new embellishments, infusing brilliancy into colour and taste into ornament, but never rejecting the old types or forms. Based on solid foundations, the Florentine school advanced rapidly and easily to the perfection of the sixteenth century, being led by its admirable comprehension of the laws of distribution and division of space to the study of perspective, whilst the Sienese remained enchained in the fetters of old custom.[1] Yet Siena was not without her own essential originality.[2] She rivalled Florence in political independence at least in the fourteenth century; and in an age of uncontrolled passion she stamped art with an unmistakable impress. Her architecture, sculpture, painting, were all her own, as different as her people from those of Florence; and this difference extended not merely to Siena, but to all Umbria. The Florentine was staid and grave, the Sienese and Umbrian gay and lively.[3] A barrier, overleaped perhaps by one painter, parted the masters of the rival republics; and this, to a certain extent, favoured the originality of Siena, which with less independence might have lost herself in imitation, and thus failed of that legitimate influence which she wielded in Italy. She remained second to Florence because she created no rival to Giotto, but otherwise she stood on an equality and contended with her for the palm of excellence, the Sienese Duccio, Ugolino, Lorenzetti competing with the Florentines on their own ground; though Siena boasted of no great Florentine within her walls before Spinello and Donatello. Siena, however, may still justly affirm that her influence was after Giotto's death more extensive than that of Florence. Orcagna tempered classical grandeur with Sienese gentleness and grace. Traini imbibed lessons from the works if not from the precepts of Simone and the Lorenzetti, and combined Florentine with Sienese character. Giovanni da Milano derived from Siena his brilliancy of

[1] [Siena advanced, too, along her own quite different lines, which were not realistic. In the sixteenth century she was still well represented by Benvenuto di Giovanni and others.]

[2] [In many ways the Sienese school was the only original school in Italy. That is to say, it was not in accord with the great classic schools of Greece and Rome, but inspired by Byzantine work.]

[3] [The Umbrian was never gay and lively. From the times of the Battuti and the mystical saints of the valley of Spoleto, the Umbrian was always of a melancholy complexion. Consider the work of his painters Nelli, Gentile da Fabriano, Niccolò da Foligno, Bonfigli, and so forth. Perugino, though he is really outside the argument, would confirm this.]

colour, his grace of motion in females, his finish and breadth in draperies and costume, his minuteness and care in exquisite and precise outlines, betraying, one would think, his contact with Simone. Lorenzo Monaco and Spinello took something also from the same sources, and set an example to the many subordinates who are ever ready to receive impressions wherever they may come from. At Pisa, where Sienese painting was always a favourite,[1] the local art though second rate was but another edition of that of Duccio and his followers; and Taddeo Bartoli reigned supreme there in the fourteenth century. The Sienese therefore made an ample return for the profit which they had gained from the sculpture of Niccola and Giovanni, though Pisa was not able to take advantage of that return and progress as Siena had done. The grand and exclusive field of Siena's influence, however, was Umbria.[2] Orvieto owed to her all that she yielded in sculpture or painting; Gubbio, Fabriano and neighbouring cities produced examples that can hardly be distinguished from those of Siena herself; and, at the close of the fourteenth century, Taddeo Bartoli contributed mainly to the formation of the school of Perugia which, rising as it were from the ashes of Gubbio and Fabriano, laid the foundation of its greatness, and, outliving that of Siena, rivalled in number if not in quality the painters of the fifteenth century at Florence. The school which preceded Perugino was impressed with something of Sienese character, which Perugino himself inherited in more abundance than the Florentine. He was a graceful, sometimes affected and tasty, more gentle than severe colourist. Yet Florence in the fifteenth century gave more in quality if less in quantity, and towered then as ever over all Italy; and if she found in Siena a rival in the fourteenth, she left her behind in the next age, when Ghiberti, Donatello, Brunelleschi, Paolo Uccello, Angelico, Masaccio, Ghirlandaio, showed themselves to be of a different scantling from that of Domenico di Bartolo, Sano di Pietro, Benvenuto di Giovanni, Matteo di Giovanni di Bartolo, Girolamo di Benvenuto, Lorenzo di Pietro, called Vecchietta, Francesco di Giorgio or Jacopo della Quercia.

From its rise in the fourteenth century the course of Sienese art might have been predicted. Starting on a basis narrow as compared with Giotto's, it was sure to be distanced. Siena bequeathed, however, ere she fell a school to Perugia which took her place and contributed much to the education of the immortal Raphael.

No record of Duccio's birth has been preserved,[3] but a picture is

[1] [They were both Ghibelline cities, and both hated Florence.]

[2] [Scarcely exclusive, though certainly predominant.]

[3] [Duccio was born about 1255. As we have seen, *supra*, p. 1, *note* 1, already in 1278 he was employed as a painter by the State, and in 1280 he

said to exist in the Museum of Nancy with the painter's signature and the date of 1278.[1] It is vaguely affirmed that his name is in Sienese records of the year 1282.[2] That he was in 1285 in Florence is certified by a most interesting contract,[3] from which it appears that he bound himself on the 15th of April to execute for the company of S. Maria, having a chapel in S. Maria Novella, a large altarpiece of the Virgin and Child and other figures, for the sum of 150 florins. In this record he is called Duccio and Duccius quondam Boninsegna of Siena.[4] In spite of a clause which bound him to pay fifty florins as a fine for not performing his contract, it is not likely that he painted an altarpiece for S. Maria Novella, for no picture of the kind is known to have existed there, and it is mentioned by no historians, but, more conclusive still, he seems to have been at Siena in October 1285,[5] and to have been paid for the ornament of one of the books of the Biccherna,[6] being apparently appointed to an office which up to that time had been filled by the Sienese Dietisalvi.[7] He continued in that office at least up to the year 1291, in which payments on that account were made to him.[8] In December 1302 he was engaged on a "Majesty" for the altar of the chapel in the Palazzo Pubblico of Siena, whose size and importance can only be conceived from the sum which he had had already received before its completion.[9]

was, for some reason or other, heavily fined. *Cf*, LISINI, *op. cit.* The inscription and signature of the Nancy picture are false, and the picture itself not from his hand.]

[1] "DUCCIO ME FACCIEB. ANNO S. MCCLXXVIII." *Vide Sulla Storia civile et artistica Senese*, by GAETANO MILANESI (Siena, 1862), p. 89.

[2] *Doc. Sen., ubi sup.*, vol. i., p. 168. DELLA VALLE, *Lett. Senese*, vol. i., p. 277.

[From the documents published by LISINI, *op. cit.*, in *Boll. cit.*, p. 42, we see that Duccio's name appeared in the Sienese records in 1278, when he painted twelve *Casse* for the archives of the Commune, in 1280 when he was fined, in 1285, 1286, 1290–1, 1293, and in 1295, when he painted the Tavolette della Biccherna, of which only one, that of 1293, is conserved, in the Industrial Museum of Berlin. *Cf.* ELLON, *Tavolette dipinte della Biccherna di Siena nel Museo di Berlino* in *Boll. Senese*, vol. ii., fasc. i., ii. His name appears again later. He was continually summoned for debt. LISINI, *op. cit.*, p. 45.]

[3] Originally in the Dominican convent of S. Marco. [*Cf.* LISINI, *op. cit.*, in *Boll. cit.*]

[4] *Doc. Sen., ubi sup.*, vol. i., p. 158. The termination of Boninsegna induced Tizio (MSS.) to affirm that Duccio was a pupil of Segna.

[5] [MR. LANGTON DOUGLAS, *Duccio*, in the *Monthly Review*, August 1903, p. 137, asserts that this picture is the Rucellai Madonna. But I cannot agree with him. See *note* at the end of this chapter. Vasari says Duccio painted an Annunciation in S. Trinità of Florence. But no such picture exists. VASARI, vol. ii., p. 167.]

[6] RUMOHR, *ubi sup.*, *Forschungen*, vol. ii., *note* to p. 11. Eight and ten soldi was the price for each book.

[7] *Vide ante*, Dietisalvi.

[8] RUMOHR, *ubi sup.*, vol. ii., p. 11.

[9] Forty-eight livres. See in RUMOHR, *ubi sup.*, vol. ii., pp. 11, 12.

In October 1308, Jacomo Giliberti Mariscotti being master of the works of the cathedral, Duccio declared himself ready to undertake the picture of the high altar. He promised, on condition of receiving sixteen soldi per diem, to devote his whole time to the execution of that work, the panels and materials being furnished for his use.[1] He went into harness at once, obtained an advance of fifty livres from Jacomo on the 20th of December,[2] and diligently proceeded to fulfil his contract. Weeks, months, a year, spent in continuous labour had not brought the vast and difficult labour to completion, but, on the 9th of June 1310, it was finished and transported amidst public rejoicings from Duccio's shop in the Casa de' Muciatti, outside the gate Stalloreggi, to its place in the cathedral.[3] Business was entirely suspended on this festive occasion. All the shops of Siena were closed. The archbishop headed the procession of clergy and friars; the "Nine" of the government, the officers of the Commune, and the people followed with tapers in their hands, and last came, in true Oriental fashion, the women and children, all marching with great solemnity to the sound of trumpets and ringing of bells, the highest in rank or dignity clustering about the picture, and doubtless Duccio himself enjoying the popular enthusiasm and clamour. Fifty years before, the same gay and mercurial people had assigned to the Virgin on the high altar of the Duomo the signal Victory of Monte-Aperto, and devoutly laid their pious and grateful offerings at the feet of the Madonna delle Grazie. Now, the victory was forgotten. The Virgin, whose intercession had procured it, was deposed and transferred to a place of less honour;[4] and Duccio was the hero of the hour.[5] He deserved it. On a surface fourteen feet long and seven feet high, he had placed the Virgin, seated with the infant Christ in a vast throne,[6]

[1] *Doc. Sen., ubi sup.*, vol. i., p. 166. [2] Ibid., vol. i., p. 170.

[3] The chronicler says the altarpiece cost a sum total of 3000 florins, or about £1000 of our money.

[The Majestas was borne in triumph to the Duomo on June 9, 1311. See E. G. GARDNER, *Siena* (Dent, 1902), p. 177. MR. LANGTON DOUGLAS, *Duccio, op. cit.*, p. 128, erroneously says June 11th, and PROF. VENTURI, *op. cit.*, vol. v., 556, equally wrongly, the 19th June. See an anonymous chronicle Arch. di Stato Siena, Libro del Camarlingo del Comune, June 1311, c. 261, quoted by LISINI, *op. cit.*, p. 5, for a description of the affair.]

[4] The Virgin in question was removed to the altar of S. Bonifazio in the Duomo. *Vide* DELLA VALLE, *Lett. Senese*, vol. ii., p. 68.

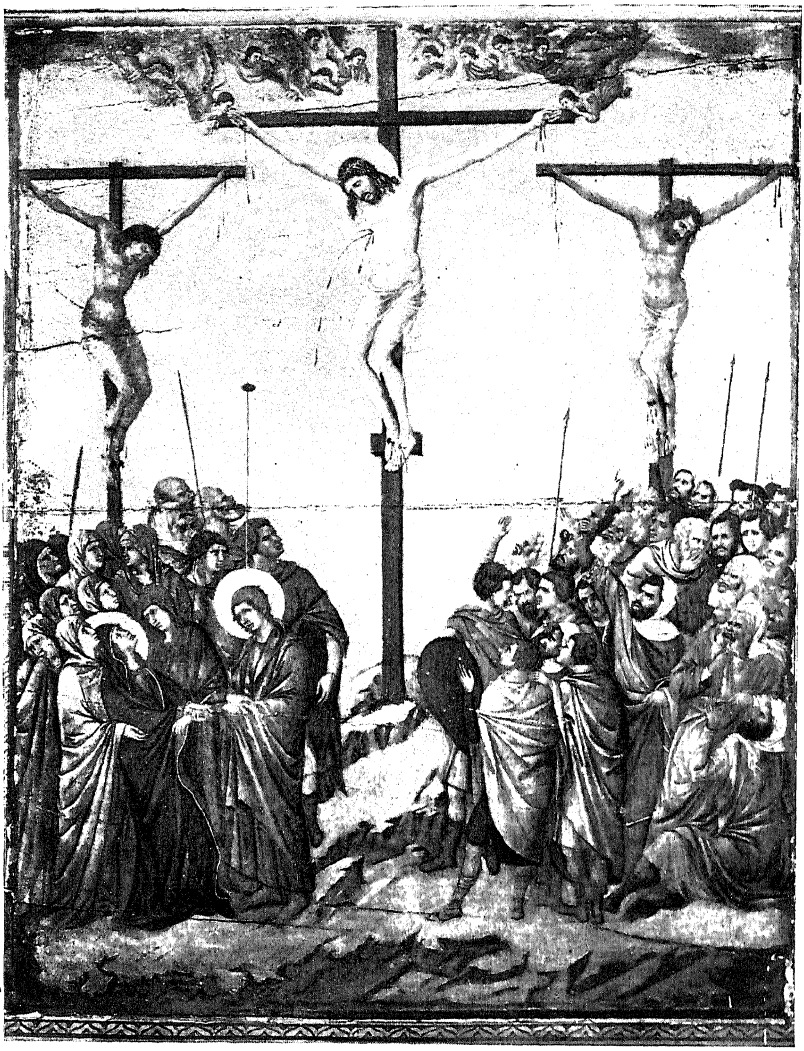
[5] His altarpiece did not remain in its place 200 years. It was removed in 1506, to make room for a bronze tabernacle by Lorenzo di Pietro, or Vecchietta. *Vide annot.* to VASARI, vol. ii., p. 167.

[6] Strange that Ghiberti should (*Comment., ubi sup.*, p. xxvii.) state that Duccio here painted the Coronation of the Virgin. Vasari, who could not find Duccio's altarpiece, and admits that he knows not where it is, repeats Ghiberti's mistake. vol. ii., p. 166. The Saviour is dressed in a muslin veil and violet damask tunic shot with gold; the Virgin in a red tunic shot with gold and a blue mantle.

Lombardi.

MADONNA AND CHILD

Duccio. With Adoring Monks Gallery, Siena.



Alinari.

CRUCIFIXION

Duccio. Part of Majestas Museo dell' Opera, Siena.

richly covered with tapestry and ornaments. Four angels reposed, with their heads on their hands, on the triangular back of the throne. Two more at each side held the arms with their hands and a file of six to the right and left formed the main body of the celestial watchers. In front of these stood saints.[1] Whilst before these again, in adoration of the "Majesty" of the Virgin, knelt the four bishops,[2] protectors of Siena. On the front of the hexagonal stool of the throne Duccio had written the words:

MATER . SANCTA . DEI . SIS . CAUSSA . SENIS . REQUIEI . SIS .
DUCIO . VITA . TE . QUIA . DEPINXIT . ITA.[3]

This was not, however, an altarpiece intended to be seen from one quarter only. It was to be visible from both sides. So having depicted on the one hand the "Majesty," Duccio divided the surface of the opposite face into thirty-eight parts, devoting two thrown into one to the two principal scenes of the story he intended to illustrate, which was that of the Passion.[4] Thus starting from the left, where, on a panel twice as high as its neighbour, he placed the Entrance of Christ into Jerusalem, he unfolded the whole of the melancholy tragedy down to the meeting of Emmaus. The central composition in the upper course is a Crucifixion, and in the pediment are eighteen scenes illustrative of the Saviour's history before the Entrance into Jerusalem, and after His Ascension. Dismembered and sawed in its thickness, so that the faces are now parted, the "Majesty" of Duccio has been removed from the high altar and placed in one end of the transept, whilst the twenty-six scenes forming the opposite side are at the end of the other.[5]

[1] SS. John Evangelist, Paul, Catherine (left), John the Baptist, Peter, Agnes (right).

[2] To the left SS. Savinus and Ansanus. To the right SS. Crescentius and Victorius. The whole altarpiece on a pediment 1½ ft. high divided into twelve frames, each filled by an apostle.

[3] The *a* and *u* in caussa, the *t* in te, and *de* in depinxit are now obliterated.

[4] It is not known that this side of Duccio's altarpiece was finished as early as the other. Certainly the forepart, or "Majesty," was taken in June in procession to the cathedral; for a charge of 12 livres 10 soldi for trumpeters and tapers is preserved (*Doc. Sen.*, vol. i., p. 169); but it appears from a record of a meeting of the "Nove" of Siena on the 28th November, that the Duomo altarpiece was still unfinished, and a separate account without date refers to the payment for thirty-eight panels of the "back part of the tavola" at the rate of 2½ florins of gold per panel to Duccio. (Ibid., vol. i., p. 178.) [There are forty-four small panels in all.]

[5] The Apostles of one pediment have been placed above the "Majesty" in a straight row, so that two of the central ones are gone; and the two next on each side are brought to a triangular form by the projecting pinnacle of the central panel. The pediment of the opposite side is dismembered; and each piece hangs separately in the sacristy of the Duomo. These pieces represent:—1. The Annunciation. 2. The Adoration of the Kings. 3. The Presentation in the Temple. 4. The Flight into Egypt, these two larger than the rest, 3 ft. 2 in. by 1 ft. 6 in. 5. The Massacre of the Innocents. 6. The

This altarpiece, of which the greater part is in good condition, is to Duccio what the Arena Chapel at Padua is to Giotto. It serves not merely to characterise the manner of the great reformer of the school of Siena, and show what vigour and perfection he introduced, but it foreshadows the future, as it retraces the past. Continuing an old art whose types and forms he religiously maintained, Duccio set an example from which his successors hardly deviated; which they constantly repeated with but slight modifications, just as the Giottesques, after the death of Giotto, clung to his creations and repeated his forms of composition and spirit of delineation.

In the distribution of the principal scene of his altarpiece, in the prominent stature of the Virgin enthroned in the midst of a triple row of angels and saints, Duccio preserved the order which was considered sacred at his time. Transforming, however, the art of his predecessors, he gave to the Virgin a regular shape and good proportions.[1] The drapery of her mantle is simple and well cast, and her attitude in the carriage of the Saviour graceful and easy. The face of the latter is gentle, plump, and regular, the forehead full and the short locks curly. A small mouth and eyes, no longer expressing terror or immobility in their gaze, contrast favourably with previous efforts at Siena. The action of the Infant is natural and kindly. The group has more grace than majesty or solemnity, and thus, from the very rise of the school, its chief peculiarity was apparent. Broad muscular forms, heads generally large in contrast with the frame, round eyes imparting an expression of stern gravity, marked features, massive knotted hair and beards, characterise as of old the figures of

Dispute in the Temple. 7. Christ appearing to the Apostles. 8. Christ's Sermon to them. 9. The Incredulity of S. Thomas. 10. The Marriage of Cana. 11. The Miraculous Draught. 12. Christ at the Table addressing the Apostles. 13. The Descent of the Holy Spirit. 14. The Virgin receiving S. Peter and the Apostles. 15. Announcing her approaching Death. 16. The Apostles carrying the Virgin to the Tomb. 17. The Saviour receiving the Virgin's Soul, with the Apostles about in grief and S. Joseph lamenting; and 18. The Virgin Deposited in the Sepulchre.

[The Majestas is now in the Opera del Duomo. Three of the western predella panels are in the Berlin Museum, No. 1062A, namely, the Nativity, the Prophet Esaias, and the Prophet Ezekiel. The panels belonging to Mr. Benson, and three panels in the National Gallery, belong to the eastern predella. Mr. Benson's panels represent the Temptation, the Raising of Lazarus, the Miraculous Draught of Fishes, and Christ and the Samaritan Woman; while the panels in the National Gallery represent Christ Healing the Blind Man (No. 1140), the Transfiguration (No. 1130), and the Annunciation (No. 1139). The best description of this altarpiece is that of LISINI, *op. cit.*, and *cf.* BERENSON, *op. cit.*, p. 19 *et seq.* The altarpiece told the lives of Christ and the Blessed Virgin.]

[1] Some charm is gone owing to the abrasion of the colour in the flesh tints, and some retouching in oil not only in the inner parts but in the outlines.

Peter and Paul, as they stand by the Virgin. A wild austerity appears in the features of S. John the Baptist; but face, form and character are in the mould of the old period. A more rational definition of detail in the nude, in the articulations and extremities than hitherto, a tendency to smallness in the latter, are noticeable in the principal figures and in the subordinate ones in the pediment.[1] But Duccio was better in females, whose attitudes and proportions are truer and more correct than those of males.[2] A feminine reserve, a soft feeling in the long narrow faces in spite of aquiline profiles, gentleness rather than grace, make them pleasing; whilst draperies of good lines, and free from angularity, contribute by their arrangement about the head and frame to an elegant *ensemble*. Large oval heads with hair brushed back and bound by cinctures, which fling the locks profusely down, a thin neck, slender hands and fingers, betray in Duccio a partiality for the consecrated type of angels. Yet even these are improved by softness of features or tenderness of expression; and those whose heads may be seen reposing so confidently on the back of the Virgin's throne, are not without charm. A new feeling was thus infused into the antique mould, producing a novel character at times, disclosing the earnestness of the struggle for a change at others.[3] Drawn in with excessive firmness, yet with the minutest care, the figures reveal in Duccio the cleanliness of a Dutchman, whilst the exquisite tracery of ornament and embroidery [4] prove his taste and patience, his anxiety to use none but the very choicest materials. Fused and rounded with the utmost labour the tones combine powerful colour with lucid softness; but the verde underground exercises its usual influence, peering through the lights and glazes and lowering the general key of harmony. A certain flatness, caused by the absence of sufficient relief, is likewise striking, whilst at the same time, the planes of light and shade remain somewhat detached.[5] To resume, colour was already the best feature of the school thus founded by Duccio. A characteristic diversity marked the treatment of male and female figures, and ornament was tastefully but abundantly used.

[1] For instance, Peter and Paul, and the other pediment apostles (half figures).

[2] [And yet MR. LANGTON DOUGLAS, *Siena* (Murray, 1902), p. 347, tells us that Duccio's knowledge of the structure of the human body was "more accurate" than Giotto's.]

[3] The feeblest and slenderest figures in the "Majesty" are the four kneeling protectors of Siena.

[4] The Virgin's dress in the "Majesty" has embroideries like those of Cimabue and other painters of the period.

[5] The altarpiece has been split into seven, and retouched along the flaws; the flesh tones of some heads are rubbed down as in the S. Savinus, the Virgin, the infant Saviour and some of the angels. Some of the draperies, the Virgin's mantle, and others are also injured.

Duccio, again, gave to the twenty-six scenes of the Passion, forming originally the reverse of the altarpiece, a clear impression of life and power, and displayed talents of a first-rate order, but, had he not exhibited in the composition, form, action and character of the persons represented, the exaggeration peculiar to the old schools, he would have been greater. It was not within the scope of his genius, however, to preserve a simple or equal grandeur. Like all those whom he followed or preceded, he had no great mean to guide him, and the decorous simplicity of the Florentines was out of his character. In the manuscripts of the twelfth and previous centuries,[1] in the subordinate scenes which explain or develop the interest of the Crucifixions in early times, in the mosaics of Monreale or the bronze gates of Ravello and S. Raineri at Pisa, the typical compositions which Duccio reproduced are to be found, and thus the leading genius of the school of Siena clung to the traditions which Florence rejected or altered. Duccio's Christ on the Mount of Olives is remarkable for the same packed company of apostles as that of the Monreale mosaists, differing from it only by the additional boldness of the attitudes. His Christ in Limbo is the old picture of the Saviour pre-eminent in stature, treading on the prostrate Lucifer, triumphant with the cross and banner, as in the Barberini Exultet and the Minerva MS. of the twelfth century, drawing the sinners out of Hades, whose gates lie broken on the ground. The only change is in the execution and the study of nature which marks the heads. In the "Noli me tangere," again, the Redeemer with the triple cross and banner, erect and colossal as in the Capture, of the Upper Church of Assisi, is only worthy of attention for a new effort to produce ready action. The vehemence of the early period is still marked in the Magdalen, whose expression is more of grief than longing. Duccio, in fact, repeated the typical episode of the Barberini Exultet at the very period when the pilgrims to Assisi might admire the beautiful conception of the subject which Giotto had left there. Nothing finer had ever been produced in the olden time than the "Maries at the Sepulchre," whether considered in reference to type or to form and action. Duccio could therefore have done no better than to copy it, as he did, representing the angel seated on the tomb and pointing out the way taken by the Redeemer to the Maries and the Virgin, who in a dramatic and sculptural attitude listen to the words. But, before him, the painters of the Crucifixes of S. Marta at Pisa and of Lucca, and those of the Upper Church of Assisi, had set the example. In the Deposition from

[1] For instance the Menologio, MSS. 1613 at the Vatican, and the Barberini Exultet, which is executed in the technical manner of the Sienese.

the Cross, where he likewise applied the typical arrangement and distribution known to the painters of the S. Marta Crucifix, the founders of the Ravello gates and the sculptors of Pisa and Lucca, Duccio appreciated and did not alter a composition marked by dramatic incident and passion, which strangely enough the Giottesques previous to Antonio Veneziano entirely neglected, whilst they preferred, and the Sienese left out, the Pietà, a subject admirably treated by Giotto and the Florentines. Without much nobleness of type or character, the Christ of Duccio has suffering features; but the intelligence of form and anatomy displayed by the painter was great considering the period. Still he made no attempt to idealise like Giotto, and contented himself with an imitation of nature's flesh and bone in somewhat vehement action. Similar force and exaggeration may be traced in the Entombment, where the passion natural to the mother embracing her Son for the last time is rendered in a degree unusually intense. The Magdalen, with her arms outstretched towards heaven, may be studied as the very reverse of that conceived by the Florentines, by Giotto in the Crucifixion of the Lower Church at Assisi or in the Pietà of the Arena Chapel. This figure alone, in its vehemence, might demonstrate that in Duccio an accurate study of nature predominated; that physical force was before decorous passion, religious character an accessory. Old types, well presented in their old garb, but with something beyond the old imitation of nature—more could not be required. That this was the direction of thought in Duccio is shown in a fine composition where dramatic arrangement is combined with realistic action and a great study of nature in the development of muscular details. S. Peter sits in the midst of a group, and warms the soles of his feet at a fire. On the left, a woman points at him with indignant decision, whilst he shrinks from her objurgations, and obviously mutters the denial. The Entrance into Jerusalem, a double panel at the left lower angle of the altarpiece, opens the story of the Passion, and is a faithful imitation of a time-honoured subject, a tasteful miniature in colour and execution. The last scene of the Passion, equal in size to the foregoing but occupying the centre of the altarpiece, is the Crucifixion, in which Duccio may again be compared with Giotto. Here it is at once clear that the two men were of a different artistic fibre. The Christ of Duccio is not the caricature which we find in Deodato Orlandi or others of that time, but it has not the finely chosen form of Giotto. The body hangs supine on the cross. It is long and ill-conceived in shape as in movement. Suffering is depicted with some realism in a face aged by pain and privation, and the high forehead and brow are con-

tracted by spasms, and disfigured with muscular projections. The hair streams wildly about. The figure is lean, long, and withered, outlined with an evident desire to render the anatomy of the nude, and thus sought out in the parts to the detriment of the whole. Yet as the other figures partake more or less of the same defects, there is still an unity in the picture. The fourteen angels who form a flight as of birds round the top of the cross, are in that strangely vehement action which is ever present even in the feeblest of the old models; and this, in Duccio, is not only characteristic of the movements, but of the features. The nude of the thieves is not to be distinguished from that of the Saviour, but we may admire the great force and realism of the figures, and Duccio's display of the study of flesh and muscle in them. Below, the action is divided into two principal groups somewhat theatrically arranged. To the left the Virgin, a long and slender form, sinks back into the arms of the Maries and women about her, clutching, as she swoons, at the Evangelist. To the right a multitude of soldiers, and in front the priests and people.

With respect to the eighteen panels forming the pediment of this portion of the altarpiece, nothing can be added to that which has already been said. Duccio exhibited in this work alone the energy and power of a man superior to all in his immediate proximity; but, whether we consider the spirit of his composition, or his technical execution, he was not a creator, because he remained true to old typical forms and to the technical methods which characterised alike Cimabue and Deodato Orlandi. More masterly in his work than the former, he gave to Siena a title to claim and hold the position of a school of colour. At once the Giotto and Cimabue of his country, he was the most dramatic artist that Siena had produced, being rivalled in force only by the Lorenzetti, in grace only by Simone. Duccio's career closes in 1320, after which no record of his existence has been found.[1] The historians of Siena note a Virgin and Child by him in S. Donato of Siena, inscribed with the words, "DUCCIUS BONINSEGNE DE SENIS." But this picture has disappeared.[2] A fair remnant of his manner, a

[1] DELLA VALLE, *Lettere Sencse*, vol. ii., p. 69, says Duccio died in 1340. The *annot.* of VASARI, vol. ii., p. 168, say the latest date is 1339, but do not prove it. They add that Duccio had two sons, Galgano and Ambrogio, but this is manifestly an error, as G. MILANESI would have noted the fact in *Doc. dell' Arte Sen.* To him we owe the statement that nothing is known of Duccio after 1320, vol. i., p. 168. [DAVIDSON has proved beyond doubt that Duccio died on August 3, 1319. *Cf. Repertorium für Kunst*, vol. xxiii. (1900), p. 313.]

[2] *Doc. dell' Arte Sen.*, vol. i., p. 168. It is proved further that Duccio was not, as Vasari states, the author of the pavement in the Siena Duomo (*vide* RUMOHR, *Forschungen*, vol. ii., p. 33, and *Doc. dell' Arte Sen.*, vol. i., p. 176), and that he is not the author of the design for the Loggia of S. Paolo at Siena (*Doc. Sen.*, vol. ii., p. 93).

small altarpiece of the Crucifixion, with the Flagellation and Entombment on the wings, in the Brotherhood of the Madonna below the Spedale of Siena, remained long a worthy example of his talent. In conception, composition, forms, types and spirit, this was a picture reminiscent of the altarpiece of the Duomo and an interesting relic of Duccio. But in October 1860 the sides had been removed, the centre was regilt and restored, and the whole so remodernised as to deprive it of all value.

The Academy of Arts at Siena contains two pictures of Duccio, the first of which, a Virgin with saints and attendant scenes, damaged and discoloured in many parts, obliterated in others, is still in his manner;[1] the second, likewise a Virgin and Child amongst saints, in which his spirit and manner are equally visible.[2] The Saviour in benediction on the central upper gable exhibits the form and character of a Christ in the topmost pinnacle of a complicated altarpiece in the same style, now in the chapel to the right as one enters the Spedale of Siena.[3] This picture bears an inscription on the lower border of the central panel as follows: "DEL TEMPO DI MATTEO DI GIOVANNI." The forgery, for such it is, will deceive no one who can compare the altarpiece with those of Duccio, and knows that Matteo di Giovanni lived between 1420 and 1495.

If Duccio left pictures behind at Pisa, Lucca, and Pistoia,[4] they have perished; and though Tolomei notices one of his works,[5] and others

[1] [No. 35 of Cat.], a triptych not intended to close. The Virgin enthroned holds the Saviour grasping flowers between SS. Peter and Paul. Two angels form the Virgin's immediate guard. In the pediment are eight busts of saints. Above, a Coronation of the Virgin with angels leaning their heads on the throne, and saints around. In the gable points, the Annunciation between the Birth of Christ, the Flagellation, the Carriage of the Cross, the Crucifixion, the Deposition, and the Entombment.

[2] [No. 28 of Cat.], half-figures. Here the Infant brings together the sides of its little dress. Right, SS. Paul and Augustine; left, SS. Peter and Dominic; above, Christ in benediction between four angels.

[There are four other pictures from Duccio's hand in the Gallery of Siena to-day, namely: a small panel of the Virgin and Child, with angels and worshipping monks, one of his earliest works (No. 20); a small damaged panel of the Magdalen (No. 23); the Baptist and St. Peter, with angels above (No. 22); and a polyptych of the Virgin and Child, with saints, prophets, and angels, a much damaged work (No. 47).]

[3] In a central arched space the Virgin and Child are enthroned between SS. John Evangelist and Agnes, John the Baptist and Mary Magdalen, each of these being in a separate compartment lower than that which the Virgin occupies. The upper course of each of these panels is divided into two, containing, in the centre, Moses bareheaded, and David with a diadem; right, Jeremiah, Isaiah, Daniel, and Malachi; left, Joseph, Jacob, Japhet, and Abraham. The altarpiece is much damaged. [This is now in the Gallery (No. 47), spoken of at *note* 2, *supra*.]

[4] VASARI, vol. ii., p. 167.

[5] TOLOMEI, *Guida di Pistoia*, p. 84.

are still shown at the latter place, they may be passed over as spurious.[1]

One of Duccio's finest works, a Crucifixion, Virgin and Child and attendant episodes, second only in importance to the altarpiece of the Duomo of Siena, is in the collection of the late H.R.H. Prince Albert,[2] and was at Manchester.[3]

Another picture of interest by Duccio is in the National Gallery, after having been in Pisa and in the collection of Messrs. Lombardi and Baldi at Florence.[4] At Cologne in the Ramboux collection, the Sermon of S. John Baptist, and two apostles, Peter and Paul,[5] are by Duccio.[6]

[1] Three life-size figures of SS. John the Baptist, James, and Anthony the abbot are in the Academy of Pisa as Duccio's. Another part of the same altarpiece, in the Sala Capitolare of the Duomo, representing S. Michael fighting the dragon, a bishop and S. Raineri, is inscribed "OPUS DUCCII BONINSEGNE FILII SENENSIS ANTE ANNO MCCCLVII CONFECTUM." Neither of these parts is by the master, but the character of the painting is not unlike that of Lorenzo di Niccolò Gerini.

[2] [Now at Buckingham Palace. *Cf.* L. CUST and L. DOUGLAS in *Burlington Magazine* (1904), vol. v., p. 349 *et seq.*]

[3] A small Crucifixion by Duccio, formerly in the Bammeville collection, afterwards in that of the late Mr. Bromley (at whose sale it was sold to Mr. Anthony for 250 guineas), is most important as giving us an excellent example of a rare master. [Now in the collection of Lord Crawford.] The composition is of about twenty figures perfectly preserved, uniting all the qualities of Duccio's style. It prefigures Simone's style as it may be seen in a picture of the Antwerp Gallery. A morsel by the master is a pinnacle containing the Saviour Crucified, with the Virgin and Evangelist above a picture in the manner of the Bicci in possession of Messrs. Lombardi at Florence. The Saviour Crucified occupies the centre, with two angels above and the Virgin and Evangelist below. The left wing in two courses comprises the Annunciation and the Virgin and Child enthroned amongst four angels. The right wing contains S. Francis receiving the Stigmata, beneath which the Virgin and Saviour (the Saviour is in the act of benediction) are represented on a common throne surrounded by a choir of angels.

[4] [No. 566], Virgin and Child between SS. Dominic and Catherine. Above, David and six prophets.

[5] Nos. 68–70—No. 66 SS. James and John the Baptist, No. 67 the Magdalen and S. Dominic, assigned to Duccio, are by another hand, perhaps Nicholaus Segna.

A Madonna and Saints (half-length) from Christchurch, Oxford, was exhibited at Manchester under Duccio's name, but his manner is not to be traced there.

Della Valle mentions a Virgin and Child, with incidental pictures and figures of saints, in the convent of Mona Agnese at Siena, and a Madonna in the sacristy of S. Francesco of the same city, but these were not signed by Duccio, and the writer cannot be trusted in his judgment of pictures unauthenticated by records. DELLA VALLE, *Lettere Senese*, vol. ii., p. 75. Neither of these pictures is now to be found.

[6] [There is a Madonna generally ascribed to Duccio in the sacristy of the Badia di S. Eugenio, near Siena; but Mr. F. M. Perkins does not accept this as by the master. Mr. Langton Douglas now gives to Duccio himself the Madonna with angels, in the church of the Badia a Isola, near Siena; but this is evidently a work of the master's school and is considered as such both by Mr. Berenson and Mr. Perkins. I add here a list of his surviving works:—

Contemporary with Duccio, and, like him, a patriarch of the Sienese school, is Ugolino, respecting whom there are no authentic records, and of whom one picture only has an inscription, without date. Vasari's statement that he died in 1349,[1] Baldinucci's that he died in 1339,[2] are equally unworthy of credit. It is affirmed that one Ugolino Neri, the grandson of Guido Guarnieri of Siena, lived at Siena in 1317;[3] but another record immortalises also an unknown painter

BERLIN. *Industrial Museum.* Tavoletta della Biccherna.
Museum. 1062A: Panels from predella of Majestas.

BUDA-PESTH. *Gallery.* Panel S. John Baptist. (Venturi and F. Mason Perkins say this is a work of Ugolino.)

LONDON. *National Gallery.* No. 566: Triptych.
1139. Annunciation.
1130. Transfiguration.
1140. Christ Healing the Blind.
(The three last are part of the Siena "Majestas.")
Coll. Lord Crawford. Crucifixion. (Mr. Perkins considers this doubtful.)
Coll. Mr. Benson. Four predellas, part of the Majestas:—
Raising of Lazarus.
Draught of Fishes.
Christ and the Samaritan Woman.
The Temptation.
Buckingham Palace. Triptych:—Crucifixion. Madonna enthroned with our Lord, Madonna and Child, Annunciation, S. Francis receiving the Stigmata, Angels. (*Cf.* L. CUST and L. DOUGLAS, *Pictures in the Royal Collections* in *Burlington Magazine* (1904), vol. v., p. 349 *et seq.*)

PERUGIA. *Pinacoteca.* Sala I., No. 9: Madonna in part (B. Berenson).

PISA. *Coll. Contessa Tadini-Buoninsegni.* Madonna. (*Cf.* P. D'ARCHIARDI in *l'Arte* (1906). fasc. v.)

ROME. *Coll. of Conte Stroganoff.* A small Madonna and Child. (Mr. Mason Perkins accepts this work as by Duccio, in *Rassegna d'Arte*, an. iv. (Milano, 1904), p. 145. It was shown at the Mostra d'Arte Antica in Siena in 1904 (No. 1960).

SIENA. *Opera del Duomo.* Majestas.
Galleria, Sala I:—
20. Small panel, Madonna enthroned.
23. Small panel, The Magdalen.
22. The Baptist and S. Peter, with Angels.
28. Altarpiece: Virgin and Child, with SS. Augustine, Paul, Dominic, and Peter; above, Christ and Angels.
35. Small Triptych: Scenes from Life of Christ.
47. Polyptych: Virgin and Child, with Saints, Angels, and Prophets.
Confraternità della Madonna sotto l'Ospedale. Triptych, spoiled and divided. (Mr. Berenson, Mr. Perkins, and Miss Olcott give this to Duccio. Venturi says, however, that it is not from his hand.)
Serracini Coll. No. 1236: Angel. (First ascribed to Duccio by Miss Olcott.)

UNITED STATES. *Coll. Pierpont Morgan.* Triptych: Crucifixion, S. Augustine, and S. Ambrose.]

[1] VASARI, vol. ii., p. 22.
[2] BALDINUCCI, *ubi sup.*, vol. iv., p. 125.
[3] G. MILANESI, *Della Vera Età di Guido*, &c., *ubi sup.*, p. 9.

of 1324,[1] Ugolino di Pietro; and copious evidence of the existence of one Ugolino Veri, a goldsmith, is in the Sienese records of 1329–57.[2] The latter is clearly not the man whose life Vasari has written, and Milanesi's guess, that Ugolino Neri is the painter alluded to by the Aretine, is but a guess. Nor, strange to relate, is it principally in Siena that we must seek the vestiges of an artist who not only followed the old style like Duccio, but who exaggerated it even more than that master. It is in Florence that Ugolino laboured most; there that his only inscribed picture occupied an honourable place in the church of S. Croce, and that a number of works in his peculiar manner are preserved. Ugolino, during his stay at Florence, was employed by the Franciscans of S. Croce to paint a picture for the high altar of that church, and as Arnolfo did not begin the edifice till 1294, we may assume that Ugolino's work was subsequent to that date. Again, as there is reason to believe that Ugolino executed a Madonna on a pilaster of Orsanmichele,[3] as this building was erected by Arnolfo in 1284, and the so-called miracles of that Virgin took place in 1291, we may form some opinion as to the period about which Ugolino painted in Florence.

The altarpiece of S. Croce was a truly Sienese production in form, with the Virgin and Child enthroned in the centre, saints and apostles in higher courses, and scenes from the Passion on the pediment, the whole signed "UGOLINO DE SENIS ME PINXIT."[4] Like most pictures of that time, the altarpiece of Ugolino was withdrawn from its place of honour, and stowed away. It remained unheeded for centuries in the dormitory of the convent, where Della Valle saw it,[5] and, having been sold for a song, found its way in fragments into the Ottley collection. Three panels of apostles in couples, two single figures of saints and six parts of the predella, exclusive of the central Virgin and Child, are in the collection of the Rev. John Fuller Russell, near Enfield, and were exhibited at Manchester.[6] In these a colour and

[1] *Notes* to VASARI, vol. ii., p. 20.

[2] *Doc. Sen., ubi sup.*, vol. ii., pp. 248–9.

[3] Not that which now hangs there.

[4] Centre, the Virgin and Child enthroned between six half-length saints. Upper course, six panels with two apostles in each. Gable points, with each a half-length of a saint. Pediment, centre, the Virgin and Child, with compartments at each side containing the Last Supper, the Capture, the Flagellation, Christ's Carriage of the Cross, the Deposition, and Entombment.

[5] DELLA VALLE, *Lett. Sen.*, vol. ii., p. 202.

[6] Two half-lengths of SS. Andrew and Bartholomew (somewhat abraded); pinnacles from the same altarpiece were in the late Mr. Davenport Bromley's collection at Wootton.

[The work was scattered among many private collections in England. Lord Crawford had two half figures of saints; Mr. C. B. Harcourt, a S. John Baptist, a S. Peter and a S. Paul; Mr. Charles Butler, four panels of saints; Mr. H. Wagner,

Alinari.

THE BETRAYAL

THE AGONY IN THE GARDEN

Duccio. Parts of the Majestas Museo dell' Opera, Siena.

Lombardi.

HEADS OF ANGELS

Duccio. Detail from the Majestas Museo dell' Opera, Siena.

TRIPTYCH

Duccio. National Gallery.

technical execution like those of Duccio, Simone and other Sienese, may be traced. The figures are long and bony, the movements more vehement and exaggerated than those of Duccio. Following this trustworthy guide one may assign at once to Ugolino an altarpiece with half-figures of the Virgin between four saints, with the Saviour in benediction between four angels, in the pinnacle now in the Gallery of M. Ramboux at Cologne (No. 508). It is a piece showing the passage from Duccio to Simone and the Lorenzetti, and perhaps less sharply contrasted in tone than the foregoing.

A Crucifix, in which the Saviour has seven feet of stature, at the Servi of Siena, is assigned to Stefano Sassetta, a painter of the fifteenth century. It is true, the manner approaches to that of Sassetta, yet the painting seems to be of an older time and of a style such as we find in Ugolino.[1]

To him may be assigned the repainted heads of the Virgin and Child by Guido in S. Domenico of Siena; the technical style of the restored parts being more reminiscent of his comparative adherence to old methods than of Duccio.

A damaged altarpiece in the Sienese form, with the Virgin and Child enthroned between four saints, the Saviour and saints in the gable points, the Ecce Homo and saints in the pediment,[2] is preserved in the sacristy of S. Croce at Florence, and is like one of his works.[3]

The colossal Madonna in the tabernacle of Orsanmichele, with the Infant on her knee, caressing her, and holding a bird, and the glory of eight angels, of whom two in front wave censers, have characteristics of the close of the fourteenth century, and something of Sienese peculiarity, and Lorenzo Monaco is much more likely to have painted

three panels, one of which is a Deposition; Mr. L. Myers, a panel of the Last Supper; Mr. G. F. White, a panel of the Resurrection; Mr. E. M. Russell, the Flagellation and the Entombment; while in the National Gallery we find the Betrayal (No. 1188) and the Procession to Calvary (No. 1189). VENTURI, *op. cit.*, p. 587, *note* 1, says that the panel of the Buda-Pesth Gallery, which Mr. L. Douglas gives to Duccio, probably belongs to this altarpiece. Mr. Perkins ascribes it to Ugolino, and Mr. Berenson does not include it in his list of Duccio's works.

Mr. C. B. Harcourt's panels are now in the Berlin Museum, as are the panels of Mr. G. M. Russell.]

[1] In the Crucifix at the Servi is a small figure at the base of a monk in prayer. A Crucified Saviour at the Gallery of Siena (No. 21) is flanked by figures of the Virgin and Evangelist. The Magdalen grasps the foot of the Cross; the draperies of all the figures, the whole of the Magdalen, are repainted. A Calvary at the Louvre is the usual composition with the Evangelist on one side, the Virgin fainting in the arms of the Maries on the other.

[2] Of the four saints at the Virgin's sides, one a S. John the Baptist, another S. Francis showing the Stigma at his side. The Saviour in the gable point is in benediction between SS. Anthony of Padua, Peter, and Paul. An angel is on guard at the extremes of the line. The Ecce Homo in the pediment is between four saints, one of them S. Louis.

[3] [Now (1909) in Museo di S. Croce. See *supra*, vol. i., p. 150.]

them than Ugolino.[1] Nor must it be forgotten, that Vasari does not pretend that Ugolino produced a Virgin on panel at Orsanmichele, but that he executed it on a pilaster, a statement in which he is confirmed by the testimony of Villani.

A Coronation of the Virgin, with the usual choirs of angels and saints about the throne, is exhibited in the Academy of Arts at Florence under Ugolino's name, and supposed to be the original referred to by Vasari as having been painted for the high altar of S. Maria Novella.[2] But the style is that of an inferior artist of the time of Agnolo Gaddi.

Vasari finally alludes to a Crucified Saviour, a Magdalen and Evangelist, with two pairs of kneeling monks at the sides, executed by Ugolino for the chapel of Ridolfo de' Bardi at S. Croce.[3] No such picture exists there now.

Another painter of the early school in Siena who remained partial to the oldest forms, and who is consequently related to Ugolino rather than to Simone or the Lorenzetti, was Segna, who is said to have finished for the Biccherna in 1305–6 [4] a picture, part of which, with his signature, is in the Gallery of Siena. A better, and hitherto unknown, example of this master is a "Majesty," with the usual garland of angels about the back and arms of the throne, and four miniature donors kneeling in the foreground, in the church of Castiglione Fiorentino, at no great distance from Arezzo. This picture, in the same form as the "Majesties" of Cimabue at the Rucellai and Louvre,[5] bears an inscription hitherto concealed by the beading of a black frame to the following effect:

HOC OPUS PINXIT SEGNA SENENIS.

The infant Saviour standing, draws together a yellowish veil that covers His mother's head, and with His left hand keeps His own little red

[1] Lanzi has no doubt that Ugolino painted this Virgin, vol. i., p. 276. [Milanesi deduced from documents, not altogether satisfactorily, that this was a work of Bernardo Daddi. The picture is certainly earlier than Lorenzo Monaco. *Cf.* G. FITZHUM, *Bernardo Daddi* (Leipzig, 1903). Messrs. Suida, Perkins, and others support Milanesi. Venturi, however, follows Passerini *Curiosità Storico-artistiche fiorentine* (Florence, 1866) in ascribing the panel to Orcagna.]

[2] VASARI, vol. ii., p. 21. This altarpiece was removed by the Dominicans, as theirs was by the Camaldolese of the Convent of the Angeli, for the sake of substituting one by Allori. *Vide annot.* to VASARI, vol. ii., p. 22.

[3] VASARI, vol. ii., p. 22. [Mr. Berenson and Mr. Perkins further ascribe to Ugolino the fine altarpiece of the Madonna and Saints (No. 33, Gallery of Siena), which Mr. Perkins considers to be of the master's earlier period, and as painted under Duccio's direct influence. *Cf. Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, an. iv. (1908), fasc. ii.–iii., pp. 49–51. In Mr. Perkins' own collection at Assisi is a bust of a saint (? S. John Evangelist) also by Ugolino.]

[4] *Vide annot.* to VASARI, vol. ii., p. 165.

[5] [See *supra*, vol. i., p. 168, *note* 1.]

mantle about His neck. A certain majesty marks the Virgin's form and proportion, and the face, though of no new type, but oval, broad at the brow and small at the chin, is enlivened by large but regular eyes. Sharp and precise lines confine the parts and mark the details, a wrinkle uniting the brow over a long nose somewhat depressed at the end. A fairly proportioned neck supports the head, whose drapery is covered by the yellow veil. Thin long-fingered hands have an additional peculiarity of the Sienese, thumbs resting on no muscular base, and having no apparent bond with the rest of the parts. Aged features, yet plump cheeks and swelling lips, a high round forehead, gazing eyes, and round balled nose, are marked in the Saviour, whose nude form betrays incomplete anatomical study in Segna. The toes are lined as if on lifeless blocks in the old style; but the drapery is broad in fold and richly shot with gold lines. The two angels, resting their heads on the back of the throne, now usual in Siena, are here, one of them all but gone,[1] but the forms and features of the celestial messengers, of whom six surround the Virgin, are old and ugly,[2] the eyes being large and open, the underlips overhanging and the necks slender and long. On the extreme angles of the foreground S. Gregory,[3] with a diadem and book, a feeble figure of angular forms, and S. John the Baptist with a protruding lower jaw, stand guardians of four donors, whose names are inscribed beneath their kneeling figures: Mona Vanna to the left behind her husband Goro di Fino, Mona Miglia to the right behind Fina de Bonajuncta.[4] This well-preserved and most interesting example of Segna shows that the master practised the methods common to Ugolino, whose soft and lustrous surface he equalled.[5]

At the top of the stairs leading into the convent of S. Francesco in Castel Fiorentino, a not ungraceful Madonna in Segna's manner may be seen. There is, however, some affectation of singularity in the Virgin's manner of holding the Infant with her hands between his legs, and the frame of the Child is colossal and ill designed.[6]

A large Crucifix in the Abbey of S. Fiora at Arezzo reveals the same hand; and the star-formed panels at the base summit of the cross are like those of the Crucifix at the Servi at Siena.

Segna's inscribed works at the Gallery of Siena[7] are four panels representing the Virgin, SS. Paul, John Evangelist, Bernard and another saint, all in the lean character peculiar to the master, fine in drapery, and not without an intention of grace in the movement of the Virgin. Time has, however, much injured the flesh surfaces.

[1] That to the left.
[2] The two angels next to those leaning on the back of the throne are injured.
[3] At the extreme left.
[4] This picture is 9 ft. 2 in. high by 4 ft. 9 in.
[5] In some places the fallen varnish exposes and hardens the parts.
[6] [This picture is no longer to be found.]
[7] [No. 40 of Cat.]

Originally executed by Segna for the Abbazia di S. Salvatore alla Berardenga, it is signed on the sword of S. Paul with the words :

SEGNA ME FECIT.[1]

In the National Gallery is a well-preserved panel by Segna of the Crucifixion between the Virgin and S. John.[2]

Two panels in the Siena Gallery representing SS. Ansano and Galgano and executed by Segna, according to the catalogue, for the Palazzo Pubblico in 1314, are less characteristic of his manner than other unauthenticated productions.[3]

To conclude with other pictures which have the appearance of a continuation to those of Ugolino and Segna, one may notice in the Gallery of Siena a Crucifix disposed in reference to the figures like that of the abbey of S. Fiora, but darkened, and slightly damaged, assigned to one Masarello di Giglio, with the date of 1305, but evidently of a

[1] In S. Francesco of Lucignano in Valdicchiana, an altar to the right of the entrance is adorned with a Virgin and Child in the character of Segna.

[2] [No. 567.]

[3] [Nos. 42 and 43 of Cat. Late works (Olcott).] [In the reception room of the Seminario of S. Francesco of Siena is a Virgin and Child by Segna. Another Virgin and Child is in the sacristy of the church of the Servi in Siena. *Cf.* W. HEYWOOD and LUCY OLCOTT, *Guide to Siena* (Siena, 1903), p. 301. This Guide is an invaluable work, and should be in the hands of every visitor to Siena. It is the work of experts.

MR. F MASON PERKINS, in an invaluable article in the *Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, an. iii. (1907), fasc. iii.–iv. and an. iv. (1908), fasc. i., writes "*Dei dipinti sconosciuti della scuola Senese.*" Under Segna he names the following pictures :—

FLORENCE.	*Coll. Loeser.*	The Magdalen. (Among the best works of the painter.) Virgin and Child.
S. GIMIGNANO.	*Istituto di S. Chiara, Galleria della Chiesa.*	Madonna enthroned with her Son adored by a Franciscan, with eight Saints at the sides. (It is almost entirely repainted, but seems to be a work of Segna's.)
GROSSETO.	*Misericordia.*	Madonna and Child.
	Museo.	S. Michael.
S. CASCIANO.	*Gallery.*	Madonna and Child.
SIENA.	*Gallery.*	No. 24. Female Saint.
		No. 45. Madonna and Child.
		No. 48. S. Francis (late).
		No. 49. S. Ludovico
	The last two works clearly show the influence of Simone Martini.	
UTRECHT.	*Gallery of the Archbishop,*	Madonna and Child. (A fine example of the master.)

In the *Rassegna d'Arte*, an. iv. (Milano, 1904), p. 145, MR. MASON PERKINS speaks of two other works of Segna's, two Madonnas, one belonging to Signor Giuggioli, now in the Gallery of Siena, and the other from the parish church of Fogliano. The first (No. 1698 of the Mostra d'Arte Antica in Siena, 1904) is an early work; the other (No. 737 in the same exhibition) is later. Venturi gives to Segna a Nativity in the Sterbini Coll. in Rome (*La Galleria Sterbini*, Rome, 1906). Cagnola gives to Segna a Virgin Annunciate in Coll. of Prof. Helbig in Rome. (*Cf. Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, an. iv. (1908), fasc. ii., iii.]

later time.[1] A Virgin and Child of this collection, stated to be by Giglio, a painter of 1249, illustrates the well-known mania of ante-dating pictures.[2] The style of this work is of the fourteenth century, and reminiscent of Niccola di Segna, of whom something may be said in this place. He is the author of a Crucifix in the Gallery of Siena, arranged like that just mentioned and inscribed:

NICHOLAUS SEGNA FECIT HOC OPUS MCCCXLV.[3]

Though here we find ourselves in the middle of the fourteenth century, the execution and technical method is the old Sienese of the thirteenth century, the Saviour's head resembling in size that of Ugolino at the Servi, but being more erect as regards the figure.[4]

An altarpiece in the sacristy of the church of S. Chiara at Borgo S. Sepolcro, representing the Resurrection and various saints, with a predella containing five scenes from the Passion, is executed in a manner not unlike that of Nicholaus Segna, and would tend to prove that this artist studied the forms of composition peculiar to the Lorenzetti.[5] There is mention of another son of Segna, Francesco, who painted in 1339 a picture for the Loggia of the Palazzo del Comune al Bagno di Petriuolo.[6]

[1] [No. 36 of Cat.] With the Saviour in benediction above, the Virgin and S. John at the ends of the transverse beam. [By a direct follower of Duccio (Olcott).] Another Crucifix with similar figures, but much damaged, may be seen in the Seminario Vescovile at Pienza near Siena, and is by the same hand as the Crucifix in the Gallery of Siena.

[2] *Vide ante*, Giglio. [No. 18 of the Cat. Venturi gives this to P. Lorenzetti.]

[3] [No. 46 of Cat.]

[4] A quantity of pictures by Nicholaus Segna assigned to abler masters may be traced in various galleries. It may be sufficient to note at Cologne Nos. 38 to 41, 66, and 67 of the Ramboux collection, the first assigned to Lorenzetti, the last to Duccio. [Now Nos. 509 and 513 Wallraf-Richartz Museum. In the Siena Gallery are two works which seem to be of Niccolò di Segna's school: No. 37, S. Bartolommeo, and No. 38, Polyptych.]

[5] The predella, apart from the rest of the altarpiece with five pinnacles, hangs to the parapet of the organ loft. The painter, if he be Nicholaus Segna, was no very correct one. The Saviour issuing from the tomb is energetic in aspect, but the execution is coarse, the extremities ill drawn, and the verde shadows very dark. [This altarpiece is now recomposed in chapel adjoining sacristy.]

[6] *Vide* G. MILANESI, *Storia Civile ed Artistica, ubi sup.*, p. 90.

[NOTE.—The question of Duccio and the Rucellai Madonna was discussed in vol. i., p. 168, *note* 1. It only remains for me to assert my concurrence in the opinion first expressed by Mr. Mason Perkins in his *Giotto*, namely, that the work is of Duccio's school and not by the master himself. Suida follows Mr. Perkins, and I believe Mr. Berenson has long been of the same opinion; in any case he has never admitted the picture to be by Duccio himself.

As to the Ducciesques, Mr. Perkins has pointed out that direct contemporary followers of Duccio's manner were far more numerous than has been supposed. It is the custom of most recent critics to give to Segna all those works which cannot be given to Duccio himself. Yet, far from their being

by a single hand, many of these works are marked by differences of style notwithstanding their formal resemblance to Duccio's manner. Some reveal artists of no mean powers. Thus the unknown master of the Rucellai Madonna shows himself in certain respects to be almost the rival of Duccio himself. Another follower of Duccio, by no means to be confounded with him, is the painter of the altarpiece at Badia a Isola. Mr. Perkins cites the following works, among others, as by various followers of Duccio's manner:—

(1) Città di Castello, Pinacoteca (formerly in S. Domenico), Madonna and Child and angels. This painting, thought by the authors to be a possible work of P. Lorenzetti's earlier years, was ascribed by Suida to Meo da Siena, by Langton Douglas to Segna. As to its probable author, see F. M. PERKINS in *Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, an. iv. (1908), fasc. ii.–iii. To this same master Mr. Perkins gives (2) a Madonna and Child in the church of S. Cecilia at Crevole, near Siena, and (3) a Polyptych of the Virgin and Child with saints, No. 39, Gallery of Siena. Other hands are visible in (4) London Nat. Gallery, No. 565, Madonna and Child with angels; (5) the Madonna and Child and two angels at Badia a Isola, spoken of above; (6) a dismembered Polyptych in the possession of Sig. Pannilini at S. Giovanni d'Asso; (7) a Virgin and Child with saints in the Pieve at S. Giovanni d'Asso; (8) a Virgin and Child in S. Antonio Abbate at Montalcino; (9, 10, 11) three pictures in the Siena Gallery, one formerly in possession of Signor Desiderii, another newly acquired, without number, ascribed to Duccio, and another, No. 36; (12) a Crucifix at the Pieve of Montisi; (13) a Madonna and Child with angels, in the possession of the Contessa Melzi d' Eril at Milan; and (14) a Virgin and Child with saints in the Badia di S. Eugenio at Siena. All these works, according to Mr. Perkins, are by distinctly different masters, and they cannot but give us a forcible idea of the large number of painters whom Duccio counted among his more direct followers. Many of these painters merit careful attention, far more than has been given them.]

CHAPTER II

SIMONE MARTINI

PETRARCH, sighing through two hundred sonnets, sings the charms of Laura, and soaring high in realms of fancy imagines her in paradise, whence "Simon" brings her likeness down to earth, convincing humble mortals of her celestial beauty, and giving her all but voice and intellect. It is, in humble prose, that Simone, the great but affected delineator of female beauty, one day retraced, with art more perishable than the rhyme of Petrarch, the charms which were the joy and torment of the poet's life.[1] Yet Petrarch when content to let the muses slumber and drop the classic contrasts of Pygmalion and Polycletus, gave Simone his proper place amongst the artists of his country. "I bequeathe," he said in his will, "my picture of the Virgin by the noble painter Giotto, whose beauty, unintelligible to the ignorant, is a wonder to the masters of the art;"[2] and in his letters, "I have known two painters, talented both, and excellent, Giotto of Florence, whose fame amongst the moderns is great, and Simone of Siena."[3]

Simone, second only to Giotto, and famous still after the Florentine had been consigned to the grave, was born in 1283,[4] and was son to one Martino. He married, in 1324, Giovanna, the daughter of Memmo di Filipuccio, a painter.[5] His relation by marriage to Lippo, Giovanna's brother, contributed to the error of Vasari, who calls him Memmi, whilst no excuse exists for the assertion that Simone was a disciple of Giotto.[6] Without pretending to deny that the two greatest painters

[1] *Le Rime* DI FRANCESCO PETRARCA, vol. i. (Milan, 1834), Sonnets xlix. and l., p. 57.

[2] The passage is in VASARI, *ubi sup.*, vol. i., p. 336. But see the whole will in PAUL MANUTIUS, *annot.* by Jo. H. Acker (Rudolstadt, 1711), p. 7.

[3] *Opera*, vol. ii., p. 725. Epist. 17, lib. v.

[4] VASARI, vol. ii., pp. 96 and 98 [5] *Doc. Sen.*, vol. i., p. 216.

[6] This theory is started by Vasari, and finds an eager follower in Baldinucci. But cooler criticism rejects it as absurd, Baldinucci, to give his case a semblance of reality being obliged to fling back the birth of Simone into remote years of the thirteenth century. *Vide* BALDINUCCI, *ubi sup.*, vol. iv., p. 240. RUMOHR (*Forschungen*, vol. ii., p. 92) seems to think that Giotto's example inclined Simone to modify old Christian types by a contemplation and varied rendering of nature and life. Ghiberti does not say that Giotto was Simone's master, and he was properly silent on the subject.

of their age were acquainted with each other; without contradicting the assertion that Simone visited Rome, one may assume that Vasari erred in saying that he was Giotto's pupil. Simone is obviously the follower of the purely Sienese manner improved by Duccio; and this is clear from the earliest of all his frescoes.

The Hall of the Palazzo Pubblico at Siena is adorned with a wall picture enclosed in a border of medallions and shields, bearing the arms of the Commune and people. It is a vast piece whose total appearance leaves the impression of a tapestry or of a magnified miniature. The Virgin, wearing a diadem over her veil of blue, sits on a throne and gracefully calls attention by a gesture of her right hand to the infant Saviour standing on her knee and supported on her left arm. Her ample dress, minutely engraved with golden arabesques, luxuriously and somewhat studiously clothes a form more feminine and elegant than majestic. A certain affectation clings to her and is perceptible in the movement of the frame, as well as in the action of a beautiful hand. The guardians of her throne, angels and saints, are grouped by her side. On her right S. Catherine looks up to her, next her, S. John the Baptist with worn features and straggling wavy locks, then S. Agnes with her head affectedly bent, and carrying the Lamb, the Archangel Michael, a female with a burning heart and S. Peter holding the keys stand foremost, whilst, in the same order, an angel and six saints form a more distant rank. To the left, a female saint also in a diadem, S. John the Evangelist, S. Mary Magdalen, the Archangel Gabriel, a third female saint, and the Apostle Paul with his sword, stand similarly in front of an angel and six others. SS. Paul, Peter, the two S. Johns and four of those in rear carry the poles of a canopy which overhangs the group. At the Virgin's feet, two angels kneel with offering of flowers. S. Crescentius and S. Victor are on their knees on one side, S. Savinus and S. Ansanus on the other.[1] In a medallion in the centre of the upper frame the Saviour stands in the act of benediction between Isaac and Moses and David and Jacob in similar ornamental spaces. The four Evangelists are at the corners, three prophets in each of the vertical sides. At the centre of the lower frame,

[1] On the pediment of the Virgin's throne are the following words:

LE ANGELICHI FIORECTI ROSE E GIGLI
ONDE S'ADORNA LO CELESTE PRATO,
NON MI DILETTAN PIÙ CH' E BUON CONSIGLI.
MA TALOR VEGGIO, CHI PER PROPRIO STATO,
DISPREZA ME E LA MIA TERRA INGANNA.
E QUANDO PARLA PEGGIO, È PIÙ LODATO
CON CIASCHEDUN CUI QUESTO DIR CONDANNA.
RESPONSIO VIRGINIS AD DICTA SANCTORUM.
DILETTI MEI, PONETE NELLE MENTI,
CHE LI DEVOTI VOSTRI PREGHI ONESTI,
COME VORRETE VOI FARÒ CONTENTI.
MA SE I POTENTI A' DEBIL FIEN MOLESTI,
GRAVANDO LORO O CON VERGOGNE O DANNI.
LE VOSTRE ORAZION NON SON PERQUESTI
NE PER QUALUNQUE LA MIA TERRA INGANNA.

a double-headed figure with an octagonal nimbus, in the sides of which the seven cardinal Virtues are depicted, holds up with one hand a scroll on which the Decalogue is written, and with the other a scroll also on which are the seven Sacraments. In two small medallions on each hand are the two sides of the Sienese coin with the inscriptions: "SENA VETUS CIVITAS VIRGINIS," and "ALPHA ET OMEGA, PRINCIPIUM ET FINIS." In the centre of a second border below the first and interrupted by two medallions, one of which is adorned with a Virgin and Child between two angels with candelabra, is the following, partially obliterated:

MILLE TRECENTO QUINDICI VOL . . .
ET DELIA AVIA OGNI BEL FIOR SPINTO . . .
ET JUNO GIA GIRDAVA I' MI RIVAL . . .
S.S A. MAN DI. SYMONE . . . . [1]

S. Jerome and S. Gregory on one side of the double-headed figure in the principal border, S. Augustine and a saint whose form cannot be traced, form the total of the piece.

This is an interesting fresco not merely because it is certainly by Simone, but because it seems to have been found necessary in Simone's own time to cut out and to renew eight of the heads of the principal figures.[2] The life-size apostles and saints in the "Majesty," the S. Peter and archangels, characterised by the attitudes and draperies which distinguish them in later pictures of Simone, the eight renewed heads, displaying perhaps more affectation of grace than the older ones, particularly the S. Catherine and her companion with the diadem, all these figures are executed by one man, and point to the natural conclusion that Simone was obliged to restore a work which he had

[1] The medallion to the right is gone with the intonaco which held the close of the lines of the inscription. [These were: "SALVET VIRGO VETEREM QUAM SIGNAT AMENAM."]

[2] These are the heads of S. Ansano, the two angels offering flowers, S. Crescenzius, S. Catherine, the female saint in a diadem opposite to her, and the Virgin and Child. The incisions and joints of the new intonaco are distinctly visible in these heads, which are well preserved, whilst in those of SS. Savinus and Victor the colours are almost gone. The hands of S. Peter have been retouched in the fifteenth century; some other heads have been injured by repainting and the picture in general has lost the brilliant nature of fresco from damp and restoring. The left side of the picture is that which has been most essentially damaged, particularly by damp, the saints and medallion figures being reduced to mere outlines, shadowed with a reddish-brown preparation. No one will hesitate to admit that the eight heads renewed on fresh intonaco were executed by the artist who had already painted the whole picture, because the same character is displayed in the medallions which are the oldest part of the fresco, and the new heads. In the Saviour, who gives the benediction, the spectator will find a clear continuation of the style of Duccio, and the manner of Simone as exhibited in other works produced at a later period. The head of the Redeemer, like those of the neighbouring prophets, exhibits the same clinging to old types and forms of expression, the same muscular development and large, gazing, round eyes as marked the previous efforts of Duccio. But the type of the Redeemer is so far improved that it is less aged, more natural and animated than of old.

originally completed.[1] The Virgin, the Infant, of unusually slender frame, are the finest part of the picture. The head of the former in its tenderness and regularity, that of the latter in the form which remained characteristic not merely of Simone, but up to Taddeo Bartoli, are pleasing, and an undoubted improvement on those of Duccio. Simone conceived the Infant plump and round cheeked, with a pouting lip, a vast forehead, short curly locks, and a glance more threatening than kindly. He clothed Him in a rich dress, and thus brought the art to a point where it seems to claim admiration more by richness and copiousness of ornament than by simplicity or beauty of shape and features. The graceful female saints reveal the tendency common to Duccio and Simone, to contrast the stern gravity of males with an excessive tenderness in the other sex. A most careful execution marks every portion of the work, which can scarcely be criticised as to colour.[2] The composition, too, has the defects of Duccio and is distributed without the perfect balance of the Florentines. It betrays a wish, or the necessity under which the artist laboured, of preserving old forms of arrangement, dictated no doubt by custom. Many writers have ventured to doubt the originality of this fresco, and pretend that the author was one Mino, who is recorded not only to have painted in 1293 and 1303, but to have decorated the council-hall of the Palazzo Pubblico of Siena in 1289 with a Virgin Mary and saints, for which he received twenty-seven livres.[3] The smallness of the price might have suggested the possibility of an error; for Simone received in 1321 the same sum exactly for the mere repainting of eight heads;[4] but that Mino is not the painter of the "Majesty" in the present council-hall is clear on many grounds:

Previous to 1288 an edifice on the public square of Siena was used as an excise office for oil and salt, and being inhabited in the upper stories by the authorities of the mint or Bolgano and by the Podestà, was called the Palazzo del Bolgano. In 1288, as appears from the records of the Consigli della Campagna and of the Biccherna,[5] it was resolved that the

[1] Ghiberti clearly assigns the whole fresco to Simone. "*Di sua mano e nel Palagio, in su la Sala, una nostra Donna col fanciullo in collo e con molte altre figure intorno.*" *Comm., ubi sup.*, vol. i., VASARI, p. xxv.

[2] Where the intonaco has dropped, as in the medallions of the frame, the original preparation appears, not in verde, but of a brownish tint marking the outlines and shadows.

[3] 1289. xii. August. Item xviii. libr. Mag. Mino pintori pro suo salario quia depinxit Virginem Mariam et alios sanctos in palatio communis in Consiglio, pro complemento xxvii. quæ debebat habere pro dicto opere. Archiv. Bicch. of Siena, in G. MILANESI, *Della vera Età di Guido Pittore Senese, ubi sup.*

[4] *Vide infra.*

[5] Records due to the research of Avvocato Regoli of Siena. [*Cf.* also MILANESI in VASARI, *Vite* (1878), *comm.* on Simone Martini; and DONATI, *Il Palazzo del Comune di Siena* in *Boll. Senese*, vol. ii., fasc. i.-ii.]

Palazzo del Bolgano should be transformed into the Palazzo Pubblico, and that for that purpose contiguous houses should be purchased and appropriated. Between 1288 and 1297 the necessary steps were taken for this purpose; and in 1297 the edifice was rebuilt and enlarged, specially in that part which is occupied by the present council-hall. Mino therefore, when he painted a Virgin and saints in 1289, Guido Gratiani, when he executed, likewise in the Palazzo Pubblico, a Madonna in 1295, did not labour in or for the present council-hall, for the obvious reason that that hall was not in existence. It is also in the records that the commune of Siena held its council up to 1284 in the old Palazzo del Bolgano, where no doubt Mino's Virgin existed. Tizio, whose MS. history of Siena is still extant, further declares that the Sala del Consiglio, in which the "Majesty" is depicted, was finished in 1299; but that, even at that time, it remained without its present pictorial decorations is clear from the traces which still exist proving that important changes were made even later. That these occurred about 1311 is authoritatively stated in the records of Siena. Any one who now chooses to examine the wall on which Simone's fresco was painted in 1315, will remark that it had undergone repairs and alterations before that fresco was executed. Beneath the intonaco on which the lower border is painted, there are marks, to the right, of an opening two feet six in breadth, walled up and forming originally an arch in part extending within the lower edge of the fresco. Another opening, about four feet in breadth had been likewise filled in, and extended to a spot above the inner border of Simone's fresco, cutting with its curve the inscription beneath the feet of the Madonna and taking in part of the medallion of S. Gregory. The inscription of Simone is on the newly walled space; and thus everything points to the fact that Simone painted the fresco in 1315. It is distinctly recorded that in 1321 he was paid twenty-six livres for the renewal *reactatione* of the "Majesty," [1] and critics inquire, how it could be that in six years a fresco should require repair. But many causes might have rendered such a course necessary, and amongst them chiefly the effect of damp upon the fresco and an eruption of salt on the lime of the intonaco. Gaye lays great stress upon a petition of 1316 for the rescue from the effects of fire and smoke of paintings in the Sala or "curtem domus," in which the Podestà lived and took his meals.[2] He assumes that the hall here alluded to is the Sala del Consiglio; but it is now known that the Podestà inhabited quite another part of the building, and it is not likely that he should dwell or eat in a hall where the chief magistrates met to deliberate and distribute justice.

No doubt can exist but that even before 1315 Simone was an artist of considerable powers and name, not only at Siena but throughout Italy. Robert of Naples who, as Duke of Calabria, had been in command in Central Italy during the early part of the fourteenth cen-

[1] *Doc. Sen.*, vol. i., p. 217. [Consult also AGNES GOSCHE, *Simone Martini* (Leipzig, 1899).]

[2] GAYE, *Carteggio, ubi sup.*, vol. ii., p. 429.

tury,[1] was portrayed by the Sienese master. After the death of Louis, bishop of Toulouse, Simone represented him crowning his brother; and the picture, of life-size figures, is still at Naples, in the church of S. Lorenzo Maggiore. Should it be assumed, however, that this interesting piece, which bears no date, was executed some years after the incident which it illustrates, records of certain authenticity declare how, in 1320, Father Petrus, a friar in S. Catherine of Pisa, caused a picture to be painted by Simone for the high altar of his church.[2] The work, authenticated by the master's signature, was dismembered after the retirement of the Dominicans from S. Catherine of Pisa; but its parts are preserved and, independently of the poetic praise of Petrarch, they would suffice to establish the lasting fame of Simone.[3]

In a course of seven compartments he represents the Virgin and Child (the latter clutching at the bosom of the Virgin's dress), between saints.[4] An upper course dividing each panel into two niches is devoted to archangels and apostles. The gable points are decorated with a central figure of the Redeemer holding the gospel and in the act of benediction, and six prophets. The centre of the pediment, divided into three parts is filled with an Ecce Homo between the Virgin and S. Mark, whilst in twelve similar spaces, equally divided at the sides, stand various male and female saints.[5]

Graceful as the Madonna appears with the infant Saviour on her

[1] In 1305 he commanded the Florentine forces. [In 1310 King Robert was in Siena, as Andrea Dei tells us. It has been denied that Simone was ever in Naples. See *l'Arte* (series iii.), an. iii. (1900), fasc. v.–viii., p. 279 *et seq.* But it seems certain that Simone visited Naples, Pisa, and Orvieto before 1333. *Cf.* AGNES GOSCHE, *Simone Martini* (Leipzig, 1899).]

[2] "Frater Petrus conversus. Tabulam pretiosam procuravit fieri majoris altaris." *Cron. del Convento di S. Caterina de Pisis* in *Archiv. Stor.*, vol. vi., p. 500. Executed in 1320 by Simone, says Bonaini, who proves the fact by record, *note* to same page, and in *Mem. Ined.*, p. 38, where he quotes from the Annal. MSS. S. Cat. of Pisa: "Frater Petrus &c. Ipso etiam urgente et instante, tabula quæ nunc est in Ara majori ibi posita fuit anno 1320." Further, "Frater Thomas Pratensis ab anno 1320–24 præfuit. Tempore suo statuit tabulam in majori ara manu Symonis Senensis." This altarpiece seems to be that which FORSTER (*Beitrage, ubi sup.*, pp. 167 and following), describes, carefully abstaining to mention where it is—pardonable precaution in a collector.

[3] [*Cf.* AGNES GOSCHE, *op. cit.*, and LUPI, *l'Arte Senese a Pisa* in *Boll. Senese*, vol. ii., fasc. i.–ii.]

[4] SS. John Evangelist, Mary Magdalen and Peter Martyr, John the Baptist, Catherine of Alexandria and Dominic.

[5] SS. Agnes and Ambrose, Thomas Aquinas and Augustine, Gregory the Great and Luke, Stephen and Apollonia, Ursula and Lawrence, Nicholas and Mary Magdalen. Six of the principal panels with their upper course and pinnacles, rescued from a dangerous situation in a billiard room, are now in the library of the Seminario Vescovile, of old S. Catherine of Pisa. The seventh panel, containing SS. John the Baptist, Paul and James, and the whole of the pediment, are now in the Museo Civico [Sala III., Nos. 16–23], one part containing SS. Ursula and Lawrence being from the Orfanotrofio and the rest from S. Catherine. On a border, beneath the central group of the Virgin and Child, are the words "SYMON DE SENIS M. . . PINXIT."

BETRAYAL OF CHRIST

UGOLINO DA SIENA. National Gallery.

CHRIST BEARING HIS CROSS

UGOLINO DA SIENA. National Gallery.

Brogi.

MADONNA AND CHILD

SCHOOL OF DUCCIO. St. Cecilia, Crevole.

Brogi.

MADONNA AND CHILD

SEGNA. Gallery, Siena.

knee, the female saints at the sides are still more so. Nothing more elegant has been produced by Simone than the slender and bending figure of the Magdalen delicately holding the ointment cup in the tips of her veiled fingers, nothing finer than the red drapery lined with green and falling from her gently inclined head. Finer still, and noble as well as graceful, is the S. Catherine, whose fair proportions, regular soft features and natural attitude are not surpassed in any subsequent effort of the master. Her gentle motion and tender air, enhanced by a diadem and veil covering her chestnut hair, by a pale yellow dress all spangled with delicate gold tracery, her fine and regular hands, one of which plays with a book, are truly admirable.[1] Amongst the saints, S. Peter Martyr in the Dominican dress with a cicatrix on his head, S. Dominic with the lily and gospel,[2] are fine. S. John Evangelist, youthful and beardless, is an improvement on the old type, whilst the Baptist with his straggling locks and beard, his meagre and emaciated face and form, is but a repetition of a well-known model.[3] The Archangels, in the upper course, are striking for their long and lean shape;[4] the Saviour, in the central pinnacle, for a thin frame. A youthful face, broad at the cheeks, with hair clinging to the head till it falls on the shoulders, a lock on the forehead, are noticeable. The draperies are fine and simple, and the type expresses a soft tenderness without the weight or noble gravity of Giotto.[5] The Ecce Homo of the pediment is likewise noble, but only an improvement of the older mask in the Italian schools of past centuries, still however soft in character, though of sharp profiled features. S. Agnes, in her yellow dress shadowed in red, is one of Simone's usual graceful females.

This picture does not allow the spectator to forget that Simone was imperfect in expressing the idea of relief, but the tones are the most powerful, and at the same time the lightest that he ever produced on panel.[6]

[1] The hand with the book has been retouched.

[2] The hand is damaged as well as the background and nimbus.

[3] He holds a double cross in his left and raises his right arm. The finish is so minute that the hairs on the flesh are given. He wears the camel's-hair vest and a red mantle the lights of which are the white ground of the panel.

[4] This is a type and form which may be found repeated in a picture of the Siena Academy, proving the connection between Sienese art and that which distinguishes the frescoes assigned to Taddeo Gaddi at the Cappellone degli Spagnuoli in S. Maria Novella at Florence and the frescoes falsely assigned to Simone at the Campo Santo.

[5] Note the perfect horizontal straightness of the line of lower eyelids.

[6] The draperies are coloured in vivid keys and excessively transparent where the nature of the tint allowed the white ground to appear. The luxurious plenty of gold ornament and tracery is excessive and extends to the decoration of the frames. An improvement, as regards type, upon the old forms preserved by Duccio, the picture is executed with perfect finish.

Whilst Simone was thus sending in 1320 a capital example of his talent to the Dominicans of Pisa, he executed a similar commission about the same time for another Dominican convent; and it is on record that Trasmundo, the predicant bishop of Savona, caused an altarpiece, representing himself kneeling before the Virgin with attendant saints,[1] to be painted by Simone for the high altar of S. Domenico of Orvieto.[2] The picture, itself now in the Fabbricieria of the cathedral[3] without its pediment or pinnacles, is inscribed :

`. . . . . N DE SENIS ME PYNX.T . . . . D. MCCCXX. . . .[4]

The peculiar grace of the school is conspicuous at a high standard in this piece, which illustrates Simone's care in rendering figures on a small scale on panel. The affectation of attitude and action so marked in larger productions is not apparent, and nothing can exceed the minuteness with which the hair outlines and the details of locks and beard are realised. The dresses, in strong primary harmonies, are of the best kind and the colour, though slightly abraded in the flesh tints, is admirably fused in the verde, leaving still, however, a sense of flatness and general lowness of key.

Nor was this the only picture which the master produced for Orvieto,

[1] The Virgin and Child between SS. Mary Magdalen, Peter, Paul, and Dominic (half-lengths).

[2] MS. *Chron. Ined*, ex-convent of S. Domenico, at Orvieto. Trasmundo was of the Monaldeschi of Orvieto. He paid 100 florins for the picture.

[3] It had been to Paris and back at the Great Peace. [It is now in the Palazzo dell' Opera del Duomo.]

[4] It is doubtful whether the date may not be 1321.

Simone, in a graceful manner and after a fashion already used by Duccio, presents the Infant on its mother's arm holding the orb and scroll in its left (with the words "EGO SUM LUX MUNDI") and drawing together the sides of its mantle with its right hand. Maternal affection beams in the soft and regular features of the Virgin, gentleness in her slender figure. (The glazes of the Virgin's head are slightly abraded.) The green lining of a blue mantle peeps outward as it falls in folds from her forehead, which a transparent muslin partly veils. The more oval face of the Saviour discloses the character of age peculiar to Duccio more than Simone's previous one in the Sala del Consiglio at Siena. A certain gravity and weight, some immobility, characterise the form, owing, no doubt, to the purpose of impressing on the spectator the idea of Christ's majesty. The austere features of S. Peter with the book and keys at the Virgin's side are the traditional ones (S. Peter wears a yellow mantle over a blue tunic and the papal stole. Small portions of colour in this figure are gone), whilst the Magdalen near him contrasts as usual by a figure full of grace, a slender neck, a pleasing round head, and delicate hands protected from contact with a vase of ointment by a transparent veil. A red mantle drops from the head, like that of the Virgin, in well-turned folds. With her right hand she recommends the kneeling miniature of the Bishop of Savona, crozier in hand and mitred, in prayer at her feet. S. Paul, with the book and sword, has the long face and pointed beard of the old models. (The upper part of this figure is injured.) The nimbus of the Virgin and that of the Infant, engraved with the usual scriptural passages, the beautifully stamped ornament of the trefoil arches over each figure, disclose the patient care and minuteness, as well as the fondness for gilt decorations peculiar to the Sienese.

a city as remarkable for the possession of great Sienese examples in architecture, sculpture and painting as Assisi had been for Florentine works. Another Virgin and Child, under a trefoil arch at whose sides two angels [1] are depicted in medallions, whilst the Saviour is placed in benediction between a blue cherub and a red seraph [2] in three triangular pinnacles, fill an altarpiece by Simone which remained in the sacristy of the Chiesa de' Gesuiti at Orvieto till it was lately transferred to the Opera del Duomo. Though but recently acknowledged as a work of the master, and unauthenticated by a signature, this Madonna belongs to the same period as the foregoing and is equally fine.[3]

Less interesting because of the great injury it has sustained is a third altarpiece of the Virgin and saints by Simone, purchased some years since from a church at Orvieto by the Cavaliere Mazzocchi of that city. Simone displays his feeling for tenderness and grace in the attitude of the infant Saviour patting the chin of the Virgin and striving to take a flower from her right hand.[4]

It is not in Orvieto, however, but in Assisi that we find Simone executing frescoes. To the former city the master perhaps sent his altarpieces from Siena. At Assisi he laboured in person; nor was it unnatural that a man of his talent and fame should think with some pride of rivalling on their own ground the greatest Florentines, and of breaking a lance with Giotto. There, much more than at Avignon, Simone sought to lavish on his work all the exquisite finish and freshness of power which he possessed; and in the frescoes which he executed for Cardinal Gentile [5] in the great basilica, his figures, and

[1] With double wings inscribed "TRONI," and holding orb and sceptre.

[2] The angel to the left carrying two tapers, is dressed in red and inscribed "SERAF," the other in blue with a book, "CHERUB."

[3] The same graceful group is formed by the Infant and its mother. The Saviour in benediction is more modern in type than that of the Siena fresco, but still in its essentials the usual one which Simone constantly preserved during the whole of his career. (Beneath him the Alpha and Omega.) Damaged in its lower part and injured in spots by dropping, the picture preserves its wax varnish and glazes.

[4] The Virgin in blue mantle lined with white, the Saviour in a red mantle. In four side panels, S. John the Baptist, a female saint, the Magdalen, and S. Paul are depicted. In the pinnacle above the first, an angel sounds a trumpet; above the second, an angel bears the cross, the crown of thorns, the sponge and nails; whilst above the third, a similar figure carries the column and flail, and one blowing a trumpet appears over the all but obliterated S. Paul. In the gable the Saviour shows the lance wound. [This polyptych is now in the collection of Mrs. J. L. Gardner, Boston, U.S.A. MR. BERENSON and MR. PERKINS ascribe it to Lippo Memmi (see *Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, an. i. (1905), fasc. ii.]

[5] The Franciscan, Gentile de Montefloris, was made cardinal by Boniface VIII. in 1298, and employed by Clement V. and Benedict XI. He was legate of Hungary. Unfortunately the dates of his missions are not given, nor is there any certainty as to the year of his death. It is said, however, that he died at Avignon, whence his body was taken for burial to Assisi. [*Cf.* FRATINI, *St. della*

chiefly those which represent saints in the thickness of the window of the chapel, are finished with the minuteness already conspicuous in the altarpieces of Orvieto.

It may be necessary to premise, however, that Vasari, in a few observations which he makes in the life of Giotto[1] respecting the pupils of that master, pretends that Cardinal Gentile ordered of Puccio Capanna the frescoes which decorate his chapel of S. Martin at Assisi. The blunder of confounding a purely Sienese work, the finest of its kind, with those of a direct disciple of Giotto is hardly conceivable, but not the less evident; for although no records justify the belief that Simone painted this chapel, and no mention is made of the time in which this occurred, the style of Simone is so indelibly impressed upon the pictures that no doubt can possibly exist as to the author. Simone therefore decorated the whole of the chapel with scenes from the legend of S. Martin, filling not merely the forepart which is arched, but the inner portion which has a groined ceiling, with ten subjects, the lunette above the entrance with the consecration of Gentile, and the sides of the windows with figures of saints. As guardians of the sanctity of the place, eight holy personages stand in niches in the vaulting of the pointed entrance way.[2] In a double course, beginning at the base of the side to the left of the entrance, the incidents of S. Martin's life are depicted.

In the first of these, S. Martin on horseback saws at his cloak, whose skirt is held by a beggar on the left.[3] The drawing of the horse, outlined and shaded with a preparation of brown, and the nude of the stiff and ill-conceived beggar remain. Nor can it be concealed that in the hard form, defective outline and unready action of the figure, Simone showed more anxiety to study natural developments of flesh and muscle than a noble form. A vulgar realistic anatomy, not a grand conception of shape and proportion, is the result.

Basilica di S. Francesco in Assisi (Prato, 1882), p. 96. Cardinal Gentile Partino da Montefiore founded two chapels in the Lower Church of S. Francesco, this of S. Martino, and that opposite to it which was dedicated to S. Louis of France. He seems to have died in Lucca c. 1312, and his body was brought thence to Assisi, and interred in the chapel of S. Louis in S. Francesco. *Cf.* also AGNES GOSCHE, *op. cit.*, who says that the years 1318–20, 1322–25/26, and 1333–39 are those in which there is a scarcity of documents relating to Simone. She concludes that the third period was that in which he laboured in S. Francesco.]

[1] VASARI, vol. i., p. 337.

[2] S. Chiara by the side of Elizabeth of Hungary, above them S. Louis Rex and S. Louis of Toulouse; on the opposite side, S. Mary Magdalen by the side of S. Catherine of Alexandria, and above them, S. Anthony and S. Francis.

[3] The blue mantle has almost lost its colour, the shadows and the red predaration appearing.

Next, the saint appears smiling in sleep and sees the vision of Christ.[1] Simone had already changed to some extent since he painted the Redeemer in benediction in the Sala del Consiglio at Siena. He gives the Saviour at Assisi a simple and regular form, a soft expression, without muscular protuberances of brow or an angular and depressed nose. He makes a nearer approach to the types which Giotto had left hard by in the transept of the basilica, and creates one more distinct from his own and Duccio's previous conceptions.[2] In this sense Vasari was right, if he intended to affirm that Giotto extended some of his influence to the Sienese master, though literally he had no authority for stating that Simone was Giotto's pupil.

In the left side of the third fresco,[3] where S. Martin refuses the donative, Julian wears the antique Roman costume and affects a certain classicism. The movements of the fingers of the hand, stretched forth and holding the baton, is the caricature of defects which became conspicuous later in the followers of Michael Angelo, and is characteristic in Agostino di Federigo.[4] It would seem, indeed, as if false classicism clung more or less to the Sienese school from its very first beginning, and it is curious to note in the same old painters the types of the declining Byzantine Italian manner, and the mannerisms of the Michaelangelesque imitators of the sixteenth century. A wasp-like shape given to the joints of the fingers by Simone, shows a conventionalism hardly to be expected in so early an artist.

The sequel of the interview with Julian is told in the next picture, differently from the narrative in the common legend. S. Martin receives the sword from the Cæsar,[5] whilst an attendant buckles spurs

[1] To the left behind the bed, the Saviour, wearing the piece of mantle cut from the cloak and given to the beggar, turns towards the angel near Him, and points with a convulsive energy in the stretch of arm and fingers to the sleeper; whilst the angel bends forward with his arms crossed on his breast and looks at S. Martin.

[2] The angels forming a glory round the Saviour are at the same time of a noble stature, slender in the neck, graceful and birdlike in profiles and expressing penetration in their soft glance; but, whilst some are plump and fat, others are lean: and the grace which the master usually gives to females and angels is not equal throughout, so that he is not free from the general charge of incoherence in style that may be truly made against all the painters of his country.

[3] Lower course to the right on entering the chapel. Three soldiers stand by a fourth, who counts the sum of an imperial donative, whilst the Emperor Julian, with the staff of command in his hand, is seated on a Roman chair. S. Martin, holding the cross in his left hand, points to it with his right and pleads for permission to take orders, in a lame and affected attitude. (To the left is a background of tents and horses. To the right of a high rock in the centre distance stand soldiers and a camp.) His frame is small, and action exaggerated.

[4] In Loggia della Mercanzia at Siena, for instance. [*Cf.* VENTURI, *op. cit.*, p. 607, *note* 1.]

[5] Julian stands on the left of the picture.

on his feet and a third holds a hat on a pole.[1] This almost colourless scene is laid in an interior; and the figures have similar peculiarities to the previous ones. It may be remarked, in addition, that the proportions of distant and nearer figures are not maintained; that some heads are large and coarse, whilst others have fair profiles; and that, in general, the costumes are more curious than appropriate. Taking the second course in the same order as the first, we find a much injured representation of the Resurrection of the Boy, at whose sides S. Martin, two grieving females and spectators kneel.[2] The next fresco is sufficiently well preserved to display regular forms in true and natural shape, pleasant features with a gentle expression. The saint, in episcopals, sits in thought as if pondering over the words of a kneeling servant reading to him from a book. An attendant strives to attract his attention by touching his shoulder. Valentinian in the next scene kneels at the feet of the saint, who motions him to rise; and the group thus formed is powerful in action and expression.[3] Passing by the vision of two angels to S. Martin at the altar, which forms the subject of the next compartment,[4] the eye is arrested by the mournful episode of the saint's death on a couch surrounded by kneeling monks. One of them takes the hand of the corpse, whilst another looks grieving at it, and the clergy read a funeral service at the head. In the upper spaces, four angels carry the soul to heaven. Simone clearly remains true to the old types, presenting in the angel's features a contrast of the strongest kind with other figures of the same class in the vision of Christ to the sleeping saint. The last fresco of the series shows S. Martin recumbent on a tomb, in a church filled with clergy and people singing the funeral service. At the head a relic presented by a bishop is embraced by one of the bystanders. At the feet stand the priests and congregation.[5] Cardinal Gentile in the lunette above the door, in frock and cowl, his red hat lying on a balustrade in the Gothic church which forms the background, is raised from his kneeling position by S. Martin.[6] Natural movement marks this well-arranged group; and Simone shows that he excelled in portraiture, keeping art at a higher level when he had but two figures and a simple action to delineate, than when struggling with the diffi-

[1] One behind the Emperor carries a hawk on his fist, and two others behind the saint play a mandolin and pipes. S. Martin himself lifts his head and arms to heaven.

[2] About fifteen figures in all.

[3] The colour of this piece is in parts abraded.

[4] The two angels present a cloth to S. Martin, behind whom a kneeling figure holds a taper.

[5] Here and there the colour is gone.

[6] A split in the wall injures this fresco.

Hermann.

ANGEL OF THE ANNUNCIATION

SIMONE MARTINI. Antwerp Museum.

Hermann.

MADONNA AT ANNUNCIATION

SIMONE MARTINI.

Antwerp Museum.

culties of a more complicated subject. Fine draperies and lightness of colour give an additional charm to the scene.[1] The half-lengths in the sides of the windows, separated from each other by an ornament and the arms of Cardinal Gentile, are the finest that Simone ever executed, being finished with great care and impressed with a stamp of nature, truth and force, unusually combined in his works.[2] The designs of the coloured glass in the windows represent S. Martin in episcopals and the Cardinal kneeling, the name " GENTILIS CARDINAL " being inscribed beneath.

The spectator reluctantly admits, after carefully studying the decorations of the chapel, that Simone had not attained the perfect laws of equilibrium in composition, and that he was thus ignorant of a maxim which peculiarly distinguished the great Florentines of his time. The subjects maintain their interest because of their comparative realism,[3] many figures, if separately viewed and analysed showing a certain study of nature, but, in their connection with the rest, wanting simplicity. A coarse vigour of expression in some type cast in the old and consecrated mould, contrasts with pleasanter and more natural features in others. Simone had not that consistent equality and unity of power which Giotto possessed. His style was a series of contradictions. In single figures or portraits he excelled ; in action and incident he was frequently lame and exaggerated.[4] Enough original colour remains to show that in technical execution he was of superior merit, but he is still minute to a fault and, as usual, gives but slight relief to his picture by light and shade.[5]

[1] Of the saints in the entrance arch, S. Chiara is not without grace, but her movement is affected. Still as a single figure she pleases more than the neighbouring one, S. Elizabeth of Hungary, a fat-cheeked person, with an aquiline profile, a long neck heavily wrinkled beneath the chin, and an inordinately small head. (Dressed in a red mantle shot with gold, holding her tunic with her left hand, wearing her hair in puffs.) The Magdalen, balancing the vase on the tips of her fingers, recalls to mind, in old styled gravity and draperies, certain figures of the fresco in the Sala del Consiglio at Siena. (The colour of her dress is gone, and the red preparation alone is visible.) S. Catherine is the most noble and graceful of all these saints; S. Francis, inspired and full of dignity.

[2] Some have unfortunately been injured.

[3] [But the charm of Simone has nothing to do with "realism." The authors seem never to have felt the sheer beauty of line in his work, his extraordinary charm as a mere artist. *Cf.* BERENSON, *Central Italian Painters*, p. 46 *et seq.*]

[4] The draperies never want sweep, but that is a quality which Simone inherited from earlier centuries.

[5] The painter, who expended on a fresco the minute attention of a miniaturist, uses the white ground for the high light, indicating the half tones and shadows with a liquid grey, fusing these and the red outlines into a warm yellow light, and glazing the whole sparely, so that no trace of that patchiness which sometimes disfigures temperas can be found. The several subjects are enclosed in feigned ornament, at the corners of which lozenges are filled with figures of

Though Vasari affirms that Puccio painted a chapel evidently by Simone, he admits the presence of the latter at Assisi, when stating, truly in this instance, that he began certain figures of the Virgin, Louis of France and other saints by the altar of S. Elizabeth in the southern transept of the Lower Church.[1] These half-lengths, eight in number, low down in the end of the transept to the right of the door leading into the Cappella Orsini, and partly on the western corner, are all good; and, though damaged or abraded, are well coloured in a beautifully fused rosy yellow tone. Simone's usual flatness and absence of relief prevail, but the most remarkable feature in the paintings is the exquisite drawing of the light-red outlines, and the details of hair, beard and ornament in dress and nimbus. Each of the latter is stamped with a new pattern;—one with a garland of flowers, another with human heads as blossoms to a tracery of roses, a third with oak-leaves, a fourth with suns and moons, Simone illustrating in these figures the oriental taste exclusively in fashion at Siena, and the carefulness in secondary paths of art which made Sienese painters forget the great maxims of composition.[2]

At what precise period Simone laboured at Assisi is uncertain, but published Sienese records confirm, at least, such a diary as the following.

In 1321 he repaired the fresco of the Sala del Consiglio at Siena, and painted a Virgin and saints and a Crucifixion above the altar in the chapel of the "Signori Nove."[3] During 1322 he decorated the Loggia of the Palazzo del Comune, painted a S. Christopher in the Biccherna and a shield of arms for the Podestà.[4] After his marriage in 1324, he painted

angels. The colour is gone from these frescoes in many parts, and some of the outlines are marked out afresh with coal. This has happened particularly to the fresco of S. Martin before Julian, and to the Magdalen in the arch of the entrance. It is needless, perhaps, to point out that such treatment of valuable frescoes by modern copyists is unpardonable. Yet this lining of figures for the sake of copies was done by draughtsmen sent from Rome with the permission of the Academy, and these so-called artists, but real Vandals, destroyed, under pretence of perpetuating, the wall paintings of S. Martin.

[1] VASARI, vol. ii., p. 96. He also states that Simone painted, or rather commenced to paint, in the great refectory at Assisi; but these beginnings have long since disappeared. Besides the saints enumerated by Vasari there are SS. Francis, Louis Bishop, Elizabeth of Hungary, a male and two females.

[2] Lippo is said to have completed this work which Simone left unfinished (VASARI, vol. ii., p. 96), but no one can distinguish two hands in it. Still Simone may have been assisted here as in the chapel of Cardinal Gentile, either by Lippo or his brother Donato, for we know at any rate that the former was frequently his assistant.

[3] *Doc. Sen.*, vol. i., p. 217. This picture was seen by Della Valle scattered through the rooms of the Palazzo. *Vide Lett. Sen.*, vol. ii., p. 88. The painter received in payment 40 gold florins.

[4] *Lett. Sen.*, vol. ii., p. 88. 26 livres 8 soldi for the first, 20 livres 3 soldi for the S. Christopher.

(1325-6) a picture for the Palace of the Capitano del Popolo,[1] and later in the same year (Sep. 1326) he seems to have put in order or repaired some of the city possessions in Arcidosso, Castello del Piano and Scanzano, being allowed by the government the hire of a horse and the service of an infantry soldier.[2]

Simone evidently kept a regular *bottega*, not contemning orders for such things as lilies of gold, lions for the arms of the Commune or people, and ornamental works generally.[3]

In 1328 he painted in the Sala del Consiglio a fresco representing the equestrian figure of Guidoriccio Fogliani de' Ricci, the victorious general of Montemassi and Sasso Forte.[4] Siena thus boasts at the present time of two frescoes by Simone. Of pictures by the master it might have been said hitherto that his native city possessed none, for the panels of the Gallery are not only unworthy of him, but they would hardly do honour to Lippo. There is, however, a picture, fine enough to be his, of the Beato Agostino Novello and incidents from his life, high up in the choir of the church of S. Agostino. Should it be a question, however, whether he or Lippo painted it, one might affirm that, if by the latter, it is the best he ever produced, and one in which he successfully equalled his great relative. Full of animation and of bold movement in the figures, the incidental scenes are quite characteristic of Simone's style, and the whole work is coloured in the softest and most harmonious manner.[5]

[1] This is mentioned by VASARI, vol. ii., p. 88, and is not now to be seen. Simone received for it 5 florins at 3 livres 7 soldi 8 den. per florin, and later 13 livres 1 soldi 8 den.

[2] Ibid., same page. His pay for this was 8 livres 1 soldi 15 den. for seven days. [*Cf.* AGNES GOSCHE and MILANESI, *Documenti*, vol. i., p. 217.]

[3] VASARI, same page. 30 livres, for 720 double gold lilies worth 10 den. each; 3 livres 4 soldi for 16 double lions at 16 soldi a piece.

[4] Ibid., same page. He received for this fresco 16 florins. From the floor the figure, occupying the whole extent of the wall, appears of life size, and sits nobly on a well-designed and well-proportioned horse in the heavy panoply of the time. As a portrait painter Simone shows his talent in the reproduction of a stout soldier of fine stature and mature age in profile. A head of simple form is well rendered and modelled with great breadth; and the colour, though it has lost freshness, is powerful and pleasing. A chevaux de frise in front of a rock is commanded by a castle. A second fortified building and a camp are in the distance to the right.

[5] The three parts of this picture are enclosed in an arched rectangle, each of the parts being arched and cusped. In the centre, the saint stands nearly life size, holding a book, receiving inspiration from an angel at his ear. The incidents at the sides are six in number. In the spandrils of the central niche are two medallions with half-figures of monks. A Latin inscription declares the subject, and states that the picture was formerly in an altar of the old church of S. Agostino. The *Siena Guide* of 1822, by Guido Mucci, assigns the panel to Lippo Memmi.

[This is a late work by Simone Martini according to the *Cicerone* of BURCKHARDT, BERENSON, LUCY OLCOTT, and the majority of modern critics. VENTURI, however (*op. cit.*, p. 667), gives it to Lippo Memmi, following

The year 1329 still saw Simone busy in Siena painting in August two angels for the altar of the chapel of the "Signori Nove," [1] decorating buildings for the Commune at Siena and in l'Ansedonia.[2] In 1329–30 he painted a figure in the "Concistoro de' Nove." [3] In 1331–32 he worked occasionally in the Palazzo del Comune, at Arcidosso and Castel del Piano, and he executed the pedestal of a Cross in the chapel of the "Nove." [4]

In 1333 Simone completed for the altar of S. Ansano in the Duomo, with the assistance of Lippo, the Annunciation now preserved in the Uffizi at Florence.[5]

The name of Lippo joins that of Simone in the inscription, yet the presence of two hands cannot be traced in the picture, and apparently the ornamental part, which is superabundant, and began at this time to take an exaggerated place in Sienese pictures, was by Simone's brother-in-law. This is proved indeed by the record, which states that in 1333 Lippo had seventy florins of gold for adorning "the columns and nimbuses of the altarpiece of San Sano." [6]

Tizio [7] relates, and Ghiberti confirms,[8] that Simone adorned the front of a space on the square of the Paparoni at Siena, with a fresco which, according to the former, represented the Virgin and Child with saints, and according to the latter a Coronation of the Virgin.[9] Above

thus GUIDO MUCCI'S *Guide to Siena* (1822). LANGTON DOUGLAS also gives the execution of the work to Lippo Memmi, but allows that Simone had a hand in the design. See his *History of Siena*, p. 362. F. M. PERKINS agrees with him.]

[1] *Doc. Sen.*, vol. i., p. 217. Price 1 livre 5 soldi.

[2] Ibid., same page. Fifteen days' labour at 15 soldi per diem. Total 22 livres 10 soldi.

[3] Ibid. For 4 livres 5 soldi.

[4] Ibid. For the pedestal 3 gold florins, for the rest 22 livres 8 soldi.

[5] Ibid. [No. 23 Uffizi Cat.] Vasari mentions a second picture executed for the Duomo, but of this nothing is known. *Vide* VASARI, vol. ii., p. 88. The Virgin, in the act of receiving the angel, but shrinking with a sidelong action and with affected softness of motion from him, is rendered with an extraordinary exaggeration of tenderness in the close lids and hardly apparent iris of the eyes. The angel is presented kneeling in a dress and stole, all engraved with embroidery in relief, and the words issuing from his mouth are given in a similar manner. This is a picture whose affected tenderness might well have had influence on the school of mystic painters. On one side S Ansano, on the other S. Giulitta. In medallions above each figure a prophet. The picture is vertically split and restored, so that the figure of the angel is injured. The picture was still in Siena in Della Valle's time. *Vide Lett. Sen.*, vol. ii., p. 83. Beneath the central group the following words are inscribed:—"SYMON MARTINI ET LIPPUS MEMMI DE SENIS ME PINXERUNT ANNO DOMINI M.CCCXXXIII."

[6] Ibid., vol. i., p. 218. The whole picture cost 316 livres 17 soldi. [LANGTON DOUGLAS, *History of Siena*, p. 361, gives the two saints on either side of the central scene to Lippo Memmi.]

[7] In *Doc. Sen.*, *ubi sup.*, vol. i., p. 259. Della Valle adds the date given by Tizio as 1331.

[8] GHIBERTI, *Comm.*, *ubi sup.*, vol. i. of VASARI, p. xxvi.

[9] This fresco is doubtless that which Ghiberti describes as executed "*sopra alla Porta che va a Roma.*" Vasari, literally interpreting Ghiberti, says the fresco

the door of the Opera (of the Duomo), adds Ghiberti, a Virgin and Child, with angels flying and supporting a standard, besides many saints,[1] was by Simone. On the front of a palace facing the Duomo, if we believe Della Valle, he painted the Virgin and Redeemer on a common throne, surrounded by a glory of angels, and guarded below by four saints in niches. An inscription beneath the fresco was obliterated with the exception of the words "ANNO DOMINI 1335."[2] Ghiberti also alludes to two frescoes on the front of the Spedale at Siena, which, like the foregoing, have perished. One representing the Marriage of the Virgin, the other "how she is visited by many dames and virgins, with ornaments of houses and figures."[3]

The Naples picture, whose signature has already been transcribed in these pages,[4] decorates an altar in the church of S. Lorenzo Maggiore, and is enclosed in a frame adorned with the lilies of France. S. Louis, archbishop of Toulouse, of life size, sits in gentle majesty with the mitre on his head and a crozier in his right hand; and with his left holds a crown over the head of his kneeling brother, Robert of Naples. The colour is throughout abraded, and nothing is left but the engraved outline and the preparation.[5]

It may be noticed that up to 1335 Simone seems very constantly to have resided at Siena, and that there are no proofs of his presence at a distance from his native city except Assisi.[6] Ghiberti alludes to

was on the Portone di Camollia, that being the gate which "leads to Rome," but the paintings on that gate were of a later date, as is proved by MILANESI, *Doc. Sen.*, vol. i., p. 259.

[1] Ibid., same page; and VASARI, vol. ii., p. 89.

[2] DELLA VALLE, *Lett. Sen.*, vol. ii., p. 98. It is supposed that this and the Virgin above the door of the Opera of the Duomo were one and the same fresco. *Vide annot. to* VASARI, vol. ii., *note* 1 to p. 89.

[3] GHIBERTI, *ubi sup.*; VASARI, vol. i., p. xxvi.

[4] *Vide antea*, Giotto.

[5] Two diminutive angels flying above S. Louis hold over his head the crown of sanctity. Five small compartments, into which the pediment is divided, are devoted by Simone to the life of S. Louis. In the first he stands with his suite of monks before Boniface VIII. In the second he receives the episcopal consecration, and in the third he washes the hands of several pilgrims. His death, with priests singing the service at his head, a cripple and a female possessed of a devil held by a man in the foreground, recall one of the animated compositions at Assisi. In the last compartment a miracle is depicted, S. Louis to the right receiving a child, and to the left appearing to its parents. The compositions seem to be of the period when the Assisi frescoes were executed, the figures being a long and slender shape and akin to those of Pietro Lorenzetti. [Mr. Perkins and Mr. Douglas look upon the Naples picture as considerably earlier than the frescoes at Assisi, which most modern critics ascribe to the latter half of Simone's career.]

[6] Vasari says that Lippo finished in S. Niccola of Ancona a series of the Passion commenced by Simone. Yet Simone can hardly have left as many unfinished pictures as Vasari pretends. *Vide*, vol. ii., p. 96.

[It seems more than likely that Simone visited Naples, though it cannot be proved. *Cf. l'Arte* (series iii.), an. iii. (1900), p. 279 *et seq.* In 1317 King Robert

no pictures at Rome or at Florence, and the remains in the former capital do not confirm the assertion of Vasari that Simone painted there. The Virgin and Child in the portico of S. Peter,[1] a S. Paul and S. Peter in the Vatican are not now discoverable.[2] The Virgin and Child is indeed said to exist in the chapel of the Madonna della Bocciata in the "Grotte" of the Vatican, but it is so ruined that no one can tell whether it be or not by Simone.[3]

An altarpiece executed for the Dominicans of S. Catherine has been noticed in Pisa; this, however, had been commissioned at Siena. In the Museo of Pisa a figure of S. Nicholas enthroned [4] discloses some characteristic features of Simone, though its inferior execution and old type might point to the feebler talent of Lippo. The frescoes assigned to Simone in the Campo Santo are obviously by another hand.

Above the architrave, inside the eastern gate of that burial place, vestiges are preserved of an Assumption of the Virgin. The Madonna, with her hands united in prayer,[5] is carried to heaven in an elliptical glory, held by the Saviour and supported by twelve angels in groups of three.[6] The painting, altered by time and repainting, is Sienese, but lower in execution than that of even Lippo Memmi, and therefore neither by him nor by Simone. It is poor and different in manner from the series in the Campo Santo attributed to the same hand. Yet

of Naples granted Simone Martini a pension. See SCHUTZ, *Denkmaler der Kunst des Mittelalters in Unteritalien*, vol. iii., p. 165, who gives the document (July 23).]

[1] VASARI, vol. ii., p. 87.

[2] Ibid., same page. These are the figures in which Simone is said to have counterfeited Giotto's manner so perfectly that he was called to Avignon! Lanzi does not dare to deny, though he seems inclined to doubt, that Simone should have imitated Giotto. *Vide Hist. of Painting, ubi sup.*, vol. i., p. 279.

[3] A "Redeemer in the act of benediction," being a triangular pinnacle of some altarpiece in the style of the master, may be seen in the first press to the right in the Museo Cristiano of the Vatican (with a background regilt and figure retouched). In the eighth press of the same Museum a very pretty picture represents the Saviour Crucified and receiving the lance wound from Longinus, the Virgin in a swoon on one side and the usual groups in the other. (The Virgin lies here on the ground in a swoon—an innovation on the arrangement of Duccio.) Medallions in the upper spaces contain the Pelican, SS. Luke and John Evangelist. A pediment is filled with half-length saints, amongst whom are SS. Francis and John the Baptist. The figure of the Saviour, one of the best in the picture, reveals the manner and spirit of Simone. [Berenson, F. M. Perkins, and Sirèn all give the first of these two works to Simone, and unite in ascribing the second to Lippo Memmi rather than to Simone.]

[4] [Sala III., No. 24.] In episcopals, holding a book and cross. [Mr. Perkins considers this to be a work of Lippo.]

[5] Originally painted with her arms crossed over her breast, as the older and better forms still appear beneath the modern and ugly red ones now conspicuous.

[6] Of these, three to the right are almost entirely new, whilst to the left the intonaco has dropped away. The forms of the remainder betray a certain feebleness and are characterised by coarse and heavy forms.

Vasari enthusiastically and incomprehensibly praises it.[1] We may inquire with what right he assigns to Simone the three upper frescoes of the series devoted to the legend of S. Raineri. They illustrate the earliest incidents in the career of the Pisan saint:

Raineri is represented in the first fresco to the left, arrested in the middle of a dance of men and women by a matron who, singling him out of a crowd, calls upon him to follow the example of the good and pious Beato Alberto. Here is a characteristic circular dance of females like those of Lorenzetti at Siena, and others at S. Maria Novella; and a man in a hood, looking on, resembles the so-called Cimabue in the fresco of the Cappellone. In the next episode the saint, kneeling at the feet of Alberto, receives the rays of the Holy Ghost which, in the shape of a dove, hovers over him.[2] Finally Raineri, kneeling between a nimbed personage and a female, receives a blessing from the Saviour, who appears to him in a church. In the second grand compartment, Raineri's journey on board ship to the Holy Land and his miraculously ill-scented freight are represented. Several persons stand about an open case, one of them looking into it and holding his nose, whilst he shades his eyes with his hand; another starting back with a gesture of disgust and holding his nostrils, the saint, with a natural movement and soft expression of countenance, commenting on the miracle and, as it were, explaining that worldly goods stink in the nostrils of God.[3] On the land to which the vessel is sailing, the Saviour again appears to Raineri, who, further on, distributes alms and assumes the garb of a pilgrim. Finally the Virgin, surrounded by six angels, makes her appearance on a throne.[4] The third fresco is devoted to five different incidents, the temptation of S. Raineri by Lucifer, the devil retiring and appearing in the air with the form of the pilgrim in his arms, then heaving a stone at him as he stands in prayer. The saint is then seen taming two lionesses[5] and kneeling before the vision of Christ, between Moses and Elias and a glory of angels.[6] Lastly Raineri, at the door of the monastery, asks for rest and hospitality, and afterwards distributes his miraculous alms.

These greatly damaged frescoes[7] are by a painter of Simone's school and spirit, imitating at least his mode of composition, but

[1] VASARI, vol. ii., pp. 91, 92. [VENTURI (*op. cit.*, vol. v., p. 663 *et seq.*) warmly praises this work, and gives it to Lippo Memmi. OSVALD SIRÉN (*Giottino*, Leipzig, 1908, p. 20) ascribes it to "Stefano Fiorentine." Perkins considers it a fairly late work produced under Lippo Memmi's and Simone's influence, but not by a native Sienese painter.]

[2] A friar contemplates the scene from the opening of a door. This fresco has been much repainted by the brothers Melani. *Vide* ROSINI, *Campo Santo*. The distance is architectural, with small figures.

[3] This is one of the best preserved figures in the fresco. In the water, fishes disport themselves.

[4] These angels are less damaged than other figures.

[5] These are very strange and quite ideal specimens of the feline tribe.

[6] These are all but obliterated.

[7] Damaged by time and by restoring.

making no approach to his perfection of execution. A wearying repetition of the same heads, figures and action, a perpetual recurrence of the same conventionally drawn features, such as half-closed drowsy eyes, low foreheads, brows bridging the nose, and beards of a pointed shape, reveal a painter of no versatility. A vulgar and low nature is betrayed in the nude; broken attitudes are indicated by straight or angular lines; the easy flow of drapery conspicuous in the Sienese has disappeared. A melancholy and equal tone overspreads a surface of a thick and rough texture; opacity has taken the place of Simone's liveliness and vigour. The yellowish flesh tints, shadowed in red, are defective in relief; the draperies of undecided tones are copiously adorned with arabesques of the same colour, and the drawing is rude, mechanical, and coarse. Damaged by time and by restorers, the series is remarkable for the total absence of all Simone's qualities; and if it should appear that the compositions were originally his, the execution will surely be found to have been that of a later painter of an inferior order. Happily evidence proves conclusively enough that the frescoes of S. Raineri at Pisa were only commenced thirty years after Simone's death. The book of receipts and expenditure of the Campo Santo contains a discharge from the painter Andrea di Florentia, acknowledging the payment of five hundred and twenty-nine livres ten pence of Pisa, being the balance of a sum due to him for painting the story of the Beato Raineri; and it seems that this Andrea, a Florentine, was commissioned to execute these stories by Piero Gambacorta; that he bore the title of "*pictor opere*," lived in a house in close proximity to the works upon which he had to labour, and that the payment was made on the 13th of October 1377/1378 (Pisan style).[1] Three years later, the series being still incomplete, a message was sent to Genoa to Barnabà da Modena, requesting him to come and finish it;[2] Barnabà came, but he seems to have added little or nothing to the work of Andrea; and the series was successfully brought to a conclusion in 1386 by Antonio Veneziano.[3] Judging artistically of the three upper frescoes of S. Raineri at the Campo Santo, they would appear to have been executed by a painter taught in the Sienese rather than in the Florentine school, yet Andrea is described as of Florence. It is not with Andrea Orcagna that we have here to deal, as there is proof that he was dead in 1376.[4] But the choice lies

[1] See the original records in BONAINI, *Not. Ined.*, pp. 105–6.
[2] BONAINI, *ubi sup.*, pp. 141, 142.
[3] *Vide antea*, Antonio Veneziano.
[4] *Vide antea*, Orcagna.

between the following, whose names are on the roll of Florentine artists or in other records of the fourteenth century :—

Andrea Ferri, 1347[1] and 1357. Andrea del Passano,[2] 1363, Andrea Bonaiuti, 1374.[3] Andrea di Mito, 1377–1415.[4] Andrea di Puccino, 1367.[5] Andrea di Currado, 1379.[6] Andrea Ristori, 1353, 1391, called, in his funeral inscription at S. Maria Novella, Andrea Ristori de Mugello.[7] Were this Andrea connected with the Cioni through Ristori, the brother of Orcagna, another link between Sienese and Florentine painters might be traced.[8] It may be interesting now to see whether Florence yields an example presupposing that combination.

Simone is said by Vasari to have painted at Florence the chapter-house of the convent of S. Spirito, and the chapterhouse of S. Maria Novella, better known as the Cappellone dei Spagnuoli.[9] The time when the frescoes of S. Spirito were painted has already been fixed at about 1339 and 1346,[10] when Simone was absent from Italy. One of the subjects which decorated the chapter-house was exactly the same that now adorns the Cappellone of S. Maria Novella. Following Vasari's train of thought in the life of Simone, one may see that he assigned the frescoes of S. Spirito, those of the Cappellone, and those of the Campo Santo to one hand, because they had all a Sienese character, and preserved a reminiscence of Simone Martini's style.[11] The Dominicans gave to the painter whom they employed at the Cappellone dei Spagnuoli the subjects which he was to depict; and he endeavoured to demonstrate in one vast picture a theory which found many opponents in the fourteenth, more in later centuries. He illustrated the theme, that Paradise is to be attained through humble devotion to the Church, temporal and spiritual, and especially by confessing the doctrines enforced by the founders of the Inquisition.

To the left of the picture on the eastern wall of the chapel, the militant Church is symbolised by S. Maria del Fiore on the original model of Arnolfo. In front of it, Pope Benedict XI. on a terraced throne, presides over a

[1] BONAINI, *ubi sup.*, p. 106.
[2] Ibid., and GAYE, *Carteggio*, vol. ii., p. 36. [3] Ibid. [4] Ibid.
[5] GAYE, *ubi sup.*, vol. ii., p. 37. [6] BONAINI, *ubi sup.*, p. 106; Ibid.
[7] The date of Andrea's inscription in the register of painters at Florence is given as 1333 by BONAINI, *ubi sup.*, p. 106, as 1353 by GAYE, vol. ii., p. 37.
[8] [The powerful influence exercised by Sienese art upon the Orcagna and many other Florentine painters of the Trecento is now fully recognised by most critics.]
[9] VASARI, vol. ii., pp. 89 and 117. [10] *Vide antea*, Taddeo Gaddi.
[11] The frescoes of S. Spirito were destroyed in Vasari's time. *Vide* VASARI, vol. ii., p. 89. [Remains of a huge fresco representing the Crucifixion are still to be seen in what was probably the chapter-house of S. Spirito (now a sculptor's studio). They are ascribed by SIRÈN (*Giottino*, p. 30 *et seq.*) to Giottino.]

cardinal, a bishop, an emperor,[1] a king,[2] and a prince occupying chairs at each side of him. The flock of the Church before them is expressed by sheep on an altar, the irrefragable truth of Church doctrine by groups at the sides, including monks, nuns, knights, and dames in prayer or in thought before a preaching bishop, and numbers of persons of various classes or conditions, of divers ages and sex. Here the painter had, it was said, introduced Cimabue in profile and wearing the hood and short mantle, Arnolfo, Petrarch, and Laura, with a burning heart.[3] Yet we may inquire what inducement the Dominicans could have to immortalise a poet who had written that the Pope, the Emperor, the bishop, and the prince enthroned hard by and triumphant, "had abdicated their station by an inglorious retreat to the Rhone and Danube;"[4] or if Simone were the painter of the picture, how he could have obtained the portrait of a lady whom he had not yet seen.[5] But the triumph of the Church owed its accomplishment to S. Dominic, who, accordingly, appears in the centre foreground directing the onslaught of his Order, in the shape of black and white dogs, upon the wolves who would rob the Church of its lambs. To the right again he reasons with heretics and preaches to unbelievers. Above this series of groups expressing the triumph and the power of the Church militant and S. Dominic, others are intended to show the happiness awaiting those who practise obedience to their doctrines. To the right, a dance of three females is timed to the cymbals of a playing girl, and a circular one moves to the sound of a pipe in presence of four persons of both sexes seated with viols, falcons, and dogs. The latter group, in front of a hill overshadowed by trees, recalls to mind the spirit of a similar scene in the so-called Orcagna fresco at Pisa; the former is similar to the dances in the wall paintings of Lorenzetti at Siena. By these groups, signifying the harmlessness of human pleasure, when innocent and recreative, S. Dominic again appears confessing a knight. Once more he appears pointing out to a group whose consciences he has set at rest by confession, the road to Paradise lying up a path and through a gateway at which S. Peter stands, inviting a procession of saints to enter after receiving garlands from angels in waiting. Behind the gate, Paradise lies open, peopled by the happy of all ages and sexes,[6] presided in the upper centre by the Saviour, enthroned under the guard of angels and attended by the Virgin Mary.[7]

[1] The Emperor with a skull in one hand, a sword in the other, one of the few well-preserved figures here.

[2] Also a well-preserved figure, supposed to be Philip the Fair of France.

[3] It may be doubted whether any of them be really portraits, and one might ask why Philip IV., who contested papal authority, should be introduced as a devoted follower of the temporal Church. The heads in the group are fairly preserved.

[4] GIBBON, *Decline and Fall*, cap. lxx.

[5] For Simone never saw Laura till he went to Avignon, and from Avignon he did not return.

[6] Amongst them SS. John the Baptist and Paul, Moses, Noah, and many female saints.

[7] With a lily in her hand. At the foot of the throne the symbols of the Evangelists, above it the Cross.

This enormous work, of three or four hundred figures all of life size, is symmetrically distributed into groups, having a fair bond of union in themselves. The painter's talent as a colourist must not be hastily denied, because the whole piece is so altered by restoring that but a few parts remain from which the original aspect can be judged.[1] Still one may note a great resemblance with the Raineri series at Pisa, the same melancholy yellow tones, the same dresses embroidered with traceries of the colour of the stuff, shadowed of a disagreeable wine-red, the same heads and figures of uniform character hardly relieved by spare red shadow, similar ill-studied nudes, coarse outlines and extremities. The Saviour in glory has the lean form, the straight and broken outlines, the tight draperies, the broad head peculiar to Sienese painters. There is some individuality in the lower foreground figures, some grace in the dances, some noble and gentle faces in the groups, and some elegance in the angels of the Paradise; but there is little display of vigour, and the characteristics of the inferior painter of the Pisa series are more apparent than those of Simone Martini.[2]

On the north wall, the space above the arch leading into the choir is filled with a Crucifixion in the style described by Vasari as peculiar to that of S. Spirito. In the left foreground the Saviour carries His cross, turning as He does so to cast a glance of compassion at the Virgin and Maries threatened by a guard. Headed by soldiers on foot and horseback, the procession moves on a road turning in serpentine folds through Jerusalem and onwards to Golgotha, in the centre of which the Saviour is crucified and wailed by the usual flight of vehement angels, whilst the crowd below insult Him; the Virgin faints and the Magdalen, with outstretched arms, shrieks by the side of a soldier bending from his horse towards her. The good thief smiles in his dying moments, and his soul is already in the arms of angels taking it to Paradise. The impenitent dies tormented by a devil and tortured by an executioner, who breaks his leg with a staff, and two imps await his soul to carry it off to Hades. The soldiers are dicing for the garment to the right, whilst a sentinel close by threatens the crowd. On the right-hand foreground, the Redeemer has descended into Limbo, trodden down Lucifer under the gates of the infernal region, and gives His hand to Adam, who heads a group behind which stands a mass of the condemned.

[1] This wall has indeed, like the others in the chapel, been barbarously repainted. All the backgrounds and part of the dresses have been coloured anew in a tone that has finally changed to a sort of orange. Beneath, the old colour, still fresh, may be traced. Many of the heads have been repainted, so as to conceal the nimbuses in part.

[2] Rumohr says the works that are preserved of Simone and Lippo do not at all resemble the frescoes assigned to Simone in the Cappellone of S. M. Novella at Florence. *Notes* to SCHORN'S VASARI, vol. i., p. 262. G. M. MECATTI, in his *Notizie*, supposes that the paintings of Simone and Lippo had been replaced by others. He therefore considered the present ones more modern. Ghiberti does not say that Simone painted at Florence.

In this subject, as well as in the rest of the vast picture, one who has studied the Sienese school may find the spirit of its painters and its confused overcharge of figures. In each group, the action, movement and forms are Sienese, but in the Limbo the composition is actually that of Duccio and such as he arranged it on the models of older times; the attitudes and types are those which Taddeo Bartoli preserved at the close of the fourteenth century. The nimbuses are stamped and adorned in the Sienese fashion, in relief upon the intonaco and gilt where the restorer has not daubed them of a yellow colour.[1]

The painter of the whole of this work is the same who began the series of S. Raineri at Pisa. If Andrea of Florence executed the latter, he also completed the former, but he is of the Sienese school. In the fourth wall, described in previous pages, it has been observed,[2] that the types, character and stature of the figures had something foreign to the Florentine school, and akin to the Sienese, and that they might be by Andrea. This may be considered a fair assumption on a close inspection of the whole, and thus it would appear that with the exception of three parts of the ceiling which are by another hand, a painter, Sienese by education, but a Florentine by birth, not Simone Martini, was employed by the Dominicans of S. Maria Novella.

Simone therefore painted no great work in Florence. The altar-piece which, according to Vasari, he furnished for the Gondi Chapel, may have been sent from Siena,[3] and the drawing of a Crucifixion clearly in his style, now preserved at the Uffizi, is a relic that we may easily conceive to have been transported thither from abroad. In conclusion, if it be conceded that Simone painted miniatures, as some infer from the sonnet of Petrarch, a Virgil with pictorial ornaments in the Ambrosiana at Milan may be considered impressed with his peculiar style more than any other work of the kind.[4]

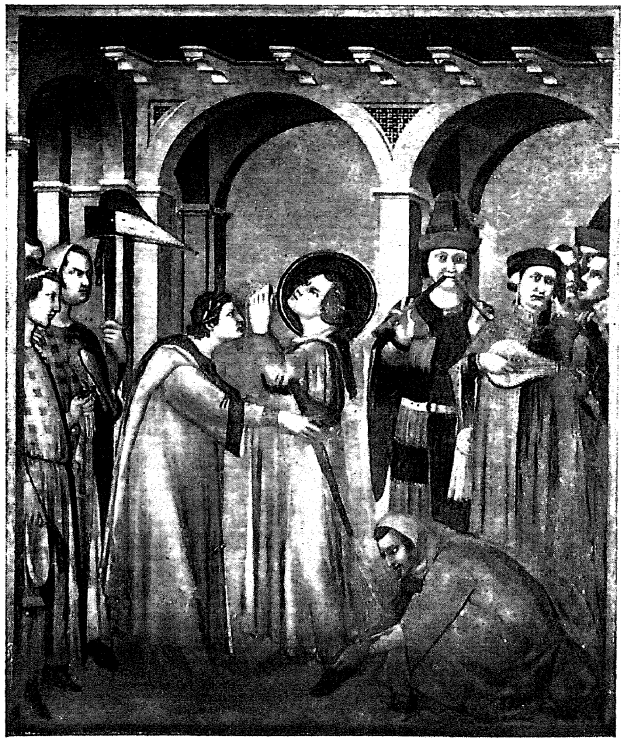
[1] But the work is not by a single hand. The foreground figures, many of which have the heavy Sienese underjaw, are inferior to the rest and extraordinarily common, and may be the production of assistants. Above the entrance door scenes from the lives of SS. Dominic and Peter Martyr, executed by the same artists, remain. Vestiges exist of a miracle in which S. Dominic restores a woman raised from the ground by her companions, of another in which a sick man rises in his bed and stretches his arms to heaven. Again, the saint may be observed preaching, whilst the audience is obliterated, all these remains being of the rudest execution.

[2] See *antea*, Taddeo Gaddi.

[3] VASARI, vol. ii., p. 89. It represented the Virgin and Child, S. Luke and other saints, and was signed with Simone's name.

Richa mentions a picture by Simone on an altar of the church in the Monastery delle Murate at Florence—the subject, Calvary. *Chiese, ubi sup.*, vol. ii., p. 110.

[4] A figure of Virgil indeed has undoubtedly his character and peculiarities. An eye is gone, parts obliterated and others retouched. This Virgil was seen and assigned to Simone by DELLA VALLE, *ubi sup.*, *Lett. Sen.*, vol. ii., pp. 101–2.



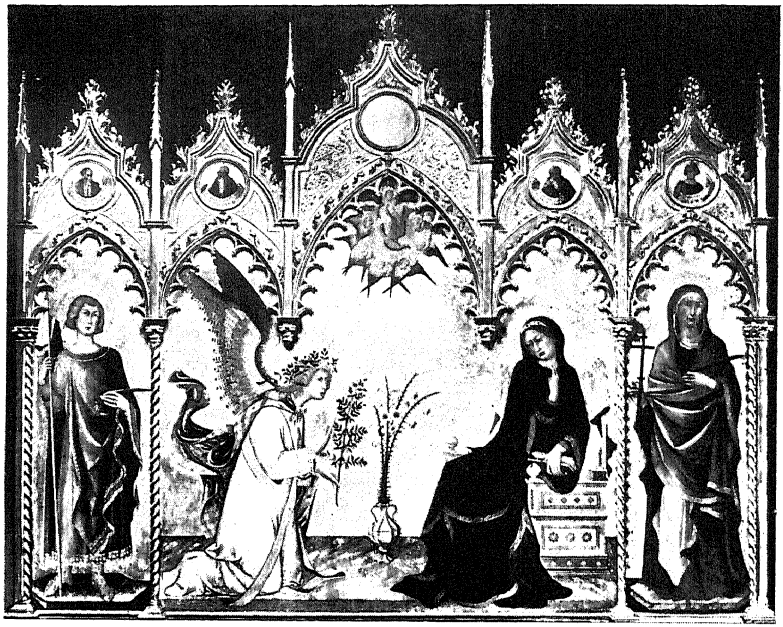
THE EMPEROR GIRDING S. MARTINO

SIMONE MARTINI.

Alinari.

S. MARTINO CELEBRATING MASS

Lower Church, S. Francesco, Assisi.



Anderson.

ANNUNCIATION

SIMONE MARTINI. Uffizi, Florence.

Anderson.

DETAIL OF FUNERAL OF S. MARTINO

SIMONE MARTINI. Lower Church, S. Francesco, Assisi.

In Siena Simone's industry and acknowledged talent enabled him to earn, and the fruit of these earnings was invested in the purchase of houses in the town, and lands in the neighbouring country of Vico. Being childless, he saved, not for himself, but for his nephews and nieces, the children of Donato, to whom he left by will a great part of his property.[1] But in spite of his prosperity in Siena and of the ties which bound him to his native place, he was induced to leave it in February 1338/39, and to settle with his wife and Donato at the papal court of Avignon. There he made the acquaintance of the poet of Vaucluse, that of Laura, whose likeness he drew,[2] and at the same time he carried on certain law proceedings for the Dominicans of Siena. Amongst the old records of the convent of S. Domenico of Siena, one of the year 1339 is preserved, in which Simone and his brother are legally empowered by Andrea Marcovaldi, rector of the church of S. Angeli, to receive and make opposition to certain apostolical letters in matters evidently pending at the court of Avignon. They are authorised to discuss the place where, and the judges to whom, these cases are to be submitted, and in general to do all that may be requisite and customary; and it is characteristic of the slow justice in the papal court, that the matter was still pending in 1344.[3]

Of Simone's artistic works at Avignon little or nothing has been hitherto known,[4] and from the time of Vasari to that of Della Valle, nay up to the present moment, it has remained untold that he decorated two of the principal chapels and other parts of the palace of the Popes with frescoes which still exist. A correspondent of Padre Della Valle, in the last century, informed him that the portico of the cathedral of Avignon was decorated by Simone "about 1349" at the request of Cardinal Annibale Ceccano. S. George was to be seen on horseback killing the dragon; and a young lady in green, kneeling at the side, was generally taken for the beautiful Laura.[5] Beneath the frescoes were verses assigned to Petrarch as follows:

Miles in arma ferox bello captare triumphum
Et solitas justas pilo transfigere fauces
Serpentis tetrum spirantis pectore fumum
Occultas extingue faces in bella Georgi.[6]

The MS. is supposed to have belonged to Petrarch. [*Cf.* P. Rossi, *Simone Martini e Petrarca* in *Arte Antica Senese*, vol. i. (Siena, 1901).]

[1] Worth, according to his own computation, about seven hundred livres.

[2] According to Vasari, Pandolfo Malatesta was the person who sent Simone to Avignon, and for no other purpose than to paint the likeness of Petrarch (vol. ii., p. 98).

[3] See the records in Milanesi, *Doc. Sen.*, pp. 216–8.

[4] [See note at end of this chapter.] [5] Della Valle, *Lett. Sen.*, vol. ii., p. 95.

[6] [These verses are now believed to have been composed by Cardinal Jacopo

Were the date of 1349 altered to 1339, when Simone lived in Avignon, one might grant that Cardinal Ceccano, who lived there till 1350 as bishop of Frascati, could have employed him.[1]

But the S. George has perished, probably from exposure. The column of the porch, however, the lunette of the architrave of the entrance, and the pediment above it, are still adorned with frescoes. In the lunette, the Virgin sits enthroned, holding the Infant with bare arms and shoulders on her knee. The patron, perhaps Monsignor Ceccano, though he is not in cardinal's robes, kneels to the left at the Virgin's feet, and is introduced by one of the angels at her sides,[2] a pleasing and graceful composition.[3] In the vaulting of the recess of the lunette six heads of angels are beautifully parted by an elegant ornament.[4] In a triangle above the lunette, the Saviour sits in benediction between six angels floating in space, in graceful motion, and airing their draperies in the wind.[5] This undoubted production of Simone shows him to have laboured here in his prime, free from the fetters of the old style as far as it was possible for a Sienese painter to be so, and graceful if not severe in the rendering of form.[6]

Besides the portico of the cathedral, Simone adorned the hall of the consistory in the Papal Palace with frescoes, but this sacred room is now, or was till quite lately, a dormitory for the *Enfans de troupe ;* and of four groined ceilings cut by the usual diagonals one triangular

Stefaneschi, who is also thought to have been one of Simone's employers at Avignon. See G. DE NICOLA, in *l'Arte* (1906), fasc. v.]

[1] The prelate was a patron of letters, and the author of a life of the apostles Peter and Paul in verse.

[2] The angels are two in number, each holding back a curtain and, as it were, disclosing the scene. Their forms are good and their action graceful, but the fresco is much injured.

[3] Vasari describes Simone's custom of drawing and shading the outlines of his subject on the rough-cast wall, enlarging the figures contained in a little drawing, which he held in his hand. The fresco was afterwards repainted on intonaco laid over the rough-cast (VASARI, vol. ii., p. 97). In the upper part of the lunette of the porch at Avignon the wall has been laid bare. By its side a piece of rough-cast is seen containing the shaded outlines of the wings and head of the two angels, part of the arm of the infant Saviour and of the Virgin's dress, all in red and corresponding exactly with the design on the upper intonaco, which is of the same thickness as the rough-cast layer. On the final intonaco again Simone did not use the general tone of verde in flesh tints which was invariable in his pictures on panel, but the white ground of the plaster which served for the lights, whilst the shadows were indicated with red.

[4] In the centre is the Dove. The outer frieze of the archivault is painted architecture. Above the right hand capital supporting the architrave a painted vase with a lily is surmounted by the remains of an angel; and probably the subject of the Annunciation, of which the opposite figure is obliterated, was here depicted.

[5] Part of the head and lower folds of the dress of the Saviour have dropped.

[6] [Sig. Venturi does not consider these frescoes to be by Simone, but Messrs. Berenson and Perkins insist upon their genuineness. Mr. Perkins, however, claims that these are the only works now remaining in Avignon from Simone's hand.]

section alone is clear of whitewash, and contains eighteen prophets in rows above a sibyl in each of the angles.[1] The life-size figures, bearing scrolls in their hands, conversing or in pensive silence, are now and then affected in movement; but Simone varied the gravity and squareness of the types of the old time by an occasional approach to the pleasanter suggestions of nature.[2]

Two chapels formed part of the palace of Avignon, one on a ground floor called the chapel of the Pope, a second exactly above it and of the same shape called the chapel of the "Santo Uffizio." Both occupied a square tower of immense thickness, lighted by three windows with sloping and very deep embrasures, and were painted throughout; the Pope's chapel with scenes from the life of S. John the Baptist and other saints, that of the Holy Inquisition with incidents from the legends of SS. Marcel, Stephen, Peter, and Valerian.[3]

The first subjects which strike the visitor on entering the papal chapel are the Birth of S. John the Baptist and his Presentation to Zachariah, in the highest course to the left of the wall facing the entrance.[4] The upper part of the lunette on that side is bare; but in the sloping embrasure a division is filled with groups of people, the two foremost of which, females in profile, are interesting for the costume and as being evidently portraits. Beneath the Birth, S. John may be seen preaching in the wilderness, in a red dress which is a modern addition, with traces of an audience behind him, and of figures in the slope of the window commenting the sermon. Of these, two heads are preserved, one, that of a listener, who alludes to S. John by pointing backwards at him with his thumb, a vulgar gesture which the Sienese painters often used. In the left-hand side of the lunette, to the left of the entrance, there are traces of S. John Baptizing the Saviour, of Christ in Prayer on the Mount of Olives, and of the Lord appearing to him in a glory of angels. In the upper spaces of the window recess are vestiges of apostles. The left side of the lunette, where numerous figures were once grouped together, is almost obliterated. The Dance of the Daughter of Herodias forms the lower course to the left of the window. Throwing her figure and head

[1] Standing on a cloud and side by side one sees Habakkuk, Malachi, Obadiah, Micah, Nehemiah, Ezekiel, Jeremiah, Isaiah, Moses, Enoch, Job, Solomon, David, Daniel, Hosea, Amos, Joel, and Zephaniah.

[2] His usual breadth of drapery and conscientious drawing are apparent, as well as his favourite profusion of ornament. Some heads are slightly discoloured, and one (of Malachi) is gone altogether; but the rest are fairly preserved. The light flesh tones, flat in their general appearance and relieved by little shadow, are further characteristic of the Sienese master.

[3] [A full description of these frescoes is given by AGNES GOSCHE, *op. cit.*, p. 111 *et seq.*]

[4] S. Elizabeth, youthful and handsome, sits up in a square bed behind which two females attend, and a male whose large bearded head alone remains, looks on. (In proportion to others this is a larger head than the rest.) In front to the right a woman of grand presence and fine profile holds the infant, whilst Zachariah sitting to the left writes the Baptist's name on a long scroll.

back, and timing her step with the jerking motion of her hands, whose palms are all but folded on the wrist, Salome is one of the strangest examples of affectation in Sienese art.[1] Behind a table to the left, Herod and his two guests are still visible. These two figures wear the most ludicrous long horned caps, and their profiles are almost caricatures. A total absence of perspective in the walls, roof, and table give the picture a most unfavourable aspect. Here the student may compare the result obtained by Simone, for he undoubtedly is the author of this work, with that of Giotto in the Peruzzi Chapel at S. Croce of Florence; and the contrast will strike him as a telling and powerful one.[2]

The wall to the right of the entrance is decorated with subjects taken from the life of another saint. In the lower course to the left of the window, Christ, erect with the double-edged sword issuing from His mouth, dressed in a white tunic and holding the keys, imposes His right hand on the kneeling figure of a long-haired and bearded saint in prayer before Him. A natural and simple attitude and action, a tender religious mildness in the face, distinguish this figure of the Redeemer. The distance of trees and landscape extends to the recess of the window; and above it is the Call of James and John the sons of Zebedee, with the Resurrection of Tabitha beneath it to the right. Behind the rising Tabitha, one of a group of females raises her hands in wonder above her head, an action common in Simone, repeated from the Cappella S. Martino at Assisi, and derived from Duccio, who introduced it into his Entombment in the picture of the Duomo at Siena. The spirit which dictated this movement is in fact as essentially Sienese as the composition of these scenes generally, and is reminiscent not only of Simone's own productions at Assisi and in the picture of S. Lorenzo Maggiore at Naples, but of those of the whole school.[3] The series is continued in the right side of the wall facing the entrance. In the lower course, the Saviour, erect and gentle rather than majestic, faces the recess in which vestiges of trees only remain, and seems in the act of speaking.[4] Two angels stand behind him, the nearest in front view, pointing across his breast to the Redeemer, conspicuous in His long thin shape and close draperies, and remarkable for the crisp button curls of His hair; the farthest, in profile shrugging his shoulders, and bowing with protruding elbows in the affected attitude of a dancing-master. Whilst the first of these forms may be seen repeated in the Sienese school up to Taddeo Bartoli, the second is one of the pure bits of affectation peculiar to Simone.[5]

The Crucifixion decorates the lunette above the entrance, but the principal figure is almost devoid of colour and can only be criticised as

[1] The arm and hand of the soldier bringing in the Baptist's head on a dish are all that remain of that figure.

[2] On the right side of the window the executioner has struck down the head of the Baptist, and a crowd in the recess await the completion of the sacrifice.

[3] The usual individuality of heads marks the group about the apostle; but unfortunately the lower half of the fresco is obliterated.

[4] The colour of His blue mantle is all but obliterated.

[5] Above the episode a solitary figure in the act of speaking stands gesticulating with his right hand to an audience of which the traces are almost obliterated. The red dress of the speaking figure is repainted.

to outline. Erect on the cross, and not dead or hanging,[1] the Saviour converses as it were with S. John Evangelist, who stands open-mouthed beneath to the right, mindless of the grief of the Virgin on the opposite side.[2] The whole composition is as usual wanting in the great Florentine laws of distribution.[3]

No doubt can exist as to the painter of these frescoes. Here laboured the same Simone who painted the ceiling of the hall of the consistory and the porch of the cathedral of Avignon.[4] That he worked with his assistants is natural, and no doubt Donato his brother was one of those who helped him. Of colour in general these damaged frescoes give little idea, and they justify but a guarded opinion, yet it is obvious from the remains that the system of execution was Simone's, whose characteristic flatness of yellowish warm flesh tones may here and there be traced.

The next story of the tower is the chapel of the Holy Office, in the same form and similarly painted throughout, in courses resting on a feigned architectural skirting.[5]

The centre of the ceiling is a medallion of the Saviour in part discoloured, but regular in form. The figures in the triangles are damaged and difficult to distinguish; but in one of them the Saviour appears amongst angels to S. Peter attended by a group of saints, one of whom bears the name "S. Martiale." Close by, this saint, as a bishop, kneels

[1] A fine nude of fair proportions and a soft expression of face may still be traced, and it seems the best representation of the Redeemer crucified that had yet been produced by the Sienese school.

[2] The Virgin's head is unhappily abraded. At the foot the Magdalen grasps the Cross and an angel of long form in close dress flies at each side of the horizontal limb. Behind S. John are the usual attendant priests and soldiers.

[3] In the course below the lunette vestiges of two men carrying stones; and the heads of two nimbed saints may be distinguished, and to the right in an interior are two half-figures of apostles, a flight of steps and a female. The ceiling is groined diagonally, and at the corners above the Crucifixion are S. John Evangelist and an almost obliterated Virgin. In the next space, S. John the Baptist, without a head, faces S. Elizabeth. The next two figures are damaged, and the last are SS. Zebedee and Anna. The ground of the ceilings is landscape and trees. S. John Evangelist erect is in face the same saint to whom the Saviour below appears with the two-edged sword and keys. He bears in both hands a scroll. (The red dress is repainted.) A hole in the ceiling occupies the place on which the Virgin stood. S. Zebedee is represented holding the nets. (The head is wanting.) S. Anna is a well-preserved, soft-featured Sienese saint, in a landscape enlivened with a stream issuing from a spout. Equally soft, but somewhat feeble, is the S. Elizabeth in a flowery meadow holding up her dress with her right hand. Part of the head of S. John the Baptist is gone. He wears a red mantle over his camel's-hair dress and points downwards with his right. The lower part of the figure is feeble. A shield of arms fills the centre of the diagonals, which are painted with the usual ornament.

[4] [Berenson accepts these frescoes as being by Simone; Venturi and Perkins assign them to his school.]

[5] [Perkins and Venturi give the frescoes of the chapel of the Holy Offices to Simone's followers; Berenson includes them among Simone's works.]

before S. Peter and his suite, and on a lower corner he touches with a cross the form of one entitled S. Austelinus, lying sick in a bed.

In the next space, a religious ceremony seems to take place in a church. Choristers sing hymns, whilst S. Martiale casts out a devil from a female kneeling before him. Next, S. Martiale gives his benediction to a kneeling figure and, lower down, performs the rite of baptism.

In the third triangle, an idol on a column is defended by an imp against two angels who overthrow the image, and S. Martiale below is surrounded by kneeling and converted idolaters. Next, the saint is on his knees before Christ and the twelve apostles, and in the distance he distributes alms or cures the sick.

The last section, filled with an equal number of incidents, shows the spectator the Saviour amongst the apostles, S. Martiale amidst other saints preaching with a model of a castle in his hands, whilst, lower down, S. Peter baptizes the saint, and in a neighbouring episode the Saviour, again supported by the apostles, imposes His hands on him, the whole completed by a figure in the foreground in the act of drawing a net out of the water.

To these complicated and multifarious subjects in the ceilings are added others equally numerous in the walls,[1] from which it appears that the chapel was dedicated to SS. Martiale, Peter, Paul, Stephen, and Valerian. In character and execution the frescoes, though inferior to the rest in Avignon, are of the same class as those in the lower chapel, and are therefore by Simone and his school, and not by Giotto.[2]

[1] In the upper part of the lunette to the left of the entrance, S. Stephen kneels before S. Peter, above a group of nine prostrate persons; beneath whom again are remains of one on his knees, headless, with crutches lying at his side. To the left of the window, a bishop casts out a devil, whose form appears in the air in chains, and below, traces of a dead body remain. In the left side of the wall facing the entrance, S. Martiale kneels before Christ guarded by angels, and in the recess S. Valerian kneels before S. Martiale. In the lunette are traces of a martyrdom and the soul carried to Paradise by angels, whilst a similar incident fills the vaulting of the window. The right side of the windows is abraded. The upper part of the lunette to the right of the entrance represents S. Martiale having freed a kneeling figure from chains; S. Martiale with an escort of priests moving towards a church in the midst of a crowd of figures, some of whom are recumbent. Beneath this, on one side is a church interior in which are two bishops, and in the other, ten churches in rows with inscriptions. Above the door S. Peter is crucified, as usual, with his head downward, and to the left, S. Paul is decapitated, whilst in the sky the soul of the former is taken to Paradise. (The fallen intonaco, as usual, shows the red design on the rough-cast.) A destruction of idols by order of a female is depicted in the lunette, and by its side are numerous figures flying from the effects of a fire represented in the distance to the right. Beneath this scene the following words remain inscribed: "SIGIBERTUS . COMES . RUR . D . GALEK .. BENEDICTA."

[2] On the wall to the left of the entrance in the cathedral of Avignon, a Baptism of the Saviour is depicted, and there are remnants of His form, of that of two angels and part of a kneeling family; but, though some trace of the Italian manner of the fourteenth century is apparent in the work, it is of a common order and much damaged.

Avignon boasts no other frescoes of the master. No pictures by him or his followers exist from which to judge the effect produced by the Sienese on the art of France.[1] Hard by arose the school of Dijon. But there the Flemings had the upper hand; and one single picture, originally at Avignon, and now [1864] in the hands of Mr. Reiset in Paris, betrays a mixture of the Flemish and Italian style of Simone. It is a piece remarkable for softness of character and care in execution, but with little vigour of conception or movement, and flat in general tone.[2]

It was, however, impossible for Simone to live at Avignon for years, as he did, without painting many pictures on panel. Two years before his death he completed the interesting Return of the Saviour from the Temple, which now adorns the Liverpool Gallery, and which bears the inscription:

SIMON DE SENIS ME PINXIT SUB ANNO MCCCXLII.

Simone seldom lavished more care on nimbuses and embroideries, on the other hand he seldom produced figures so short or so superabundantly laden with drapery as here.[3]

The trustees of the Antwerp Gallery bought at Dijon, in 1826, a very pretty, good-conditioned and characteristic little work of this time containing the Annunciation, the Crucifixion, and Deposition from the Cross.[4] Mr. Reiset possesses [1864] further a well-preserved picture of the Entrance into Jerusalem, all but a copy of the same subject by Duccio in the Duomo of Siena, exquisitely executed, of a vigorous tone.

Simone died at Avignon in July 1344, in full possession of his

[1] [Several works have since come to light, which prove Simone's influence to have been felt by painters of the French school. Three such pictures were exhibited at the Exposition des Primitifs Français at Paris (1904)—an Adoration of the Kings and a Death of the Virgin, belonging to Madame Lippmann, and a picture with scenes from the Passion, belonging to Mr. Langton Douglas.]

[2] The subject, a martyrdom.

[3] The University Gallery at Oxford boasts a Crucifixion in the manner of Simone.

[4] [No. 257–260 Antwerp Catalogue.]

In the two extreme panels are the Angel and the Virgin Annunciate. In two other parts the Crucifixion and the Deposition. In the latter, fourteen or fifteen figures are fairly divided into two groups, and in the centre foreground a bishop, the patron in prayer, kneels, with the word "SYMON" written beneath him. In the former, the Saviour on the Cross receives the lance wound from Longinus. The Virgin, to the left, lies on the ground in a swoon, partly raised by the Maries and surrounded by people. This again is Simone's modification of Duccio's well-known old form of composition, which Barna afterwards followed at S. Gimignano. The Magdalen grasps the foot of the Cross, whilst children and other persons stand by pointing at the Virgin. The Saviour in this piece is not alive, as in the chapel of the Pope at Avignon, but hangs at length between two angels who fly by His arms. Beneath this scene is the word "PINXIT."

faculties,[1] having had time to make in June a will,[2] in which he left his house and furniture at Siena to his wife Johanna, and the rest of his property to his nephews and nieces.

His relict, in the brown garb of the widows of the time, returned to Siena almost immediately after his death, with Donato. In evidence given by her on a trial between the heirs of Simone and Donato in 1355 (Donato having expired in August 1347 [3]), she declared that her husband had died at Avignon.[4] Masses and vigils for his soul were said and held at Siena on the 4th of August.[5]

Donato, who obviously painted in company of Simone at Avignon, has not left any pictures behind; and hence he may be supposed to have been a second-rate artist.[6]

A picture, which seems to have been executed by a follower or assistant of Simone, was lately in London in the hands of Mr. Donnadieu,[7] representing a Virgin and Child, on gold ground, with a garland of little half-figures in medallions, inscribed: "NADDUS CECCHARELLI DE SENIS ME PINSIT MCCCXLVII." This painting, quite in Simone's style and method, discloses his care and minuteness. Yet it is strange that no trace of this Ceccharelli should have been found elsewhere.[8]

[1] The register of deaths at S. Domenico of Siena has the following entry under Aug. 4, 1344: "Magister Simon pictor mortuus est in curia: cujus exequias fecimus in conventu die IIII° mensis Augusti." *Doc. Sen.*, vol. i., p. 244.

[2] See the text of that act in *Doc. Sen., ubi sup.*, vol. i., p. 243. A vineyard at Vico and a house to his nephew Francesco Salvucci, a vineyard and 220 florins to his niece Catherine, Donato's daughter, a vineyard at Vico to his two remaining nieces Agnola and Diambra, daughters of Donato, and the rest of his property to his nephews Johannes, Barnabas, and Simon, Donato's sons. He had left in the hands of the trustees of the Spedale di S. Maria della Scala of Siena no less than 282 florins of gold, or about £90 of our money. MILANESI, *Doc. Sen., ubi sup.*, p. 219.

[3] Ibid., vol. i., p. 216. [4] Ibid., vol. i., p. 244.

[5] These absorbed all but 23 livres 4 soldi of 7 gold florins, the difference of which was paid to Lippo Memmi on the 7th of the same month. Ibid., same page. There are notices of Barnabà, who followed the profession of a goldsmith, till 1436, when he died leaving a numerous family. Ibid., vol. i., p. 245.

[6] [Other Sienese painters seem to have executed pictures for Avignon and near-lying towns, but it is difficult to say if such works were painted in France, or merely sent from Siena. According to G. DE NICOLA (*l'Arte*, 1906, fasc. v.), a picture once existed in S. Domenic of Carpentras with the inscription "IOHES DUCII SENIS ME PINXIT." Lippo Memmi, Federico Memmi, and Pietro da Siena (Petrus de Senis) painted pictures for the church of the Franciscans at Avignon. In the Gallery at Aix-en-Provence are two panels ascribed by Mr. Berenson to Lippo Memmi, representing the Annunciation and the Nativity. Mr. Perkins does not accept these as works by Lippo, but gives them to an unknown pupil or follower of Simone, and thinks that they were painted in France either during Simone's stay in Avignon or soon after his death.]

[7] No. 8 Duke St., London. [Now in Coll. Sir F. Cook.]

[8] [CAVALCASELLE, in the Italian edition of this *History* (Florence, Le Monnier, vol. iii., appendix), describes a signed panel by Ceccarelli, of Christ standing in the Tomb, in a frame adorned with medallions of saints. This picture belonged at the time to Prof. Ciseri of Florence, and is now in the possession of Prince Lichtenstein, in Vienna.]

In the Munich Gallery, a Virgin ascending to heaven in the midst of a choir of angels, with the Saviour between four prophets above her, the Coronation in the upper gable, female saints in dead colour on the sides, and an Annunciation in the pinnacles like that of the Antwerp picture, may be seen under the name of Gentile da Fabriano.[1] It very much resembles the work of Naddus Ceccharelli and Lippo Memmi, being copiously adorned with tracery and gold.

A large life-size Virgin ascending amongst angels, with five prophets at each side of the arch of the niche, painted flatly, but damaged by varnishes, partakes of this character, and may be seen in the Gallery of Siena,[2] where likewise a Virgin and Child amongst angels, in the same style, may be studied.[3] These two pictures, however, are under the name of Lorenzetti.[4]

[1] No. 551, Cab. xix. [Now ascribed to Lippo Memmi. Venturi considers this work a forgery; Berenson, however, accepts it as genuine.]

[2] [No. 61 Siena Gallery Cat. This is a fine work by Pietro Lorenzetti. *Cf.* W. Heywood and Lucy Olcott, *Guide to Siena* (Torrini, 1903), p. 322.]

[3] [No. 65. This small panel is one of the most precious treasures of the Gallery. It is a work of Ambrogio Lorenzetti. *Cf.* W. Heywood and Lucy Olcott, *ubi sup.*]

[4] In order to leave no record of these times unnoticed, an order of King Robert of Naples may be quoted (Reg. Rob. reg. 1316, B, p. 255, apud Schulz, *Denkmäler, ubi sup.*, iii., p. 165.) This order, dated Cassana apud Castrum maris de Stabia, July 23, 1317, assigns to Symon Martini, Knight, a yearly salary of fifty ounces of gold to be drawn on the salt dues of Principato and Terra di Lavoro. Future research alone can determine whether this Symon be or not our painter.

[Note.—Besides those named in the text, I name the following works by Simone Martini:—

A Madonna and Child in the Borghese Gallery (see E. Modigliani in *Emporium* for July 1904, and Venturi, *op. cit.*, vol. v., p. 596); a panel representing the Via Crucis, a late work, now in the Louvre, No. 1383 (see Berenson, *op. cit.*, p. 162); a small Madonna on a gold ground in the collection of Conte Stroganoff in Rome (see F. Mason Perkins, *La Pittura alla Mostra d'Arte Antica in Siena* in *Rassegna d'Arte*, an. iv. (1904), No. 10, p. 146); and two panels of great beauty, S. Lucia and S. Caterina d'Alessandria, in Mr. Berenson's collection at Settignano, near Florence. (See F. Mason Perkins, *Dipinti Sconosciuti della Scuola Senese* in *Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, an. iv. (Siena, 1905), fasc. i., pp. 7, 8.) The following is a list of works:—

Assisi.	*S. Francesco Lower Church, R. Transept.* S. Francis, S. Clare, S. Louis of Toulouse, and another.
	Chapel of S. Martin. The Legend of S. Martin, and figures of Saints.
Berlin.	No. 1070A: Entombment.
Florence.	*Uffizi.* No. 23: Annunciation.
	Settignano, Coll. Berenson. Two panels: S. Lucia and S. Caterina d'Alessandria.
Naples.	*S. Lorenzo.* S. Louis of Toulouse and Robert of Anjou, with predellas.
Orvieto.	*Opera del Duomo.* Altarpiece. Madonna, Child, and Angels (from S. Francesco).
Pisa.	*Museo Civico, Sala III.* Nos. 16–23: Small panels, parts of the altarpiece in Seminario.
	Seminario. Altarpiece.

ROME. *Museo Cristiano, Case B,* III. Our Lord in Benediction.
Borghese Gallery. Madonna and Child.
Coll. Stroganoff. Madonna, from Annunciation.

SIENA. *Pal. Pubblico.* Fresco: Guidoriccio da Fogliano. Fresco: Madonna and Saints.
S. Agostino. Triptych: Legend of B. Agostino Novello.

ANTWERP. *Gallery.* Nos. 257–260: Annunciation, Crucifixion, and Descent from the Cross.

AVIGNON. *Cathedral Porch.* Frescoes: Our Lord, Madonna, and Angels.
(These are the only frescoes from Simone's hand in Avignon, according to Mr. F. Mason Perkins, who has lately made a complete study of the paintings in that city. Mr. Berenson, however, gives the Prophets and Sibyls in the Salle de Consistoire of the Palace of the Popes, and the frescoes in the chapel of S. John there, and in the chapel of S. Marcel, to Simone.

LIVERPOOL. *Gallery.* No. 8: Return of Christ to His Parents.

PARIS. *Louvre.* No. 1383: The Via Crucis.]

CHAPTER III

LIPPO MEMMI. BARNA AND LUCA DI TOMÉ

THE companionship of Lippo and Simone clearly dates from a time antecedent to that which brought them into relationship by the marriage of the latter. Lippo was born at Siena,[1] and though he was at times content to take upon himself the mechanical portion of Simone's altarpieces, he was not the less an artist of the same school as his brother-in-law. They had a common workshop at Siena, yet they frequently undertook separate commissions; the most important of which to Lippo seems to have been that of 1317 for the adornment of the Palazzo del Podestà at S. Gimignano. Sixteen years before, Dante, as envoy of the Florentine republic, had solicited in the very hall which Lippo came to adorn, the aid of S. Gimignano in favour of the Tuscan league. The same Podestà who now employed Lippo had promised that aid to Florence; and now that peace had succeeded to long years of strife, Mino, of the Tolomei of Siena, sought to rival the magnificence of his countrymen by adorning the hall of Justice at S. Gimignano with a "Majesty" similar to that of Simone. Lippo decorated the wall of the council-room with a fresco whose spirit and composition very much resembled those of his future relative. He depicted on an area of one hundred and seventy-five feet[2] the Virgin and Child amidst twenty-eight angels and saints, prominent amongst whom S. Nicholas introduces the kneeling Mino de' Tolomei.[3] A red and blue striped dress encloses the form of the Podestà and warms him with its fur lining. Red socks in black shoes, dark hair in a net,

[1] See *postea*, the signature of a picture by him at Orvieto which attests this fact.

[2] 27 feet by 6 feet 6 inches.

[3] With the following words inscribed on a scroll in his left hand:—

SALVE, REGINA MUNDI, MATER DEI
QUÆ SINE PENA PEPERISTI XPŨM,
VOBIS COMMENDO DEVOTUM INFRA SCRIPTUM
NELLUM DÑI MINI TOLOMEI,
IN ULNIS VESTRIS ROGO AMORE MEI
UT PLACEAT VOBIS SUSCIPERE ISTUM
ET INTER SANCTOS VESTROS ESSE MIXTUM
ANGELOS, PATRIARCHAS VIVI DEI.

the pointed cap or hood in his hand, complete a very characteristic and doubtless faithful portrait.[1]

In this vast miniature, Lippo placed his figures with a fair and rational symmetry, giving with tact the best places to the most important persons. The Virgin in her blue star-spangled tunic, and her mantle fastened with a brooch, has a plump oval face supported on a broad neck, and wears a diadem from which a veil with gold stripes depends. Her thin hands have the well-known Sienese affectation of movement. The mouth has the usual pursy lip, the Saviour, an old type, the favourite of Lippo and of the school. Softness marks the features of a S. Agatha or a S. Agnes, and contrasts with the heavy forms and broad faces of angels. The ancient consecrated mould yields to Lippo the heads of S. Peter, S. John the Baptist, and S. Paul, whose gravity and fair proportion are, however, allied to thinness of body. S. Nicholas on one side, S. Gimignano on the other, are fine and expressive; but what most characterises Lippo is a minuteness without example in works of a similar kind. The red outlines appear under the light grey shadows which hardly relieve the forms. A warm but feeble rosy tint overspreads the flesh; and every hair as well as every ornamental detail is patiently realised.[2] A gay but not vivid key of light harmony is peculiar to the softly

[1] Beneath the Virgin the words: "LIPPUS MEMMI DE SENIS ME PINSIT MCCCXVII." (Yet it must be borne in mind that the second syllable of "pinsit" and the date are a restoration of a later period.)

And lower down in Roman character:—

"AL TEMPO DI MESSER NELLO DI MESSER MINO DE' TOLOMEI DI SIENA, ONOREVOLE POTESTÀ E CHAPITANO DEL CHOMUNE E DEL POPOLO DELLA TERRA DI SAN GIMIGNANO MCCCXVII."

In a corner to the right one reads further: "Benozius Florentinus, pictor restauravit A.D. 1467," and this leads us to consult a record of 1466, from which it appears that in April Benozzo Gozzoli contracted with the magistrates of S. Gimignano to "refresh and repaint all the figures of the hall and tint the background in blue" (see the original in PECORI, *ubi sup.*, *Storia della Terra di S. Gimignano*, p. 650); and in pursuance of this contract he cut out and replastered and then repainted on the right the legs of S. John the Baptist, S. Peter, and the angel holding the pole of the canopy, and an entire figure of S. Louis, King of France, with a friar behind him. To the left, S. Anthony the Abbot and a female saint near him, the virgin S. Fina. Besides this, he touched up the hair and beard of S. John the Baptist and the hands of the Virgin. The date of the signature of Memmi was likewise renewed by him; but in his restoration Benozzo doubtless replaced the new saints on their old lines, as the final syllable of the word "abate" in the name of S. Anthony is original, and of Memmi's time, whilst the rest is more modern. The painted frame is entirely by Angelico's pupil, nor did the authorities who employed him think it of much moment that they cut the lower part of the fresco at its two extremities for the opening of two doorways which impinge on and disfigure Lippo's work, a proof, if any were needed, that the bad taste of the fifteenth century was very like that of the present day.

[2] If the spectator approaches, he will find the play of light and reflections in the iris of S. Peter's eye.

turned draperies, whose embroideries are copious. It is a magnified miniature that one sees, a picture utterly flat, unrelieved, and careful to a fault. It shows Lippo a patient but not a great executor, a painter of tempera on the wall. Of his works as a miniaturist, S. Gimignano evidently possesses examples, the choral books of the Collegiata being full of miniatures, the finest of which have the finish and gay colour of the "Majesty" in the hall of the Podestà.[1]

An example of Lippo's manner is to be found in an Assumption of the Virgin, with saints, much damaged, in the sacristy of the church of Monte Oliveto, near S. Gimignano.[2] These may be the panels of an altarpiece mentioned by Vasari as originally in S. Agostino at S. Gimignano,[3] where no altarpiece now exists, though, above the altar of the Madonna delle Grazie, a damaged fresco in Lippo's manner represents the Virgin enthroned giving the breast to the Saviour between the Archangel Michael and another saint now obliterated.[4]

S. Gimignano was not the only city in the vicinity of Siena for which Lippo laboured. A picture bearing his name is in the chapel of the Santissimo Corporale at Orvieto, inscribed on the pedestal beneath the Virgin's feet:

LIPPUS DE SENA NAT̃ NOS PICX̃ AMẽNA.[5]

or "Lippo, native of the pleasant Siena, painted us." The Virgin stands with her hands joined in prayer, between fourteen angels, one

[1] One of these, an "Antifonario di Canto fermo," is adorned at p. 22 with a figure of S. Gimignano in episcopals, surrounded by four angels (one of them bearing the crozier); above, six kneeling figures in groups of three at each side, a splendid example of its kind, as well for the beauty of its draperies and the perfection of its finish, as for the softness of its character and liveliness of its tones. Twenty-two miniatures, all of this quality, in style Sienese and of Lippo's manner, fill the volume. In a MS. mass for the poor, of the same collection, a Redeemer Appearing to the Apostles is of equal value and similar character. It might be desirable that books so full of interest should be withdrawn from daily use.

[These miniatures are by Niccolò di Ser Sozzo Tegliacci, by whom is a beautiful Assumption of the Virgin in the Sienese archives (see OLCOTT, *op. cit.*, p. 181). MR. PERKINS ascribes to the same painter the small miniatures adorning a processional cross at Lucignano in Val di Chiana (see *Burlington Magazine*, September, 1904).]

[2] Centre, the Assumption and a glory of eighteen playing and singing angels. Wings, each two saints, all less than life-size, two of which are SS. Bartholomew and Catherine, the latter the least damaged of the four. [Neither Mr. Berenson nor Mr. Perkins accepts this as a work of Lippo.]

[3] VASARI, vol. ii., p. 94.

[4] According to COPPI (*apud* PECORI, *ubi sup*., p. 540), a knight of the Salvucci family in armour had originally been painted above this fresco, the whole having been completed in 1330.

[5] This inscription can only be seen by removing the beading of the frame. The Virgin, of life-size, wears a red dress damasked with flowers, a diadem and veil.

of whom at each shoulder loops back her mantle, beneath which kneels in three rows a noble crowd of kings, princes, monks and nuns. The Virgin with an oval face and broad neck, the angels with full faces and throats, and hair waving round brooched fillets, in attitudes affecting grace, recall the fresco of S. Gimignano.[1] The colour is lively, rosy, and flat, and the execution careful beyond measure.

If Lippo is the author of the picture of the Beato Agostino in S. Agostino of Siena,[2] he is great as Simone; but besides this, his style is represented at Siena by a fresco[3] above the door leading into the sacristy and convent of the Servi, in which the Madonna holds the Infant in a graceful and affectionate action.[4] The softness of Simone engrafted on the type of Duccio and powerful tones of colour are characteristic in the Infant, whilst the broad round head of the Virgin bends affectedly on a slender neck; and the closed lids give their usual exaggeration of ecstasy and tenderness. The frame is exquisitely stamped and gilt. Each letter of the inscription is in a separate ornament, and runs:

LIPPUS MEMI . . . . . PINXIT.

But for the signature, it would be presumptuous to affirm that the man who painted a picture so like those of Simone, could have executed also the fresco of S. Gimignano and the altarpiece of Orvieto; but Lippo evidently painted more in the manner of his brother-in-law when they were together, than when they were separated; and another example akin to that of the Servi is the small altarpiece, formerly belonging to Hofrath Förster, now in the Berlin Museum, inscribed:

LIPPUS MEMMI DE SENIS,

in which a tall and slender Virgin holds to her bosom the form of the infant Saviour.[5]

Two life-size figures of S. Ursula and another saint with a sword,

[1] The Virgin's mantle is blue lined with white fur. The drapery of two figures kneeling on the left are repainted, as well as that of a figure in front to the right. The ornaments are all beautifully stamped.

[2] [See *supra*, p. 58, *note*.]

[3] [This picture is on panel.]

[4] In the Saviour's hand is a bird and scroll. His dress is red and shot with gold. The drapery which falls from the Virgin's head is engraved with scriptural sentences.

[5] [No. 1081A Berlin Cat.] The Virgin holds the back of the standing Saviour to her bosom. Dressed in a white tunic and red mantle, He points with His right hand, and holds with His left a scroll on which is written: "NULLUS SURREXIT M. . . . JOHS BATIS. . . ." Two angels are engraved in the ornament of the trefoil niche. The flesh tints are abraded, particularly in the head of the Infant, and some restoring is noticeable. On the back of the panel is a seal with the words "Campo Santo Pisano" on it.

assigned to Simone in the collection of the late Mr. Bromley, are two creations in Lippo's style, such as it appears in the wall picture of S. Gimignano, and may be classed amongst the best that he produced.[1]

In the same class may be noticed ten figures of apostles in the Ramboux collection at Cologne.[2]

Further, one may notice in the Palace of Cosimo Alessandri at Florence fragments of a picture, injured more or less, representing SS. Zenobius, Peter, Paul, and Benedict. On the sword of S. Paul are the words "LIPPUS MEMMI."[3]

The following list completes all that can be said of Lippo, who died, according to Vasari, in 1356.[4]

The pictures in the Berlin Museum, of the Virgin and Child,[5] and the Virgin giving the breast to the Infant,[6] having the character of Simone without his conspicuous beauties and with some heaviness of form, may be by Lippo Memmi or Barna. A third picture in the same collection, an Annunciation with saints,[7] undoubtedly belongs to the school of Siena, but has more the character of Barna and his school than that of Simone. The Madonna between saints, in the Gallery of Siena,[8] is assigned to Simone, and the Saviour in the pinnacle is most like a work of his hand, but the ugly faces of the Virgin and Infant are less so, whilst the S. Michael is of the Sienese type to be found in the picture of S. Catherine of Pisa and in those parts of the Cappellone at S. Maria Novella which are assigned to Taddeo Gaddi.[9] Another Madonna enthroned with the Child between saints,[10] is likewise assigned to Simone in the Gallery of Siena,[11] as well as an altarpiece in the Compagnia della Madonna of the same city representing the Virgin between two angels and the kneeling SS. Anthony and Catharine. Two other parts represent SS. Peter and Paul;

[1] The S. Ursula was purchased at Mr. Bromley's sale by Baron Marocchetti for 113 guineas; the other saint, for Bath House, for 81 guineas. Both were in the Ottley collection. [These panels are no longer to be traced.]

[2] [No. 741–750 of Cat. Cologne Museum.] A little enfeebled in colour, and flat. No. 63 of this Gallery, a Virgin and Child, much damaged, assigned to Simone, may be classed amongst the productions of Lippo. No. 62, a Virgin and Child, No. 64, a Virgin with figures under her cloak, both assigned to Simone, are feeble and of the school.

[3] The central portion, a Virgin and Child, is in the same place with little heads of angels, all renewed. [These paintings have long since disappeared.]

[4] Vol. ii., p. 97.

[5] [No. 1067 of Cat.]

[6] No. 1072 of Cat. [Both Mr. Berenson and Dr. Bode give these two works to Lippo Memmi. Sirèn and Venturi consider this latter a work of Bartolo di Fredi (see SIRÈN, *Don Lorenzo Monaco*, Strassburg, 1905).]

[7] No. 1142 of Cat. [No picture bearing this number exists in the Berlin Museum to-day.]

[8] Half-lengths [No. 115 in Siena Gal. Cat.]

[9] [This polyptych is now attributed in the Catalogue of the Siena Gallery to Bartolommeo di Nutino—on what grounds it is not stated.]

[10] Full-lengths. [No. 51 Siena Cat.] The saints are: John Baptist, Bartholomew, Bernard, Stephen, with a garland of angels round the Virgin.

[11] [Mr. Berenson and Mr. Perkins consider this an early work by Bartolo di Fredi (see *Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, an. i., fasc. ii.).]

and the Saviour in benediction is, as usual, in the pinnacle.[1] A fourth Virgin and Child in the chapel del Rosario of S. Domenico at Siena, assigned to Barna, but less ugly than the three foregoing, is, like them, of a character which may be called the exaggeration as to types and form of that peculiar to the fresco of Lippo in the Sala del Podestà at S. Gimignano, with something of the features common to the frescoes of Barna also at S. Gimignano and to the works of Luca Tomé.[2] If it should ever be ascertained that these pictures were executed by Lippo, one must suppose that he declined with the lapse of years from the standard of his earlier days, and that he had learnt at last to paint with coarse colour and to draw defective articulations and extremities.

A better example of the manner of Simone, Lippo, and Barna is a series of four pinnacles in the Siena Gallery [3] representing SS. Catherine, John Evangelist, John the Baptist, and Paul, above each of which a medallion contains respectively a prophet.[4]

Vasari's vague remarks that Lippo painted in fresco at S. Croce in Florence, in S. Paolo Ripa d'Arno at Pisa, in S. Niccola of Ancona, may be passed by, as no traces confirm the truth of his assertions. He mentions an altarpiece of the Virgin between SS. Peter, Paul, John the Baptist, and other saints signed by Lippo in S. Paolo Ripa d'Arno at Pisa, which is not there now, an altarpiece of three half-length figures in the Vescovado of Arezzo, two pictures in S. Croce of Florence, which have also disappeared, and a picture which found a place on the high altar of S. Francesco of Pistoia.[5] The "Campione," which records the principal facts in reference to S. Francesco of Pistoia, states that, on the high altar of that church there was a Virgin between SS. Paul, John the Baptist, James, Francis, Louis, Mary Magdalen, and Chiara, inscribed: "LIPPUS MEMMI DE SENIS ME PINXIT." This is absent, and in its place a S. Francis assigned to Lippo is really by Margaritone.[6]

[1] [According to MISS OLCOTT (*op. cit.*, p. 269), this work is by a follower of Pietro Lorenzetti.]

[2] [This Madonna is by Paolo di Giovanni Fei (see PERKINS, *Burlington Magazine*, August, 1903).]

[3] [Nos. 85, 86, 93, 94 of Cat.] [By some artist very near Simone. See W. HEYWOOD and LUCY OLCOTT, *op. cit.*, p. 324. Mr. Perkins connects this unknown artist with a fine picture representing the Marriage of S. Catherine (No. 108) of the same gallery (*cf. Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, an. iv., fasc. ii. and iii.).]

[4] In this class we may place a Virgin and Child with saints, Nos. 10 and 11. A Virgin and Child between two female saints, No. 13 in the Dresden Gallery. BALDINUCCI, vol. iv., pp. 320, 321, notices a fresco in S. Domenico of Siena (the cloister) of the Virgin and Child receiving an offering of flowers from two angels, with SS. Peter, Paul, and Dominic at the sides; the whole inscribed: "LIPPUS ME PINXIT, MEMMI REM GRATIA TINXIT." This has disappeared.

[5] *Vide* VASARI, vol. ii., pp. 93–7.

[6] [The additions made by modern criticism, to the meagre list of works allotted to Lippo Memmi by the authors, are so many that I incorporate them with the following list of works, adding a few comments:—

ASCIANO. *S. Francesco, Chapel N. of choir.* Madonna. (Berenson and Perkins. This picture is ascribed traditionally to Sano di Pietro.)

ASSISI. *Conte della Genga.* Crucifixion (small). (See F. MASON PERKINS in *Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, an. iii. (1907), fasc. iii., p. 84.)

Lombardi.

MADONNA AND CHILD

LIPPO MEMMI. Servi, Siena.

Anderson.

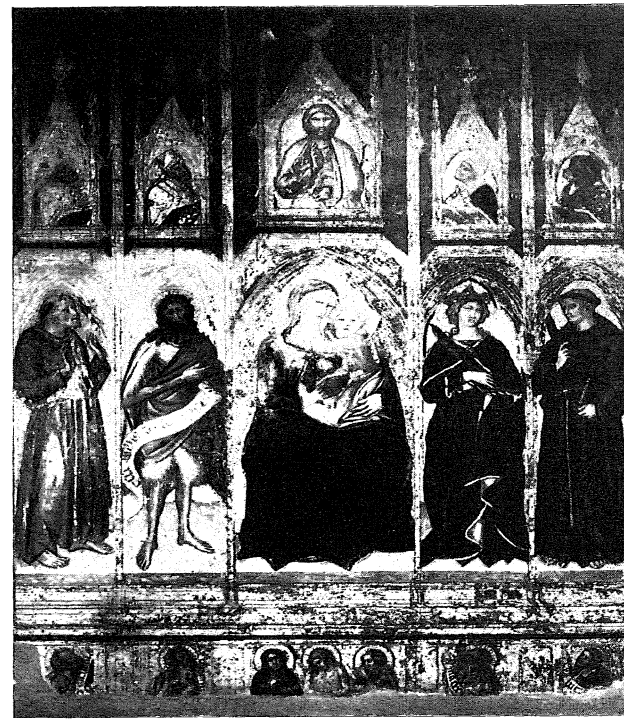
MADONNA OF MERCY

LIPPO MEMMI. Duomo, Orvieto.

Brogi.

MADONNA AND CHILD

BARNA DA SIENA. S. Francesco, Siena.



Brogi.

ALTARPIECE

LUCA DI TOMÉ. S. Francesco, Siena.

Barna or Berna, who like Lippo laboured at S. Gimignano, survived till much later, if we credit Vasari's statement that, in the act of painting the right aisle of S. Gimignano Church, he perished (1381) by a fall from a scaffolding.[1] He died young, adds the Aretine, yet if Luca di Tomé was his pupil, as the same authority affirms, he must have been old at his death, since Luca is already recorded as a master in 1355, 1357.[2] Be this as it may, Barna [3] was considered an excellent painter by Ghiberti, who found praiseworthy qualities in certain scenes from the life of a penitent youth depicted in a chapel of the Church

FLORENCE.	*Coll. Bardini.* Madonna (small). (Now in Mrs. Gardner's Coll., Boston, U.S.A.)
„ SETTIGNANO.	*Coll. Berenson.* Madonna and Child. (Perkins.)
ORVIETO.	*Duomo Cappella del Corporale.* Madonna and Saints.
	Opera del Duomo. No. 3. Madonna, with Saints and Angels.
PALERMO.	*Coll. Chiaramonte Bordonaro.* S. Peter. (See F. MASON PERKINS in *Rassegna d'Arte*, an. vi. (1906), No. 2, p. 31.)
ROME.	*Museo Cristiano.* Vet. H. VI. Crucifixion, with Saints (small). (Berenson, Perkins, Sirèn. Venturi considers this a work of Lippo's school.)
	Collection of Mr. Alex. Imbert. Madonna and Child (formerly in collections of Bishop Toti of Colle in Val d'Elsa, and later in that of Mr. C. Fairfax Murray, of London. F. MASON PERKINS, *Rassegna d'Arte* (Milan) an. vi., No. 2, February 1906, p. 51.
S. GIMIGNANO.	*Palazzo del Podestà.* Fresco: Madonna and Saints.
SIENA.	*Servi (above door of Sacristy).* Madonna.
AIX EN PROVENCE.	Annunciation and Nativity (small). (Berenson. See *note supra*, p. 56.)
ALTENBURG.	Madonna (small).
BERLIN.	*Gallery.* Nos. 1067, 1072, 1081A: Madonnas.
	Coll. Kauffmann. Two panels: Crucifixion (large), Madonna (small). (Mr. Berenson gives the Kauffmann Crucifixion to Memmi (others to Barna ?). Venturi does not accept Herr Kauffmann's Madonna.)
BOSTON, U.S.A.	*Coll. Gardner.* Polyptych. (See F. MASON PERKINS in *Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, an. i. (1905), fasc. ii., p. 75.)
BUDA-PESTH.	*Gallery.* No. 9: Madonna (small). (Venturi and Perkins do not accept this.)
COLOGNE.	*Gallery.* Nos. 741–751: Apostles (busts).
LONDON.	*Collection of Mr. Benson.* Virgin and Child.
MUNICH.	*Gallery.* No. 986: Triptych (?). (See *note, supra*, p. 57.)
PARIS.	*Louvre.* No. 1152: S. Peter. (See F. MASON PERKINS in *Rassegna d'Arte* (Milano), an. vi. (1906), No. 2, p. 31.)

Very close to Lippo Memmi, if not by him, is a panel (Press N, No. XI.), in the Christian Museum of the Vatican (*cf.* PERKINS, *Rassegna d' Arte* (Milan), August, 1906).]

[1] VASARI, vol. ii., p. 162; and BALDINUCCI, vol. iv., p. 493.

[2] MILANESI, *Doc. Sen.*, vol. i., p. 28.

[3] Barna from Barnabas, as Berna from Bernabò. See the discussion on this point in *notes* to VASARI, vol. ii., p. 160; in RUMOHR, *Forschungen*, vol. ii., p. 109; LANZI, *ubi sup.*, vol. i., p. 284; and BALDINUCCI, vol. iv., p. 291.

[That Barna was strongly influenced by Pietro Lorenzetti has been shown by LANGTON DOUGLAS in the *Catalogue of an Exhibition of Sienese Paintings* (Burlington Fine Arts Club).]

of the Augustin friars at Siena.[1] as well as in frescoes at S. Gimignano and Cortona.[2] According to Vasari, Barna painted in S. Margarita of Cortona, where no more traces of his work remain than of those at S. Agostino at Siena.[3] In 1369, he came to Arezzo, where the Tarlati had lately caused the monastery of S. Agostino to be completed, and he painted there, in the Cappella di S. Jacopo, scenes from the life of S. James, having already finished the same subjects in S. Spirito of Florence.[4] In the Vescovado of Arezzo he executed for Guccio di Vanni Tarlati a Crucifixion, with the usual groups at the sides of the Cross and the patron himself in armour and prayer before the instrument of torture.[5] The enemies of Guccio or Ciuccio tried their utmost to destroy the very semblance of his existence by sticking at the plaster of his effigy with daggers, says Bottari,[6] but in spite of them the fresco remains. The Saviour is still seen on the Cross, with Ciuccio kneeling in armour at its base.[7] All that can be said of this much damaged work is that it looks like a Sienese painting, yet has less power than the general run of Barna's frescoes. Of other productions in the Pieve, in S. Bartolommeo, and in S. Spirito of Arezzo, nothing remains.[8] In S. Gimignano, however, the injured remnants of a long series of the Lord's Passion still exist, and, damaged as they are, must be considered as those best calculated to impart a true notion of Barna's manner. In five compartments, divided into three courses, he painted twenty-two different episodes, using the lunettes entire for one incident, placing the Entrance into Jerusalem in a double, the Crucifixion in a fourfold larger space than the remaining subjects.

In the lunettes, beginning from the corner nearest the entrance door and to the left of it, he represented the Annunciation, the Nativity, the Wise Men's Offering, the Circumcision, and the Massacre of the Innocents. Proceeding from beneath the latter towards the door, and dividing the compartments arched by the lunettes into two, he painted the Dispute with the Doctors, the Baptism of Christ, S. Peter called to the Apostolic Mission, the Marriage of Cana, the Transfiguration, the Raising of Lazarus, and in a double division the Entrance into Jerusalem. The lower course

[1] GHIBERTI, in VASARI, *ubi sup.*, vol. i., p. xxvi. [2] Ibid.
[3] VASARI, vol. ii., p. 161.
[4] Ibid. The frescoes of S. Spirito at Florence and those of Arezzo are both gone.
[5] Ibid.
[6] Roman edition of VASARI.
[7] To the left are the Virgin and S. Michael, to the right SS. John Evangelist and Francis, whilst in the vaulting of the recess in which the principal subject is placed, SS. Catherine, Peter, Andrew, Paul, and other saints stand guard in medallions; and the Saviour in benediction fills a triangle at the top.
[8] VASARI, vol. ii., p. 162.

begins from near the portal with the Last Supper, continuing with Judas Bargaining in the Synagogue, Christ in the Garden, the Capture, Christ before Caiaphas, the Flagellation, the Crown of Thorns and the Scoffers, Christ carrying His Cross, and finally, in a compartment filling two courses, the Crucifixion. The remaining subjects of the Passion, divided into further sections of the aisle, are now obliterated. They represented the Entombment, Resurrection, Ascension, and other scenes.

The spectator may observe in the Annunciation that species of composition which Giovanni da Milano followed in his picture at Prato, the Virgin shrinking with a gesture of alarm from the kneeling Gabriel in an affected attitude of grace and tremor, whilst the angel in his reverent motion, with arms crossed on his breast, displays more elegance than religious feeling. Outside the room a maid sits on the ground, and has dropped her spinning to listen through the partition. Endeavouring, no doubt, to distinguish the form of the servant from the nobler one of the Virgin, Barna gave her a fuller and more developed figure, and at the same time a less strained action. The servant is therefore more pleasing, because the more natural of the two, the round outline of the head being improved by a pretty turn of the hair in the usual Sienese fashion. The space in the lunette is at the same time well distributed, and the draperies are broad in fold, after the fashion of Simone. It is a subject worthy of being remarked because it is in better condition than the remainder,[1] which are in most parts barbarously repainted.

The Saviour in the Baptism, a heavy nude, less attractive even than those of Simone, stands in the act of benediction, and is fairly if not nobly defined. Two diminutive angels with large heads minister in flight, contrary to the usual custom, whilst on the opposite side[2] the Baptist, high up on a bank, pours water over the Redeemer's head. Regular soft features mark the bride in the Marriage of Cana, whilst in the Raising of Lazarus, Mary and Martha, pointing to their revived brother, are in vehement action and stretch their long necks as they draw their garments together with one hand. Barna indeed exaggerates in these fairly-preserved figures the close-fitting draperies, the muscular limbs and stiffened action of long thin hands[3] peculiar to Simone, and in the faces, the long thin nose and arched brows which meet the student's eye in the pictures of that master. These, indeed, are characteristics observable in the whole of the series which need not

[1] Another fairly preserved fresco of this series is that of the Capture.
[2] The right.
[3] Mark the position of the fingers pointed and bent backwards by the stiffening of the muscles.

for this reason be further described.[1] It is stated that Barna's pupil Giovanni d' Asciano,[2] painted after his master's death at S. Gimignano and completed the decoration. His may be the hand to which the feebler parts are due. Barna in the whole of this work shows himself a continuator of Duccio with respect to distribution, not only in the general division and spacing of his subjects, but in forms of composition. As regards type, he maintains the character of Ugolino and Simone. More than one style of colour may be found in the frescoes, which are all more or less injured, but in the best maintained parts, the tones are in low keys, and, though warm and powerful, an exaggeration of Simone. The drawing is minute, the ornament copious, and the general aspect of the painting flat. Barna may therefore be considered to have risen out of the school of Simone on account of his exaggeration and vehemence, though he inherited some peculiarities that characterised Ugolino. Nor should we be surprised to discover that Barna was once an assistant of Simone ; for the date of his death, resting as it does merely on Vasari's authority, may be contested ; and were it proved that he is identical with one Barna Bertini of the popolo S. Pellegrino, a painter whose name is in a Sienese record of 1340,[3] the former supposition might be maintained. The spandrils of the arches which support the nave of the church of S. Gimignano are filled with injured figures of prophets holding scrolls, which still reveal the hand of Barna or his pupil.[4] A life-size Virgin holding the Saviour in the church of S. Pietro is likewise in Barna's manner,[5] whilst at Asciano,[6] the birth-place of Giovanni his disciple, the church of S. Francesco contains portions of frescoes once whitewashed and since rescued, representing scenes from the Passion whose character, technical execution and colour are similar to those of S. Gimignano.[7]

[1] [Mr. Perkins gives to Barna the frescoed figure of a Prophet in the Oratorio di S. Giovanni, adjoining the Collegiata of S. Gimignano, the sole remaining fragment of a once elaborate group of paintings in this chapel (*cf. Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, an. iii., fasc. iii.–iv., p. 74). A very beautiful work generally given by critics to Barna is the little panel of Christ carrying His Cross, lately in the possession of Lord Leighton, now in Mr. C. Benson's collection in London. Mr. Roger Fry, however, considers this picture to be by Lippo Memmi (*cf. Rassegna d'Arte* (Milan) August, 1904, p. 117).]

[2] Vasari, vol. ii., p. 163.

[3] See *annot.* to Vasari, vol. ii., p. 160; and Milanesi, *Doc. Sen.*, vol. i., p. 28.

[4] [Miss Lucy Olcott mentions a fresco of the Sibyl appearing to Octavius in the chapel of the Confraternità della Madonna at Siena, as closely resembling Barna in style (*cf. op. cit.*, p. 270).]

[5] [This is certainly by Barna. Mr. Perkins considers it one of the master's finest works (*cf. Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, an. iv., fasc. i).]

[6] Seventeen miles from S. Gimignano. [The authors probably mean " from Siena," as Asciano is almost double this distance from S. Gimignano.)]

[7] To the left, as one enters, is a modification of the subject called the Pietà, the Saviour between SS. Peter and Paul to the right, the Nativity, a S. Peter,

A Virgin and Child on the high altar, repainted in the draperies, with a small kneeling donor, has the same character, which is that of Barna and Simone.[1] Without the name of Giovanni d' Asciano, the student finds a work in his native place disclosing a follower of Barna and one who may have helped him at S. Gimignano. What Vasari assigns to Giovanni in Siena and Florence, is not now to be seen.[2]

As before remarked, when treating of certain productions of Lippo Memmi, a Virgin and Child in the chapel del Rosario of S. Domenico at Siena is assigned to Barna, and has in truth something of his style; yet it shows less power than his works in general. The life-size Virgin seems to make an effort as she carries a heavy infant Saviour. Her head and closed eyes are like those of the master, but the picture may be by another hand and only confirms what need hardly now be dwelt upon, namely the family likeness of many second-rate Sienese paintings and the difficulty of distinguishing them.[3] In one of the shops[4] in the court of the same convent of S. Domenico, and close to the church, there are remnants of a fresco of the Virgin and Child, of an Angel offering flowers, and of S. Peter and S. Paul. The head of the angel is much in Barna's style, whilst that of the Virgin recalls both his and Lippo's at the Servi.[5]

Luca Tomé is supposed by Vasari to have been Barna's pupil, and this is not impossible, though his painting shows the influence of Simone, who heads the whole branch of artists now under consideration. Luca is the third painter on the register of the Sienese Company of S. Luke, which was confirmed as a guild in 1355,[6] and is a third-rate artist.[7]

a Trinity, a Christ in the Garden, and part of a Last Supper, beneath which again appear marks of older paintings of the thirteenth century.

[1] [This is a late work of Lippo Memmi, and is now in the chapel to the left of the high altar (*cf.* BERENSON, *Central Italian Painters*; and PERKINS, *Burlington Magazine*, September, 1904, and *Rassegna d'Arte*, October, 1904).]

[2] VASARI, vol. ii., p. 163. At Cologne in the Ramboux collection is a Crucifixion having the character of the fresco of S. Gimignano, but rude in execution (No. 60). A picture much damaged by repainting, but carefully finished, a Crucifixion, falsely assigned to Giotto, in the Museum of Brussels (No. 265), is in the style of Barna. [D. F. CANUTI, in the *Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, an. iv., fasc. i., p. 10–21, publishes an interesting fresco of the Crucifixion, existing in the oratory of S. Bartolommeo at Città della Pieve, which he, together with others, rightly considers to be of Barna's school, and possibly by Giovanni d'Asciano.]

[3] [This work has been rightly ascribed to Paolo di Giovanni Fei by MR. PERKINS (*cf. Burlington Magazine*, August, 1903).]

[4] [The convent is now a school.]

[5] [This fine fragment is traditionally ascribed to Lippo Vanni, but MISS OLCOTT (*Guide to Siena*, p. 315) questions this attribution, and Mr. Perkins considers the work to be by Lippo Memmi himself.]

[6] MILANESI, *Doc. Sen.*, vol. i., p. 28.

[7] [This is an exaggerated verdict. It is sufficient to study Luca's Madonnas at Foligno and at Montalcino (recently given back to him by Mr. Perkins), to convince us of the injustice of this remark.]

He and one Cristoforo di Stefano restored in 1357 a Madonna by Pietro Lorenzetti executed in 1333 above the portal of the Siena Cathedral.[1] A Crucifixion painted by him in 1366 is preserved in the Museo of Pisa; and an altarpiece finished in the following year may still be seen in the Cappuccini of the castle of S. Quirico in Osenna.[2] An altarpiece in honour of S. Paul and the Sienese victory over the mercenary company of the Cappellucci was executed by him in 1373 by order of the general council, of which he was himself a member for two months of that year.[3] Married in 1375 to Miglia del fù Giacomino, he again sat in the general council of Siena in 1379,[4] and in 1388–89, was of the council of the Duomo.[5] Finally in 1389 he assisted Bartolo di Maestro Fredi and his son Andrea in the production of an altarpiece for the cathedral chapel of the guild of shoemakers.[6] His existence as late as 1392 is proved by the signature of a Madonna seen by Della Valle in the chapel della Concezione of S. Francesco of Siena,[7] His life was not spent entirely in Siena, as Vasari truly indicates certain frescoes and an altarpiece, of which all trace has vanished, in a chapel of the Dragomanni or Dragondelli at S. Domenico of Arezzo.[8] The Dragomanni or Lancia Serzaglia are an extinct Aretine family in whose honour a monument by Francesco de Florentia was erected in the fourteenth century, and adorned with frescoes which still exist in part. Four evangelists in medallions decorate the vaulting of a recess, and of those all but S. Mark are preserved, S. John being the least injured, and exhibiting the Sienese style of Simone and of Barna, but particularly Barna's. Luca Tomé is probably the painter,[9] because his other works betray the influence of these two masters and support the belief that he, Barna and Lippo Memmi were companions, and hence that Simone was their common teacher. Little more indeed can be required to strengthen this belief than the altarpieces of the Siena Gallery assigned to Simone and Lippo, that of the Compagnia della Madonna in the Spedale of Siena, and that given to Barna in S. Domenico,[10] all of which have a common character.[11]

[1] *Note* to VASARI, vol. ii., p. 163.

[2] [Now No. 109 in the Gallery of Siena.]

[3] *Doc. Sen.*, vol. i., p. 28; and DELLA VALLE, *Lett. Sen.*, vol. ii., p. 119.

[4] *Doc. Sen.*, vol. i., p. 28.

[5] Ibid., vol. i., pp. 354, 363. He ballots twice in favour of a design for wood carving by Mariano d'Agnello.

[6] Ibid., vol. ii., p. 36, and vol. i., p. 28. He receives for his share 8 florins, the whole altarpiece being contracted for about 130 florins of gold, payable at intervals of four months at the rate of 32 florins each time.

[7] DELLA VALLE, *Lett. Sen.*, vol. ii., p. 119.

[8] VASARI, vol. ii., p. 164. As to the altarpiece, it has disappeared from the chapel. In the church, however, is a much repainted picture of SS. Paul, Michael, and another saint, in character like the remains in the chapel itself, which are much in the manner of Barna.

[9] [Mr. Perkins does not accept these frescoes as by Luca.]

[10] [This is a confusing sentence. The Madonna of S. Domenico is clearly by Fei; the altarpiece of the Compagnia della Madonna of the school of Pietro Lorenzetti; those of the Academy at Siena by Bartolo di Fredi and by a follower of Simone have little to do with Luca.]

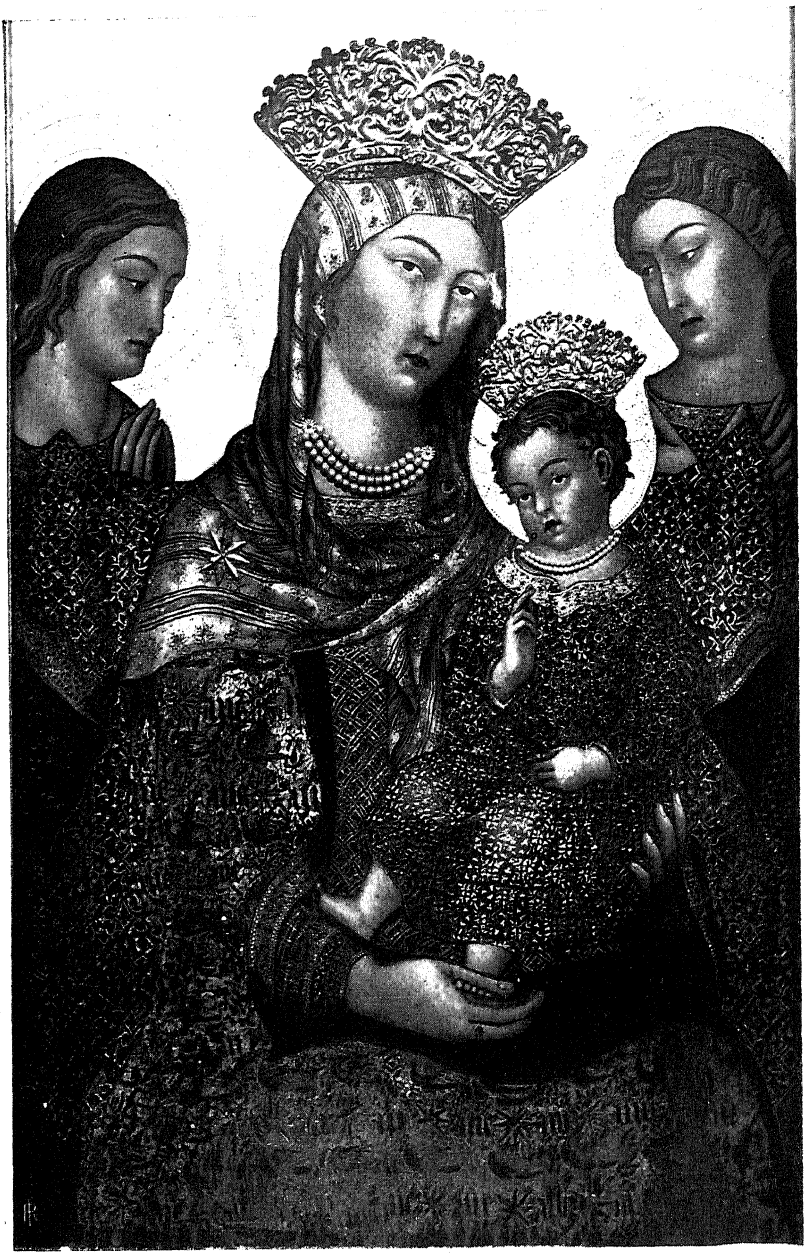
[11] On a landing at the inn "Alle arme d'Inghilterra" in Arezzo is a Virgin and Child with four angels, life-size, like Luca di Tomé's second-rate produc-

Alinari.

ALTARPIECE

LUCA DI TOMÉ.

Gallery, Siena.



Brogi.

MADONNA DEL BELVIDERE

GIACOMO DEL PELLICCIAIO.

Servi, Siena.

Luca's Crucifixion in the Museo of Pisa is inscribed :

LUCHAS TOMĒ DE SENIS PINXIT HOC . . . S MCCCLXVI.

It represents the Saviour, gaunt, withered, a mere scabbard of bones, muscles, and skin, shadowed with dark verde and of low yellowish tone in lights.[1]

Such productions as these need not have exercised any influence at Pisa ; yet they were taken as models by Pisan imitators ; and a Virgin in the Museo, signed :

CECCHUS PETRI DE PISIS ME PINSIT A.D. MCCCLXX. . . .

proves the author to have been a close follower of the style and technical execution of Luca Tomé.[2]

One might suppose that Luca, like Mino of Siena, respecting whom Sacchetti tells one of his broadest pleasantries, kept a shop full of Crucifixes.[3] One of these, exactly similar in its defects to the Crucifixion of Pisa, stands in a chapel to the right of the entrance at S. Spirito of Siena.

The picture of S. Quirico in Osenna is a Conception inscribed :

LUCAS THOMÉ DE SENIS PINXIT HOC OPUS MCCCLXVII.[4]

A pinnacle at the top with a figure of S. Bartholomew by some other painter has taken the place of the original one, no doubt containing the Saviour in benediction. At each side are S. John the Baptist and a medallion of S. Mark, S. Anthony with a medallion of S. Luke, whilst part of the same altarpiece, a S. Agnes, with a medallion symbol of an evangelist, and S. Catherine with a similar addition hang separate in the sacristy. These figures taken apart show how unequal the Sienese painters were. S. Agnes, holding up her red mantle with a hand of delicate and slender shape, wearing a diadem from under which copious hair falls downwards, is a graceful Sienese figure. S. Catherine, also in a diadem and dressed in a close red robe lined with fur, bends and is feebler than the S. Agnes. But the pair are the finest creations of Luca di Tomé, and contrast singularly with the S. John of the same altarpiece, where a lean dry form stands on large feet, or with the infant Saviour caressing the Virgin,—a disagreeable type. S. Anthony, darkened in colour, is less unpleasant, and the tones of the altarpiece generally are not without the liveliness common to Sienese masters.

The ex-convent of S. Domenico at Rieti is in possession of a Madonna

tions. The type of the Virgin is an exaggeration of that to be found in some of the latest Madonnas by Lippo, the body bent and the extremities defective. It is a picture of the declining Sienese school like those of the Gallery [*e.g.* No. 109 Siena Gal. Cat. The picture at Arezzo has long since disappeared.]

[1] The removal of the gilding from the background adds to the melancholy appearance of the work.

[2] His Virgin has the same attitude, the same heavy type in the Infant, the same hard colour as Tomé's.

[3] *Vide* SACCHETTI, *ubi sup.*, vol. ii., *Nov.* lxxxiv., p. 45.

[4] [Now in the Siena Gallery, No. 109.]

clearly by Luca,[1] the list of whose works may be completed with a notice of a Virgin and Child between S. John the Baptist, a bishop, S. Francis and another saint, an altarpiece of life-size figures in the oratory of the monastery called "alle Tolfe," two miles outside the Sienese gate of S. Viene. The piece adorned with the usual pinnacles of the Saviour in benediction between S. Paul, S. Peter, and other saints, is greatly injured and signed "L . . AS THOMÉ . . . . . HOC OPUS . . . ."[2]

Luca's contemporaries are Lippo Vanni and Giacomo di Mino or del Pellicciaio, of whom the following notes may be read by the more studious:

Lippo Vanni is inscribed first on the list of the Sienese guild in 1355, and known as the author of miniatures and paintings of which the majority are lost. Like Luca, he was of the council of his native place in 1360 and 1373.[3] He painted miniatures in 1344 for the Spedale, and in 1352 a Coronation of the Virgin for the Biccherna,[4] which Rumohr erroneously assigns to Lippo Memmi,[5] because he misread the record, and had not in mind the inscription preserved by Della Valle: "LIPPUS VANNIS DE SENIS FECIT HOC OPUS ANNO DOMINI MILLESIMO TRECENTESIMO LII."

His circumstances were such that in 1344 he had pawned a book in which he was to execute certain miniatures.[6] He laboured with Nello Betti in 1359 in the Sala del Consiglio of the Palazzo Pubblico,[7] and in

[1] The picture hangs in the upper coretto, represents the Infant standing on the Virgin's knee and holding a scroll, in which are the words: "QUI VULT VENIRE POST ME." The Virgin holds one end of this scroll, and the Saviour has a Cross in His right hand. The type of the latter is quite Sienese and the genuine continuation of Simone, Lippo, and Barna. A long frame affectedly bent, characterises the Virgin, who originally stood enthroned between SS. Peter and Paul, Dominic, and another saint, figures now separated and hanging injured by almost total repainting in the fifth chapel of the convent. (Above the group in the birth of the arch are two medallion prophets. The Virgin's blue dress is repainted—the figures life-size.)

[2] [Now in the Gallery of Siena. See MODIGLIANI in *Rassegna d'Arte*, an. vi. (Milano, 1906), No. 7, p. 104 *et seq.* A fine picture by Tomé has lately been discovered by Mr. F. Mason Perkins in S. Niccolò at Foligno. It is a Virgin and Child enthroned, with four adoring angels.

Mr. Perkins also ascribes to Luca a Madonna in the Chiesa del Bruco at Siena, and a fine, though damaged, panel of the Virgin and Child, once in S. Francesco at Montalcino, now in the municipal collection of that town. A S. Paul and a S. John the Evangelist by Luca are in Mr. Perkins' collection at Assisi; there is a Madonna and Child by the master in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge. A fresco of the Virgin, Christ, and Saints, in the Cappella del Seminario of S. Francesco at Siena, may be one of Luca's most important works. This fresco is somewhat hesitatingly given to Luca by CAVALCASELLE (*Storia della Pittura*, vol. iii., p. 129); Mr. Berenson and Miss Olcott ascribe it to Pietro Lorenzetti; but Mr. Douglas and Mr. Perkins contend that it is by Luca.]

[3] *Doc. Sen.*, vol. i., p. 27.

[4] Ibid. For 85 livres 16 soldi 8 den. [This painting was at a later period covered by Sano di Pietro's famous Coronation. All that now remains of Lippo's original is the inscription.]

[5] RUMOHR, *Forschungen*, vol. ii., p. 119.

[6] *Doc. Sen.*, vol. i., p. 27.

[7] Ibid., vol. i., p. 34.

1372 executed an Annunciation in the Chiostro of S. Domenico of Siena, of which the life-size heads remain, proving that he was a second-rate painter of the class in which Luca Tomé holds a place.[1] The last notice of him is dated 1375, when he received payment for the shutters of the Crucifix of the Duomo.[2]

Giacomo del Pellicciaio, who in 1373 was appointed to tax the value of one of Luca di Tomé's pictures,[3] falls into the same class with him as to style, but a step lower in talent. Enrolled after Lippo Vanni, and before Luca in the guild of Sienese painters, he appears in numerous records between 1362 and 1389,[4] assisting Bartolo di Maestro Fredi in ornamental painting at the Duomo in 1367.[5] Of interest, as showing his third-rate talent, is a very damaged Coronation of St. Catherine with numerous saints in the Gallery of Siena,[6] inscribed: "JACHOBUS MINI DE SENIS PINXIT ANNO DOMINI MCCCLXII TEMPORE PRESBITERI MATHEI RECTORIS SANCTI ANTONICI." This altarpiece, originally painted for the church of S. Antonio at Fontebranda, is of a hard colour and much repainted. Of the same class and one year later in date as Milanesi proves,[7] is the Madonna called "Del Verde," now in the Servi at Siena. The Infant, in the act of benediction, sits on the Virgin's knee, and four angels guard the throne. The colour is clear and rosy, the ornament copious, and the execution careful, clean, and flat as that of a miniature. A contract for an altarpiece for the church of the monastery of Passignano in 1372, representing the Descent of the Holy Spirit and numerous saints, has been preserved.[8] Giacomo painted book covers for the Biccherna like Guido and Dietisalvi, furnished a design for the Opera in 1382, and with others of his class was two or three times elected to the grand council of Siena.[9]

Of Paolo di Gio. Fei, enrolled with the early painters of Siena, nothing exists but the records.[10]

[1] *Doc. Sen.*, vol. i., p. 34. This fresco was signed "SEPTANTA E DUE E TRECENT' ANNI DA SIENA, QUI DIPINSE LIPPO VANNI."

[2] Ibid., vol. i., p. 28. He received 6 florins of gold 31 soldi.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid., vol. i., pp. 31, 40, 50, 264, 269, 271, 272.

[5] Ibid., vol. i., p. 264.

[6] [No. 145 of Cat.]

[7] *Doc. Sen.*, vol. i., p. 271.

[8] Ibid. He was to receive for it 80 florins.

[9] [There is a signed and dated Madonna by Giacomo di Mino (of the year 1342) at Sarteano, near Montepulciano.]

[10] [Very much more than records have now been found of Paolo di Giovanni Fei, who flourished between 1372 and 1410, and was a not unimportant contemporary of Andrea Vanni and Luca di Tomé. He was, according to Mr. Berenson and Mr. Perkins, the master of the gifted Sassetta. As the latter critic has pointed out Fei was unrivalled in his day, as a painter of small panels. Almost all of the master's smaller works are, in fact, of wonderfully delicate workmanship and of surprising decorative effect. In his larger paintings he was not always so successful. In the Sienese Gallery there are three pictures from his hand:—

(1) A Polyptych, No. (?) in Sala VII., of the Madonna and Child, with SS. John, Andrew, Francis, and Daniel, with others in the pilasters. (Signed.)

(2) A large panel, No. 116: The Birth of the Virgin, with SS. James, Catherine, Bartholomew, and Elizabeth.

(3) A panel, No. 126: Three Saints.

I name also the following:—

(4) SIENA. *Saracini Collection.* Madonna and Child, with Angels and Saints, and Eve lying before the throne of the Virgin (first given to him by MISS OLCOTT, *op. cit.*, p. 225). These works are discussed by MR. F. MASON PERKINS in the *Burlington Magazine*, August, 1903, and by MR. BERENSON, ibid., November, 1903, together with the following pictures:—

(5) SIENA. *S. Domenico* "Madonna del Rosario."

(6) SIENA. *S. Bernardino fuori Porta Camollia.* Polyptych: Virgin, Christ, and Saints.

MR. PERKINS was the first to ascribe to Fei, in the above-mentioned article:—

(7) The altarpiece, representing the Trinity and Saints, in the *Minutolo Chapel* of the *Duomo* of NAPLES, which he considers Paolo's masterpiece; and in the *Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, an. iii. (1907), p. 80,—

(8) In the *Duomo* of SIENA, the "Madonna delle Nevi," a highly characteristic and beautifully finished picture,—

(9) In the *Collection of Mr. Charles Loeser* at FLORENCE, a Madonna and Child, a later variant of the above-mentioned "Madonna delle Nevi,"—

(10) In the *Cappella della Madonna del Manto*, annexed to the Hospital Church at SIENA, a Madonna and Child surrounded by angels.

In a later article (*Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, an. iv. (1908), fasc. ii.–iii.), the same critic gives to Fei:—

(11) SIENA. *Gallery.* No. 137: Triptych of the Madonna and Saints.

(12) SIENA. *Gallery.* No. 141: Central panel of a triptych, an early work (?)

(13) SIENA. *Gallery.* No. 142: Oval panel of a triptych—late.

(14) SIENA. *Gallery.* No. 146: Diptych—Virgin, Child and Angels, and Crucifixion (also ascribed to Fei by Mr. Berenson.)

(15) SIENA. *Gallery.* No. 183: Triptych—Virgin and Child, Saints and Angels (a very beautiful early work).

(16) Mr. Perkins also ascribes to Fei a highly decorative portable altarpiece formerly in the possession of Conte Tommasi Aleotti at Arezzo, and now in *Mr. Loeser's Collection* at FLORENCE.

(17) A small panel of the Madonna and Child in the *Opera del Duomo* at Orvieto.

(18) A similar panel in the possession of *Signora Senesi*, at SIENA.

MR. BERENSON adds to this list:—

(19) SIENA. *Gallery.* Virgin and Child, without number (recently acquired). (See also A. FRANCHI, in *Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, an. iii., fasc. i., p. 9–10.)

(20) SIENA. *Gallery.* No. 96: Story of a Saint.

(21) SIENA. *Gallery.* No. 170: Three Saints.

(22) SIENA. *Chiesa del Carmine.* Fresco of the Assumption (recently uncovered.

MR. LANGTON DOUGLAS and MR. BERENSON both give to Fei):—

(23) SIENA. *Collection Chigi Zondadari.* Assumption of the Virgin.

Other works by the master are:—

(24) LONDON. *Wallace Collection.* Madonna and Child.

(25) ASSISI. *Collection of Mr. F. Mason Perkins.* S. James.]

CHAPTER IV

THE LORENZETTI

THE unchangeable attachment of Sienese painters to old typical compositions and to a time-honoured method of painting, to peculiar richness of ornament and to forms and contrasts essentially distinct from the Florentine, might, in the apprehension of our times, involve an absence of variety in their productions. Yet the same language has its lyric and epic muse, and the Lorenzetti contrast with Simone by dramatic energy and original wildness. Pietro,[1] the elder of two brothers, was a contemporary of Simone, yet stood in relation to him much as Petrarch's tender sonnets to Dante's manly strophe. Whilst Simone affected grace and lacked energy, Pietro's vigour disdained the polish of his rival. The student feels the affectation of the first, he pardons the casual vulgarity of the second. Vasari was fain to admit that Pietro imitated and surpassed Cimabue, Giotto and other painters of Italy;[2] but he was unjust to the great Florentine, if he meant all that he said; and whilst Pietro boldly innovated on the technical processes of his country, he can only claim pre-eminence over the immediate followers of Giotto. Son of one Lorenzo, he was born in the close of the thirteenth century, and appears as an artist in Siena as early as 1305, having painted in that year some part of an altarpiece called "la tavola dei Nove."[3] Though young and called in the record of the period Petruccio, the receipt of 110 livres might point to the execution of some important work. From that time till 1326 no trace of his labours exists. He is noticed then to have executed in the "Casa dell' Opera" of the Siena Cathedral certain pictures for which a payment on account has been preserved;[4] and as four sides of an altarpiece still remain in the very house to which the record refers, they may be of that year. Of these the first is a half-length S. Mary Magdalen of the finest type, rivalling the best productions of Pietro's brother Ambrogio in the Public Palace of Siena,

[1] It is remarkable that Ghiberti, who greatly admired Ambrogio, does not seem acquainted with the existence of Pietro Lorenzetti.

[2] VASARI, vol. ii., p. 26.

[3] *Doc. Sen.*, vol. i., p. 194. He receives 110 livres.

[4] Ibid., p. 194.

and a prophet in a triangular pinnacle. The second, S. Catharine, better preserved than the Magdalen, a most graceful creation and in features the most noble that had yet been produced in the school, is surmounted by another figure of a prophet holding a scroll. The third, a S. Francis in prayer with a seraph issuing from his breast, is joined to a S. Paul in the upper space, and the fourth, S. Romualdo, has S. Peter above him. No doubt the centre represented the Madonna with the Saviour in benediction in the pinnacle. The technical execution, which shall be described at leisure, is undoubtedly that of Lorenzetti;[1] and the noble elegance of the figures, far more striking than the affectedness of Simone, reveals in the master a meritorious rivalry of the Florentines and a praiseworthy freedom from the old prejudices of his countrymen. Pietro's maturer style had doubtless been preceded by a period of struggle during which he less successfully disclosed his independence of the customs and habits of his teachers. A panel, which displays his manner yet reminds the spectator so much of Duccio that it might be taken for a production of the great patriarch himself, still exists in the church of the ex-Dominican convent at Città di Castello between Perugia and Arezzo.[2]

[1] [These panels are by Ambrogio Lorenzetti, painted while under the influence of his brother.]

[2] It hangs to the left in the choir. The figures all but life-size, the altarpiece 8 feet high and 5 feet broad, with a triangular projection, shorter in base than the upper side. The Virgin, enthroned, holds the infant Saviour on her knee; He draws the folds of a white veil hanging from her head. This conceit is one common to Duccio, Segna, and the primitive Sienese; but the execution, the type and form, the peculiar shape of the eyes and mouths, the drawing, are those of Pietro Lorenzetti. At the Virgin's feet, to the right, a miniature Dominican kneels in prayer. Three angels in rows above each other are on each side of the throne, and that on the foreground to the right is striking for the comparative beauty of the head, the three on the left being completely repainted. A gentle expression in the faces charms in spite of the flattened noses, and the figures have the slenderness and length peculiar to Pietro. The careful drawing already reveals an improvement on that of Duccio. [This altarpiece is now in the Pinacoteca at Città di Castello, and has been ascribed to various authors. DR. SUIDA (*Jahrbuch der Koniglich Preussischen Kunstrauernlungen*, 1905), following a traditional attribution to Meo da Siena, ascribes it to that painter, together with the Madonna and Child (No. 565) of the National Gallery. VENTURI (*Storia dell' Arte Ital.*, vol. v., pp. 584–5), while discarding the attribution to Meo, still considers the picture to be by the same hand that painted the National Gallery picture. MR. DOUGLAS (C. and C., vol. iii., p. 20), while recognising the difference in authorship between the two pictures, gives the Madonna at Città di Castello to Segna, but does not seem to be aware that this is the picture ascribed by C. and C. to Pietro Lorenzetti, since, in a note to p. 93, he says he has not seen the picture in question. Mr. Perkins, as I have already noted (see *supra*, p. 24), contends that this altarpiece is not by any one of the three artists to whom it has been given, nor by the painter of the picture in the National Gallery, but by an unknown pupil of Duccio, by whom we possess pictures at Crevole, Siena and elsewhere. I must frankly admit that I am unable to discover the strong resemblances to Pietro Lorenzetti's manner, which C. and C. seem to have found in this work.]

The earliest altarpiece[1] signed by Pietro is that of the Cappellina del Martirio in the little church of S. Ansano, belonging to the Compagnia a Dofana outside the Pispini gate of Siena, in which the Virgin, almost life-size, is enthroned undert he guard of four angels, between S. Anthony the abbot and S. Nicholas, erect at her sides. On the step of the throne are the words :

PETRUS LAURĒTII DE SENIS ME PINXIT A.D. MCCCXXVIIII.

The figure of the Virgin deserves to be distinguished as the finest of the Sienese school, being youthful, noble, and well draped in a mantle, under which a veil, falling from the head, is twined round the bosom. Pietro gives to the head a juvenile roundness, to the eyes a peculiar openness near the canthus, to the nose some breadth and flatness of extremity, and to the small mouth somewhat drooping corners. A well-proportioned neck and hair in tresses add to the pleasant impression created by the face. The slender fingers are parted widely at the junction with the palm. The Saviour, less agreeable than the Virgin, turns in a broken movement towards S. Anthony, and the angels, with heavy projecting foreheads, are the original of a type which Lippo Memmi exaggerated. The two saints, in natural motion, are energetic in face and of fair proportion. The dampness of the chapel has sensibly affected the colours, which threaten to disappear in the course of time ; and the student can only judge of the painter's character by the firm clear outlines whose softness and precision are striking. Ornament was never more exquisitely or more judiciously used. As for the execution, it shows that Pietro had in 1329 already abandoned the dark verde system of his Sienese contemporaries and substituted for it the lighter tinge of the same colour common to the Florentines, the flesh tones being light and the shadows warm.

Whether Pietro had visited Florence and studied its masterpieces before this time it is impossible to say, but we have it from Vasari, that he painted a tabernacle near the portal of S. Spirito, in which the soft delicacy of the heads deserved the admiration of every true judge.[2]

In the same year which witnessed the delivery of the altarpiece at S. Ansano, Pietro executed another for the Carmine of Siena representing the Virgin, S. Nicholas and other saints ; a picture which, according to Milanesi, was sold in 1818, and has found its way to England.[3] It was finished for 150 livres, of which one third was paid out of the public funds, the Carmelites being too poor to give

[1] [The altarpiece in the Pieve of Arezzo described *infra*, p. 80, was ordered in 1320 and painted in Siena.]

[2] VASARI, vol. ii., p. 27. [It is more than probable that Pietro spent some time in the city of the Arno.]

[3] *Doc. Sen.*, vol. i., p. 194.

so large a sum out of their own treasury.[1] A part of a predella supposed to have belonged to it is in the Academy of Siena in two fragments, one of which represents a vision of an angel to a dreaming monk, the other, Pope Honorius confirming the rule and granting a new habit to the Order.[2] Here in truth Pietro's style may be traced in the energy and animation of the slender figures and in the fine colour which distinguish all his works. Eight small panels, originally part of a predella, and certainly by Pietro, are in a press in the Museo Cristiano at the Vatican.[3] Their resemblance to the fragment in the Academy of Siena might suggest that they also belonged to the altar-piece of the Carmine.[4] Small, well arranged, and executed with all the master's vigour, they are interesting in spite of injury. The subjects are the Stoning of Stephen, the martyrdom of four saints at the stake and their funeral, a saint in prayer before another, a dead saint brought to burial, a woman released from a devil before his dead body, and people in prayer about the same.[5] Tizio mentions yet another picture executed in the same year for the church of the Umiliati of Siena, of which Della Valle noticed as remaining a fine figure of S. Benedict.[6]

In 1333, Pietro painted a Madonna above the new portal of the Sienese Duomo, which Luca Tomé is said to have restored at a later period,[7] and in 1335 an altarpiece for the cathedral, called "di San Savino,"[8] respecting which it is interesting to note, that the incidents of the saint's life represented in it were translated for Pietro from Latin into the vulgar by the "Master of grammar," Ceccho.[9]

His great masterpiece of that year, which Vasari describes as imitating the manner of Giotto,[10] was the *Sposalizio*, or Marriage of

[1] DELLA VALLE, *Lett. Sen.*, vol. ii., p. 209; and MILANESI, vol. i., p. 193, who records a further gift of one livre for the altarpiece to the Carmelites in December 1329 (*Doc., ubi sup.*, p. 194).

[2] [No. 83 and 84 Siena Gallery Cat.]

[3] [Press C, Nos. vi. to xiii. *Cf.* F. MASON PERKINS in *Rassegna d'Arte*, an. vi. (Milano, 1906), No. 7, p. 108. These panels are now considered by several critics to be by Bernardo Daddi (*cf.* G. VITZTHUM, *Bernardo Daddi*, Leipzig, 1903; W. SUIDA, *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, xxvii.). OSWALD SIRÈN (*l'Arte*, an. ix., fasc. v.) and F. MASON PERKINS (*Rassegna d'Arte*, an. vi., fasc. vii.) ascribe the panels in question to the so-called "Pseudo-Daddi," a painter having much in common with Bernardo, but more strongly influenced by Ambrogio Lorenzetti. MR. BERENSON (*C. I. P.*), and with him E. VON MEYENBURG (*Ambrogio Lorenzetti*, Zürich, 1903), gives these paintings to Ambrogio Lorenzetti; but we believe that Mr. Berenson no longer supports this attribution, but is in agreement with Messrs. Perkins and Sirèn.]

[4] [There is no similarity between these panels and the predella piece at Siena.]

[5] [As Sirèn has pointed out, all these panels refer to the story of S. Stephen.]

[6] DELLA VALLE, vol. ii., p. 208.

[7] *Vide antea*, and *Doc. Sen.*, vol. i., p. 194.

[8] Ibid. He receives 90 livres or 30 florins on account.

[9] *Doc. Sen.*, vol. i., p. 194.

[10] VASARI, vol. ii., p. 26.

the Virgin, on the front of the Spedale of Siena, executed in company with Ambrogio, and destroyed shortly after the removal of a roof which protected it in 1720. Della Valle had the advantage of seeing its remains; and Pecci, a writer at the close of the eighteenth century, records that it was signed:

HOC OPUS FECIT PETRUS LAURENTII ET AMBROSIUS EJUS FRATER MCCCXXXV.[1]

In 1337 Pietro delivered the altarpiece of the church of S. Martin of Siena, noted by Tizio and seen by Della Valle.[2]

The year 1340 saw him finish for S. Francesco of Pistoia a picture supposed to be that now preserved at the Uffizi at Florence,[3] and inscribed:

PETRUS LAURENTII DE SENIS ME PINXIT A.D. MCCCXL.

Vasari, misreading this signature, calls the painter Pietro Laurati, thus ignoring the relationship between him and Ambrogio, and showing that, when he examined the frescoes of the Spedale he forgot the signature which proves them to have been brothers.[4] The injury done to this picture, whose milk and coffee tone conceals all the original vigour of handling and colour peculiar to Pietro, renders it a poor example of his manner.

A far more characteristic and equally certain production of his pencil is the "Nativity," painted for the altar of the Congrega del Duomo at Siena, now in the sacristy.

There Pietro, preserving as ever the time-honoured compositions that preceded the Florentine revival, represented S. Anna recumbent in bed, whilst in the foreground, a woman seated on the ground holds the infant on her lap and tries the temperature of the water poured into a basin by another female. As an additional piece of realism he adds a third woman to the group who fans a little breeze about the child. On the side panel to the right, the subject is continued by the usual representation of two servants carrying a vase and linen. On the left side, a young man-servant enters a room where Joachim and his friend sit awaiting the event. The group recalls in its vehemence of motion that of the sibyls and prophets of Michael Angelo in the Sixtine Chapel. The infant in the Nativity is feeble, the females with the vase and linen defective in type, flat-nosed, ill-drawn as to the extremities and articulations, conventional and at times false in the analysis of form, as in the hands, yet the picture creates a vivid impression by the decisive force remarkable in the action of all the persons present, and the careful firmness and clearness of the

[1] PECCI, *apud* DELLA VALLE, *Lett. Sen.*, vol. ii., p. 209. [2] Ibid., p. 208.
[3] [No. 15 Uffizi Cat.]. *Annot.* to VASARI, vol. ii., p. 28.
[4] VASARI, vol. ii., p. 28.

outlines.[1] Close by, a part of the predella represents the Saviour crucified between the two thieves,[2] with the usual animated and purely Sienese attendant incidents.[3] The central panel of the Nativity is inscribed :

PETRUS LAURENTII DE SENIS ME PINXIT MCCC.XLII.

Better preserved, and of the utmost interest as exhibiting the pure style of Pietro, is the altarpiece in the Pieve of Arezzo, built up in compartments with pinnacles in the true Sienese manner, undated but signed :

PETRUS LAURĒTII HĀC PĪXIT DEXTRA SENIS.[4]

The principal course represents half-lengths of the Virgin and Child standing between SS. John the Baptist and Matthew, John Evangelist and Donato. The Virgin wears a white dress damasked with blue flowers and lined with fur, and whilst she draws it together at the side with her right, the Saviour keeps it fast at her bosom with His left. Her attitude is the drooping affected and conventional one of the Sienese, and the expression is gazing, which is an equally marked peculiarity of the school. Her figure though long is not too thin. The Child smiles, but with a gaze. Yet the group combines the grace of Simone with a force which is only in Pietro Lorenzetti, and the thin hands are not without elegance of motion. An upper course, containing the Annunciation and the Ascension in a pinnacle, complete the centre of the altarpiece. The Evangelist, bearded, of grave and stern character, is broadly and grandly modelled, and holds the gospel, whilst the right hand grasps the mantle. SS. Luke and Vincent are in the course above, S. Catherine in the pinnacle. Above S. Donato are S. Paul and another saint. S. Reparata tops the whole. A wild sternness, well suited to the character of the Baptist, a high forehead, long straggling and curly beard and shaggy hair, characterise S. John, whose movement is a little bent, as with the thumb of his right hand he points to the Virgin and holds in his left a Cross. Yet on analysis of the features, the eyes, in Pietro's usual cornered forms omitting the canthus, are near the root of the nose, the lips close, with the sides of the upper

[1] Of the colour, which time has darkened, less can be said, but at present its aspect is somewhat flat and unrelieved. [The subject is the Nativity of the Virgin. It is now in the Opera del Duomo.]

[2] [This panel, according to MISS OLCOTT (*op. cit.*, p. 257), is not by Pietro, but by Taddeo Bartoli.]

[3] Eight small panels in the same room, representing the legend of the Cross, and found some years ago in the tubes of the cathedral organ, have been considered a part of the predella attached to the Nativity, but their flatness of tone and feeble execution accuse the weaker powers of a pupil.

[4] Yet Rumohr doubts the genuineness of the signature. The picture is, however, certainly by Pietro, and was executed according to Vasari in 1355, at the request of the Arciprete Guglielmo (vol. ii., p. 28). The *annot.* think there is an error of date here, as one Guglielmo was incumbent of the Pieve in 1345. [This altarpiece was painted in 1320, as CAVALCASELLE states in the Italian edition of this *History* (vol. iii., p. 156). It was ordered by Bishop Guido Tarloti and the commission is given in full in BORGHESI and BIANCHI'S *Nuovi Documenti per la Storia dell' Arte Senese* (Siena, Torrini, 1898), No. 6.]

drooping and overlapping the lower. Above him SS. James the Elder and James the Less, a female saint with a bow, complete the panel. A vast brow marks the head of S. Matthew, whose type has a little of the old grimness, whilst the hand is fine in shape and action.[1]

Such an altarpiece as this could only have been executed by a man of a powerful fibre, who combined thought with technical skill. Here Pietro defined light and shade with a breadth unknown to his predecessors, and at the same time with a truthful simplicity undoubtedly telling. He rivalled the tempera of the Florentines, and kept himself free from all killing research of detail, casting aside the old habits of his school and trampling on the barriers which separated him from his rivals. But whilst he showed in this a spirit superior to that of his contemporaries, he preserved the advantages of broad and easy drapery coloured in brilliant and powerful tones which were the special gift of his countrymen.[2] The stamp of Pietro's genius is in fact everywhere, and the picture, though it remains below those of Giotto, because its subject did not require the development of great laws in distribution, is more powerful and able than any produced by his pupils.[3]

Ghiberti strangely omits to mention Pietro Lorenzetti, but with unaccustomed rapture dwells on the beauty of a series painted by Ambrogio in S. Francesco of Siena.[4] It is not long since a part of these paintings was rescued from whitewash and placed in two chapels of the convent church. Amongst them is a Crucifixion unnoticed by Ghiberti or Vasari, and composed of figures larger than life. There the Saviour, a powerful and robust nude, not unnoble in its muscular development, but with a low forehead and eyes like those of Pietro Lorenzetti, hangs on the Cross, wailed by a flight of the usual vehement angels. At the foot of the instrument of torture, S. John grieving and the Virgin motionless in the arms of the Maries, form the usual accompaniment to the principal figure. S. John, of muscular frame and great size, expresses the most realistic and grimacing grief, with contracted brow, open-mouthed and disfigured by a pointed chin and massive hair, cut straight across a massive forehead. Yet there

[1] Above him are SS. Marcellinus, Augustine, and Agatha. In the birth of the niches of the chief course, eight angels adorn the medallions, and four prophets fill similar spaces above the double niches of the second course, that above the Annunciation being a figure with a crown and double wings.

[2] Warm glazes are nicely spread over the shadows, and a warm yellowish tone over the lights. The whole is clearly defined and conscientiously drawn with a dash and boldness which make lines cut each other angularly at times. Every part is handled with unequalled firmness.

[3] There is no predella to this picture, which, with the exception of some abrasion in the face of the infant Saviour, is perfectly preserved.

[4] Now the Seminario.

is such tremendous energy in the head that its vulgarity disappears. The power of Niccola Pisano and the exaggeration of Michael Angelo seem combined in the group of the Maries, and the Virgin, with wrinkled brow and eyes contracted into angles by spasms, has cast her arms wildly over the shoulders of her attendants. Her high forehead, close eyes, and mouth with the upper lip drooping over the lower at the corners, are essentially characteristic of Pietro Lorenzetti, and convey the impression that he studied most masculine female models. Yet the genius of the painter enables him to give interest to a form otherwise disagreeable, by the extraordinary force which he displays.[1] The energy and power which mark this fresco are found equally strong in a figure in the refectory of S. Francesco representing the Saviour rising from the tomb, in the usual attitude and holding the staff of a banner. His form is grave and majestic, though the features have no beauty; and the expression is so fine, the drawing so bold in its angular force, the somewhat broken movement of the joints so vehement, that one forgets the defects in the vigour which the master displays.

The variety which distinguished the Sienese from the Florentine school is now sufficiently clear. It may be noted in a series of frescoes in the north transept of the Lower Church of S. Francesco at Assisi, assigned by Vasari to Pietro Cavallini.[2]

The Sienese school was characterised from the first by a peculiar mode of distributing the subjects of the Passion. Duccio and Barna preserved it alike, commencing with the Entrance into Jerusalem, to which they gave a double space, and closing with the Crucifixion, to which a fourfold area was devoted. The last scene of the mournful drama thus received additional importance, and was intended in every sense to possess overwhelming interest. The Florentines, it is hardly necessary to say, devoted to each incident an equal space, and their simplicity in this respect may be studied not only in Florence and Padua but in Assisi, by the side of these Sienese frescoes, which have so long been assigned to a Roman painter. They are indeed distributed not only as Duccio and others were wont to do, but as was usual with the painters of Crucifixes in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, who made the Redeemer colossal and the scenes of the Passion subordinate. They occupy the sides, the vaulting, and the end of the transept.[3] The pictures are parted in the usual manner

[1] The colour is of course removed by the scraping of the whitewash, but the preparation is the more visible, and one sees the shadows indicated in brown on a smooth intonaco.

[2] VASARI, vol. ii., p. 83.

[3] Beginning on the eastern curve with the Entrance into Jerusalem and the

Alinari.

MADONNA AND CHILD, WITH S. FRANCIS AND S. JOHN

PIETRO LORENZETTI.

N. Transept, Lower Church, S. Francesco, Assisi.

Alinari.

ALTARPIECE

PIETRO LORENZETTI.

S. Maria della Pieve, Arezzo.

by ribs of ornament, at the corners of which lozenges contain figures of prophets or apostles, and smaller medallions enclose angels. The character, the type of these apostles and angels, so clearly derived from the examples of Duccio and his predecessors, would alone prove the frescoes to be by a painter of Siena; but looking at the entire series, the impression which it creates is that of a work conceived and carried out by one hand, in general features like the Cappella S. Martino of Simone, because it is by an artist of the same school, though stamped with the individuality of another and perhaps greater genius, unlike those of the southern transept or the Orsini Chapel, because they are by painters who laboured on different principles and in another spirit. Setting aside, however, all other considerations for the sake of going into the analysis and study of the matter, the frescoes of the north transept are Sienese in distribution and composition, and are the development of the manner of Duccio, Ugolino and Segna. The types are theirs, the old ones modified by the spirit of one who possessed a superior genius. The figures, vehement in action, often vulgar in shape and face, frequently conventional, and in some cases downright ugly, are rescued by the extraordinary power with which the movement and expression are rendered. The broad and sweeping draperies are more closely fitting than the Florentine and cut on different models. All this sufficiently characterises a painter whose style can be distinguished even from that of his brother, and that is Pietro Lorenzetti. Passing from the general to the particular, and taking the subjects in their historical order, the spectator cannot fail to remark that the Entrance into Jerusalem is conceived and executed as Duccio conceived and executed it, with the same figures, crowd and edifices, but bolder and more vehement in action, as if the soul of Duccio had entered the frame of Lorenzetti. None but Pietro ever painted such a Last Supper as this, where Christ gives the meat to Judas, an ignoble mask, and outside the cooks clean the dishes near the kitchen fire, the cat steals the scraps, and the servant points with his thumb in the direction of the supper as if commenting upon the conduct of the guests, whilst the moon and stars symbolically suggest an evening meal. Who but Pietro could impart to vulgar types and attitudes

Last Supper, beneath which the Saviour Washing the Apostles' Feet, the Capture, the Self-murder of Iscariot, and S. Francis receiving the Stigmata were placed; and continuing on the western with the Flagellation, the Road to Calvary, and the Crucifixion, which, with its fourfold size and colossal figure of the Saviour, is thus made to face the miracle of S. Francis and the Stigmata. In two courses, on the northern end of the transept and about the arch leading out of it, are painted the Deposition, the Entombment, the Resurrection, and the Limbo.

such power and animation as are to be found in the apostles in a room stripping their feet, whilst S. Peter reluctantly permits the Saviour to kneel and wash him ? In the Capture one may see the illustration of the well-known custom which assigned to the Saviour a superior stature and grave features, mindless in their serenity of the cares of this little world ; whilst in the face of Judas the expressive ugliness, which Leonarda da Vinci sought with so much labour, proves Pietro's talent and study of the human features.[1]

At the Column again, the Saviour appears, as in all Sienese pictures, with His back to the spectator and receives the stripes from two soldiers in the usual vehement action. A natural, well-studied nude, muscular and energetic in its movement, but unnoble in form, reveals as ever the tendency of Pietro Lorenzetti. One may note in the Procession to Calvary the two thieves in long convulsive stride and common in features, a soldier galloping on horseback, a guard rudely keeping back the Maries, the Saviour carrying His Cross, the Virgin masculine in the angular energy of her step, in features resembling those of the fresco in S. Francesco at Pisa, S. John Evangelist quite to the left, and the horsemen closing a long array, the whole in a distance whose houses are crenellated not with the double Florentine pointed, but with the Sienese square, embrasure.

The Crucifixion is mutilated by a large stone altar which cuts off the figure of the Saviour at the knees ; and, agreeably to Sienese custom, He contrasts by His size with the thieves in torture at His sides. With more simplicity, His form is identical with that of Duccio, thin, long, hanging forward, lifeless, low in forehead, with bony brow, nose depressed, and mouth drooping at the corners. Well studied and harmonious in the parts, it proves Lorenzetti's study of nature. Terrible grimace, herculean frames and vulgar grief mark the circling angels about the cross, which contrast, as all Sienese angels do, with those of Giotto, and prove once more, how different the genius of the two schools was where it might be desirable to create an ideal. As regards type, order, symmetry and balance of composition, which were Giotto's field, Lorenzetti shows his inferiority to the Florentines. The good thief, on the other hand, with his arms over the cross, as ever, a muscular nude, proves Pietro's rare talent and study of nature and his successful rivalry with, and superiority over, the Giottesques. The impenitent, vulgar in face, in agonising pain as the executioner breaks his bones, realises the idea of terrible suffering and is convulsed in every fibre. No one had as yet so completely rendered torments.[2]

[1] The apostles may be seen retiring in the background.

[2] Beneath the penitent thief, the Virgin falls swooning into the arms of one

Low down, to the right of the altar, the Virgin sits between S. Francis [1] and another saint, talking to the Infant and pointing back with her thumb. With some slight variation her form is a repetition of that in Pietro's altarpiece at Arezzo.[2] Beneath this, and between two shields whose blazonry is gone, the Crucifixion is repeated in miniature, and a figure in prayer, said to be a portrait of Cavallini, but probably the patron, kneels to the right.[3] The Deposition is a composition of the usual vehemence in action, and improved by Pietro's vigour from the original of Duccio.[4]

The type of the Saviour in the Entombment is as fine as the composition, in the pure Sienese style, is animated. The four busts of saints below are all but effaced. As for the Resurrection and Limbo, they illustrate at once the well-known tendency of Pietro to repeat subjects in consecrated forms, and his peculiar mode of impressing on them a stamp of his own. His excessive and uncompromising realism is further shown in the Judas hanging from a beam with his bowels dropping out,[5] a fresco at the side of a door, in the archivault of which S. Francis in a medallion shows the Stigmata.

But where Giotto and Pietro may be advantageously compared is in the S. Francis receiving the Stigmata. The saint, kneeling on his left leg, looks up to his left at the Saviour on the Cross swooping down with his seven wings like a hawk. Giotto would never have conceived an attitude so unnatural or uncomfortable as Lorenzetti

of the Maries, forming a purely Sienese group. A figure looking over her, with an ugly face and a broad nose, is one of the types most common in Lorenzetti, whilst the Maries have the usual pointed and projecting chin. Close by, on the contrary, a youthful and fine female profile contrasts with the curiously exaggerated one of an aged woman. A nimbed figure on horseback standing in profile in front, affected in the action of the arms (much discoloured), is said to be a portrait of the Duke of Athens, and near him is supposed to be a likeness of Cavallini; but these are fables to captivate the idle, not to convince the serious observer. The group is completed by soldiers, as it is on the opposite side where two guards on horseback fraternise by giving an arm to each other.

[1] Part of the figure is gone.

[2] [The authors seem to have forgotten to mention the painting of the Virgin and Child, with saints, above the tomb of Cardinal Napoleone Orsini, which is also by Pietro.]

[3] The colour has dropped off in parts; the white ground thus appears and the light preparation is visible.

[4] Whilst he represented the body of the Saviour held by two apostles, and still lissom in death, with Nicodemus drawing the nail, and the hands kissed by the Virgin and one of the Maries, he depicted the Magdalen kneeling on the ground to embrace the feet, and another of the Maries holding her cheeks and shrieking. The lean but not unnoble nude, is rendered with the convulsive vigour which forms the groundwork of Pietro's talent, as it did that of Michael Angelo. Beneath the fresco four saints are placed in squares, and S. Catherine, one of them, rivals and resembles the Virgin of Pietro at S. Ansano.

[5] The lower part of the figure is retouched.

here invented for the sake, no doubt, of novelty. The type of the saint's head combines all Pietro's characteristic features, a small chin and mouth, angular eyes close to the root of a long thin nose; in the glance menace and fear commingled, whilst the face of the Saviour is ignoble and without repose.[1]

Such is the perfect harmony of all these scenes, such the vigour, lightness, and brilliancy of their colour, that they are quite imposing, and they show Pietro Lorenzetti in a most advantageous light. As a colourist, indeed, he was enabled to maintain his work at a level above that due to it in consideration of the types and distribution; and in the north transept of Assisi he appears in this respect superior not only to the contemporaries of his own but of other schools. In the power which he displays he surpassed the pupils of Giotto, whilst they excelled in composition and distribution, which were Giotto's bequests to them. First amongst the artists of Siena, he made a near approach to the perfection of Florence. He was beyond measure dramatic and powerful, and for this he deserves to be classed above Simone, who, for his part, is entitled to claim attention for the extraordinary softness of his creations.[2]

Assisi, however, does not alone contain examples of great works by Pietro. One has been noticed in S. Francesco of Pisa.[3] The Campo Santo contains a series conceived and executed by him. On the southern wall of the enclosure and at its eastern extremity he illustrated the legends of numerous hermits and saints in a landscape of rocks scantily provided with trees and picturesquely capped with huts to which steps cut in the solid stone seem deviously to lead. In character exactly similar to the so-called Orcagna at its side, this fresco is studded with about thirty different episodes, partly on a foreground road leading by a bridge over a stream, partly in the crags or huts which have already been described. Unfavourable as this mode of representing subjects was and remained, it was too much in accordance with traditions sacred to Sienese painters to be abandoned. Yet, in spite of this disadvantage, it still gave occasion to Lorenzetti

[1] The draperies, however, are fine, though in the simplicity with which they should clothe the form they are unequal to those of Giotto. The figure of Hilarius reading, in the right-hand corner, is cut away by the frame of a projecting orchestra.

[2] [Mr. Berenson gives this entire series of frescoes to Pietro (*op. cit.*, p. 149). Dr. Thode, on the contrary, gives them to a follower of the master (*cf. Franz von Assisi*, Berlin, 1904, p. 294). Signor Venturi gives the fresco of the Madonna and Child, and those of the Deposition from the Cross and the Entombment, together with the figures of S. Francis and his companion in the Stigmatisation, to Pietro himself: all the others he considers to be the work of a follower.]

[3] [There is no work by Pietro in S. Francesco at Pisa. The authors probably mean S. Francesco at Siena.]

to form groups full of his usual energetic wildness, and the more suited to that tendency in him as he had but to depict the weatherbeaten features of inhabitants of a wilderness, to whom he could impart all the sternness of character and aspect, all the savage grandeur, of which he was a well-chosen exponent. The age, the individuality, the occupation of each of these hermits, are rendered by him with original power, with great knowledge of nude form, great breadth of drapery, vigour of light and shade and admirable design. Whichever of the groups may more particularly attract the observer, he will find in it the same severe grandeur. For instance, on the extreme right, where S. Panunzius covers up the frame of the dead S. Onofrio, lying at length on the ground and partly naked, the nude, in Pietro's characteristic style, is rendered with great intelligence, the drapery with breadth and truth, the drawing with excessive firmness. One may note with what reverent care the surviving hermit, in his cowl and frock, bends down and brings the folds of the garment over the bare breast—how natural and true is the action and how good the group. Considered alone, this is indeed one of the finest productions of its time. Well preserved, it is coloured with boldness on a white ground, the shadows, of a liquid grey tending to verde, defining the inner forms already lined in red, and contrasting with a natural yellowish flesh tint in light. The parts are modelled and searched out as a sculptor might have sought them, exhibiting Lorenzetti's excellence in rendering natural forms, his pre-eminence in this over the followers of Giotto, and his superiority when he had to reproduce a quiet scene.[1]

Taking another incident, that in which a woman tempts a hermit in his cell, who only resists by putting his hands in the fire,—the same female lying prostrate in death, and kneeling after her resurrection repentant near a tomb, Lorenzetti will be found equally able in producing feminine softness as he had previously shown himself in depicting the masculine sternness of the hermit. High up on the same side, S. Hilarion may be seen grave and fearless on a mule repelling a dragon with the sign of the cross, whilst the sentiment of fear and surprise is ably given in the attitude of one by him.[2] Near them two devils before a hermit display the same fancy as dwells in the neighbouring fresco assigned to Orcagna. At no great distance the Saviour appears to Brother Antonio in prayer and has the type, the character and movement, the form and articulations, the draperies

[1] His boldness in rubbing in the hair and beards transparently and drawing in the locks afterwards is beyond measure masterly.

[2] This figure is new as to the head.

of the Saviour in the so-called Orcagna. Passing over a series of episodes in the life of the same Beato Antonio, and pausing where he kisses the hand of the dead hermit, S. Paul, lying on the ground whilst two lions scratch in the hard ground a rude and shallow grave, the same grand variety of form and type may be discovered. The lions in their strength and elasticity are classical and seem to live; and wherever animal life is depicted the painter is great. A fallen mule, camel entering a gate, exhibit his knowledge of their natural forms. Nothing can be finer than the groups of Paul and Antonio in prayer, of the Bishop Zosimus giving the communion to S. Mary of Egypt shrouded in her long hair, or other subjects declared of old by inscriptions now worn out.[1]

The notice of Pietro's works may be completed by a short description of pictures scattered throughout many galleries.

In the church of S. Lucia, near the Palazzo Gaetani at Rome, is a small half-length Virgin and Child hanging to a pilaster near the high altar. A Christ before Herod by Pietro is also in one of the presses of the Museo Cristiano at the Vatican.[2]

Many panels with his name are to be found in Italy and abroad. The Virgin and Child guarded by two angels between S. Augustine and other saints, SS. John the Baptist, Agnes, and Dominic; four small panels in one frame representing scenes from the Passion, Christ on the Cross, all in the Gallery of Berlin, are not in the spirit of Pietro's genuine works.[3]

Part of a pinnacle of an altarpiece with the subject of the Annunciation, in a room leading to the Sala di Balìà in the Public Palace of Siena, is the only work by Pietro remaining in an edifice [4] for which he is known to have painted so much. A half-figure of an apostle,[5] a half-length of S. Gregory,[6] a Virgin and Child guarded by two angels, with seraphs in the angles,[7] all of them flat and giving no idea of the master's talent, are in

[1] Damaged by time like its neighbours assigned to Orcagna, the fresco has undergone change from damp even in those parts which are best preserved, whilst some parts have been repainted; and clamps unite the intonaco where it was split and threatened to fall out. It is still enclosed in a painted frame having nine angels in medallions, executed, with the exception of a portion already described as repainted by Antonio Veneziano, in the same style as that which surrounds the two neighbouring ones supposed to be the work of Andrea and Bernardo Orcagna.

[*Cf. supra*, vol. i., p. 376, *note* 1, where the series of frescoes called the Triumph of Death are noted as given by Mr. Berenson to "an unknown follower of the Lorenzetti." J. B. Supino (*Il Camposanto di Pisa*, Florence, 1896) gives these paintings to Traini and the Pisan school. They are also ascribed to the Pisan school by H. Thode (*Repertorium fur Kunstwissenschaft*, vol. xi., 1888).]

[2] [Press. D, No. IV. (*Cf.* also O. Sirèn in *l'Arte*, an. ix., fasc. v.)]

[3] Berlin Cat. Nos. 1091, 1092, 1093. [Not now on exhibition.]

[4] [The work described is in the Sala di Passaggio or de' Cardinali; it is only a school work.]

[5] [Siena Gallery Cat., No. 75.] [6] [Ibid., No. 59.]

[7] [Ibid., No. 76.] [The work of a pupil (Lucy Olcott).]

the Gallery of Siena, together with half-lengths of SS. Thomas and James,[1] Thomas and Bartholomew, which were once pinnacles of an altarpiece.[2]

One may further assign to the school, though much damaged, a *dossale* representing the Virgin and Child between SS. Giuliana, Peter, Paul and Giusto, with the Annunciation, and eight saints in the upper spaces, originally executed for the church of S. Giusto of Siena, much repainted in oil and now in the Siena Gallery ; [3] half-figures of SS. John the Baptist and Paul from the convent of S. Marta in the same gallery.[4] Here indeed may be the hand of Paolo di Maestro Neri, who is to be considered a pupil of the Lorenzetti.

As for a small panel [5] in the Uffizi at Florence representing the Thebais of Egypt,[6] subjects similar to those which illustrate hermit life at the Campo Santo, the composition has neither the qualities nor the power of Pietro, though it may be of his school and the execution by his pupils.[7]

[1] [Siena Gallery Cat., No. 64.] [2] [Ibid., No. 62.] [3] [No. 50.]

[4] [Nos. 52, 53. These two panels are by Ambrogio Lorenzetti. See E. VON MEYENBURG (*Ambrogio Lorenzetti*, Zürich, 1903), and F. MASON PERKINS (*Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, an. iv., fasc. ii.–iii.).]

[5] [This can hardly be called a *small* panel.]

[6] [No. 16 Uffizi Cat.], much restored. [Mr. Berenson considers this to be a genuine work by Pietro Lorenzetti.]

[7] [To the above works Mr. F. Mason Perkins would add :—

ASSISI.	*Lower Church, Right transept.* Franciscans in Adoration (fresco ; beneath Madonna of Cimabue), hitherto ascribed to Giotto (!) and Lippo Memmi.
CASTIGLION D'ORCIA.	*SS. Stefano and Degno.* Madonna and Child (panel).
GROSSETO.	*Duomo.* Madonna and Child (panel).
MONTICCHIELLO.	*SS. Jacopo e Cristoforo.* Madonna and Child (panel) (*cf.* F. MASON PERKINS in *Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, an. iv. (Siena, 1907), p. 3) ; and
SIENA.	*Gallery.* Two Female Saints. (Not numbered.) No. 76, Madonna, Child and Angels. No. 81, S. Cecilia.

Mr. Berenson's list (*Central Italian Painters*, 1897) contains the following :—

ASSISI.	*S. Francesco, L. Transept.* Triptych : Virgin's Coronation and Saints. (See *antea*, p. 85, note 2.)
BERLIN.	*Museum.* No. 1077 : St. Umilitas heals the sick. No. 1077A : Death of St. Umilitas. These panels originally belonged to the altarpiece now in the Academy at Florence.
*BUDA-PESTH.	*Gallery.* No. 22 : Madonna Enthroned. (Suida and F. Mason Perkins give this to Ambrogio.)
*CORTONA.	*Duomo.* Madonna and Angels. *S. Marco.* Crucifix.
FLORENCE.	*Academy.* No. 133 : Story of S. Umilitas. Ascribed to Pietro by CAVALCASELLE (*Storia della Pittura in Italia*, vol. iii., p. 156, *note* 1). This altarpiece was painted for the convent of Vallombrosa, and is dated 1316. W. SUIDA, *Florentinische Mater* (1905), p. 1, *note* 5, gives a S. Lucia in S. Lucia of Florence to Pietro Lorenzetti. MR. F. MASON PERKINS agrees with him. See *Rassegna d'Arte*, an. vi. (Milano, 1906), *note* 1, p. 15.
*MILAN.	*Poldo Pezzoli.* No. 113 : Madonna and Saints.
MUNSTER IN W.	No. 2 : Madonna and Saints.

The date of Pietro's death is not more certain than that of his birth, but it is known that he lived in the parish of S. Pietro in Castelvecchio, and that he was married to Giovanna di Mino del Cicerchia. The most probable supposition is that the plague of 1348 put an end not only to his but to his brother Ambrogio's life.

Of the latter, who was obviously younger than Pietro, little more is known. His birth and his death have not been recorded, and the first notice of his existence dates no further back than 1324.[1] His earliest productions were frescoes in S. Francesco of Siena,[2] executed, according to Tizio, in 1331,[3] and described with such enthusiasm by Ghiberti, that his words may with advantage be quoted.

Ambrogio's admirable story, says the Florentine, fills the whole side of a cloister, where a youth may be seen preparing to take the frock, assuming the monastic habit, and with others requesting permission to pass into

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Note 7 *con.*—ROME. *S. Lucia.* Madonna (small).
Museo Cristiano. Vet. E, X. Madonna and Child and two Angels between SS. Catherine and Mary Magdalen.
VENTURI ascribes to Pietro, three female Saints in the Sterbini Collection at Rome (*La Galleria Sterbini*, Rome, 1906).
SIENA. *S. Francesco, R. Transept Chapel.* Fresco: Virgin, Child and Saints. Miss Olcott also gives this fresco to Pietro; Mr. Douglas and Mr. Perkins give it to Luca di Tomé (see *note* 2, *supra*, p. 72).
**S. Pietro Ovile.* Madonna.
**Servi.* Massacre of the Innocents (fresco).
MISS OLCOTT gives to Pietro himself the fine fragments of frescoes in the Collegio Tolomei (originally the convent of S. Agostino) at Siena (see *op. cit.*, p. 277).

* The pictures marked with an asterisk are those concerning which Mr. Langton Douglas finds himself in agreement with Mr. Berenson as to their authorship. *Cf.* his edition of a *History of Painting in Italy*, vol. iii., p. 107, *note* 9.]

[1] MILANESI, *Doc. Sen.*, vol. i., p. 195.

[2] [According to Mr. Perkins, these are not Ambrogio's earliest works, but are posterior in date of execution to the polyptych of the Virgin and Child with saints, once in the church of S. Petronilla and now (No. 77) in the Gallery at Siena, as well as to the Madonna and Child in the Abbadia di S. Eugenio, near Siena. Mr. Perkins considers the beautiful altarpiece at Massa Marittima to have been painted in the same period as the frescoes of S. Francesco. For a critical analysis of Ambrogio's earlier works, as well as for a comparison of some of his later paintings, see articles by MR. PERKINS in the *Burlington Magazine*, April, 1904, and in the *Rassegna d'Arte*, December, 1904. Don Guido Cagnola has recently published a very interesting picture of the Madonna and Child, in the collection of Prof. Helbig at Rome (*cf.* G. CAGNOLA, *Dipinti Ignorati*, in *Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, an. iv., fasc. ii.–iii., pp. 45, 46), which both he and Mr. Perkins ascribe to Ambrogio's earlier years. This is a valuable addition to the list of the master's works. MR. LANGTON DOUGLAS mentions (*History of Siena*, p. 369, and C. and C., iii., p. 119), a Madonna and Child in the possession of Mr. Dormer Fawcus of Quinto al Mare, near Genoa, as a possible early work of Ambrogio.]

[3] *Tizio MSS. ap.* DELLA VALLE, vol. ii., p. 213.

Asia to preach amongst the Saracens. Then follows the departure of the brethren on their way to the Soldan: how they begin to preach the faith of Christ and are brought before the Soldan, who orders them to be bound to a pillar and scourged by two executioners. There again is to be seen how two, who have already given their share of stripes, surrender the duty to two others and rest themselves with hair bathed in moisture [1] and forms dripping with sweat, with such sorrow and trouble in their faces, that it is a marvel with what art the master presented them. The people stand by and look at the naked friars. The Soldan sits in Moorish fashion, all in costumes and dresses so varied, that one might fancy the figures were alive. Finally the Soldan issues the order that the brethren shall be hanged to a tree, and it appears that one of them speaks and preaches as he hangs from the bough, on which the Soldan orders the executioner to decapitate them. The scene is represented where they are so executed amidst a great crowd of spectators on foot and horseback, with the executioner and many armed people. Here are men and women, and as the heads are separated from the trunks, a dark storm arises, with hail, thunder, lightning and earthquake, so well depicted that one might fancy one saw the fall of heaven and earth. All appear anxious to get under cover, in great trepidation. The men and women bring their garments over their heads, and the soldiers cower under their shields, whilst the hail gathers and clatters upon them. The trees bow to the ground, or break, and every one tries to fly. The executioner falls from his horse and kills him as he does so. So great was the miracle that many people were baptized. For a painting this seemed to me a marvel.[2]

So far Ghiberti. What remains of these frescoes, since their recovery from whitewash, consists of two large fragments sawed from the cloister wall and now in the second chapel of the church of San Francesco at Siena. The Pope enthroned imposes hands on a kneeling friar distinguished by a nimbus. A potentate in a diadem and a row of cardinals stand at the Pope's sides, and brethren of the Franciscan Order kneel on the right foreground, whilst a crowd look on near the prince and cardinals. This damaged and colourless fresco is designed in the manner peculiar to the Lorenzetti, and permits no doubt as to its authors. Its style is that common to Pietro and Ambrogio, and not dissimilar from that of the so-called Orcagnas at the Campo Santo of Pisa.[3]

The second fragment represents the Soldan sword in hand, surrounded by guards intended for Africans, but more like Chinamen

[1] RUMOHR, *Forschungen*, vol. ii., p. 101, translates *Capelli* hats!

[2] GHIBERTI, *Comment.* ii., *ap.* VASARI, vol. i., p. xxiii.–iv.

[3] The head of the prince, for instance, with a diadem, stretching forward, is especially remarkable; and the variety of costumes, the squareness of muscular forms, are characteristic. [It is difficult to trace any real similarity in technique between this fresco and those of the Pisan Campo Santo.]

and dressed in the strangest and most fanciful habits. The Soldan's expression is stern and passionate. On the left, three men, kneeling with their backs to the spectators, await the stroke of the executioner. Three others have already been decapitated, and very ugly children throw stones at their corpses. On the extreme right, an executioner restores his sword to the scabbard. Defective as regards type, form and action, this fresco exhibits not only exaggerated but frequently false design.[1] The surface has been completely abraded, but the execution seems less worthy of the master than of his assistants.[2]

Of the frescoes in S. Agostino at Siena, where, according to Ghiberti [3] and Vasari,[4] Ambrogio illustrated the Creed and the legend of S. Catherine, there are remnants only in the archivault of a door leading into the Collegio Tolomei, but so injured as to defy criticism.[5] Vasari further mentions scenes from the legend of S. Nicholas executed together with an altarpiece for S. Procolo of Florence ; [6] and Cinelli alludes to the latter as having borne the signature "AMBROSIUS LAURENTII DE SENIS MCCCXXXII." [7] All that remains of it is two small predella panels in the Academy of Arts at Florence, one representing S. Nicholas of Bari throwing the gold into the room of his neighbour asleep near his three daughters, and another scene,[8] the other two, incidents from the life of S. Proculus,[9] both much damaged, but still stamped with Ambrogio's character. The rest of the altarpiece has disappeared, together with that part of the predella in which Ambrogio painted his own portrait, but it produced an order for him to visit Cortona in 1335, to execute for a bishop of the Ubertini certain frescoes in S. Margarita, which are not now in existence.[10] From thence he returned to Siena, where he is recorded to have repaired the face, hands and book of the Virgin in the Duomo, and, as has already been

[1] The architecture of a portico under which the Soldan sits is small and feeble as it appears in old miniatures, and is adorned with little figures in dead colour on triangular pinnacles.

[2] From this series of frescoes by the brothers Lorenzetti, two heads of females are [1864] in the hands of Mr. Under-Secretary Austen Layard.

[The heads of four nuns in the National Gallery, No. 1147, are a fragment of the composition in fresco formerly on the wall of the Capitolo of S. Francesco in Siena. Both this and the preceding fresco are unanimously accepted as genuine works of Ambrogio by all modern critics.]

[3] GHIBERTI, *ubi sup.*, p. xxiv. [4] VASARI, vol. ii., p. 66.

[5] [This is inexact. The fragments remaining are very few in number, but what is left is in excellent preservation. They are given by MR. BERENSON and MISS OLCOTT to Pietro Lorenzetti, not to Ambrogio, and the latter writer especially praises a half-figure of S. Catherine (see *Guide to Siena*, p. 277).]

[6] Ibid., p. 67.

[7] *Note* to ibid., same page.

[8] [No. 132–136 of Academy Cat.]

[9] [The five panels are all concerned with S. Nicholas of Bari.]

[10] VASARI, vol. ii., p. 67.

stated, he painted with his brother the front of the Spedale at Siena.[1]

Early in 1337, and for two entire years afterwards, he was employed in adorning the Sala de' Nove or della Pace in the Public Palace at Siena with frescoes, which were completed on the 18th of February 1339.[2] Here Ambrogio depicted three vast allegories illustrative of the advantages to be derived from justice and peace, and of the evils ensuing from tyranny. The first, above a door which unhappily cuts off a part of its right corner, has given occasion to mighty contest and argument, yet seems capable of sufficient explanation.

High up on the left hand, a half-length figure of Wisdom, inscribed SAPIENTIA, crowned with a diadem and wearing a veil round its neck, hovers on the wing with a book in her left hand.[3] She holds with her right the handle of a gigantic balance whose beam reposes on the head of Justice, looking up as if for inspiration to the figure of Wisdom, and poising at an equal height the disks.[4] In that to the left a winged angel [5] bends outward and decapitates a kneeling man, whilst with his right hand he places a crown on the head of another kneeling in prayer. This is distributive justice, as the word DISTRIBUTIVA indicates. A similar angel [6] bends out of the disk to the right, dipping one hand into a box held by a kneeling person and giving a lance and sword to another in a similar

[1] [One of the most important of Ambrogio's works falls midway between the frescoes of S. Francesco and those of the Palazzo Pubblico at Siena. This is a striking series of mural paintings in the present sacristy of the church of S. Galgano a Monte Siepi, near the ruins of the famous abbey of that name, some sixteen miles to the west of Siena, on the road to Massa Marittima. On the altar-wall is a grandiose composition of the Virgin and Child enthroned, adored by various saints and angels. At the foot of the throne lies the figure of Eve, clad in white raiment and having in her hand a branch of the fig-tree. Below is the Annunciation. The left wall is filled with a second adoring company of saints and guardian angels. The right wall contains a representation of S. Galgano offering to an angel the famous rock transfixed by his sword. The painting on the entrance wall is no longer decipherable. In the ceiling are the Four Evangelists. These frescoes are sadly damaged by time and dampness, but, with the exception of the Evangelists in the ceiling and possibly the Virgin of the Annunciation, have not been either retouched or repainted, despite all opinions to the contrary. Nor is this sadly damaged condition such as to leave any possible doubt as to their being by Ambrogio. They are works of the highest beauty, and deserve to be visited by all who care for Sienese art. These long-forgotten paintings were restored to Ambrogio by Mr. Perkins some years ago (see F. MASON PERKINS, "Di alcune opere poco note di Ambrogio Lorenzetti," in the *Rassegna d'Arte* (Milan), December, 1904, p. 186 *et seq.*), and are rightly considered by him as among the most important remains of the Trecento art of Siena.]

[2] See the records in MILANESI, vol. i., p. 195. Though the subjects are not given in the records, one may assume that the payments refer to the frescoes in the Sala de' Nove.

[3] Her mantle is yellow spotted with black. The book is red.

[4] The words DILIGITE JUSTITIAM [*justitiam* is now obliterated] QUI JUDICATIS TERRAM indicate her symbolic character, which is likewise revealed by her occupation.

[5] In red tunic.

[6] In a white tunic.

attitude. This obscure allegory is explained by the inscription COMUTATIVA.[1]

Apart from the allegorical conception which was obviously studied and invented by the fancy of an unartistic mind, the figure of Justice is one of the noblest and finest produced in the school of Siena. It deserves indeed to be classed amongst the greatest creations of art of the time. A noble mien, supreme dignity, adorn the figure and sit on the brow of a youthful female, whose mighty tresses are plaited out beneath a diadem, leaving the cheeks, the neck, free to display their rich and well-filled forms. The face is soft in its foreshortened roundness, the features regular, and the high-waisted red dress richly embroidered in gold. No one after Giotto better or more artistically coupled dignity with elegance and grace; and if severe simplicity is not attained in the Florentine measure, it is that the Sienese were of a different stamp and spirit from their rivals. And now let us carefully trace the somewhat delicate thread of the allegory.

A couple of lines pass from the waists of the angels in the disks. One is red, the other white. These lines fall and unite themselves in the left hand of "Concord," seated on the throne immediately beneath "Justice," a gentle figure crowned with a diadem, with a flame burning in its centre, and holding in its hand a carpenter's plane inscribed with the word CONCORDIA. She passes the double line to a miniature personage standing near her, who hands it on to his neighbours, forming a long procession of twenty-four persons, advancing in couples to the foot of a throne on the right, where a vast figure sits with a sceptre in one hand and a seal in the other, symbolising the government or "reggimento" of Siena. The idea seems to be, that Wisdom, Justice, and Concord are the results of Sienese administration regulated by the "Twenty-four" of the nobles and people, evidently painted from life by Ambrogio and distinguished in the arms of each by the red and white colours, both in the thread which unites them, the cap which covers the head of the enthroned "Siena," and the loop with which it is bound to his chin. This colossal figure represents a man in the ripeness of age, with silvery hair and beard, a baronial cap on his head. Round the cap, as may be clearly seen in similar figures on the book-covers of the Biccherna at Siena, were the initials C.S. C.V.,[2] now altered by restoring. A mantle, white to the waist and black from that downwards, clothes the figure in the colours of the "Balzana" or shield of the Commune of Siena, and is embroidered and fringed with gold.[3] A she-wolf giving suck to two babes and licking

[1] FÖRSTER has not caught the spirit of the allegory; he calls this Justice "Communicativa." *Vide Beiträge, ubi sup.*, p. 183.

[2] The present letters are C. S. C. CV., the second C. an addition. One may interpret the initials as "Commune Senarum civitatis Virginis."

[3] The seal in his left hand represents the Virgin and Child between two kneeling angels with the motto: SALVET VIRGO SENAM VETEREM QUAM SIGNAT AMENAM, and is the same which Simone placed beneath the frame of his fresco

Alinari.

PART OF ALTARPIECE

AMBROGIO LORENZETTI. Museo, Massa Marittima.

Brogi.

PEACE

AMBROGIO LORENZETTI. Palazzo Comunale, Siena.

one of them with her tongue forms a footstool to the figure.[1] Faith, Charity, and Hope hover about the head of the *Comune*.[2] The majesty of Siena is guarded by soldiers in armour to the right and left of the throne, standing on foot and on horseback, whilst in front of these, on the right foreground, is a group of captives. On a narrow border are the words :

AMBROSIUS . LAURENTII . DE . SENIS . ME . PINXIT . UTRINQUE.[3]

The impression created by this ably distributed fresco is that which might be produced by the enlargement of a picture on an Etruscan vase, a pretty rather than a seriously grave character being peculiar to it. The arrangement of Wisdom, Justice and Concord is good, and the highest degree of elegance and grace is combined in them. Ambrogio in this work represents the Sienese school at its

in the Sala del Consiglio, Siena being then under the patronage of the Virgin Mary.

[1] The same in a similar form may be seen in a book-cover of 1344 at Siena with a white cap ; in a book-cover of 1363 (No. 354) in the Ramboux collection at Cologne [1864] ; and in a book-cover of 1473 in the Gallery of Siena by Guidoccio Cozzarelli, the seal only being altered. Both, like that of Ambrogio's fresco, represent the *Comune* of Siena. (MR. FORSTER, like many others, fancies this figure to be the "Kaiser," an evident error. *Vide Beiträge, ubi sup.*, p. 182).

[*Cf.* HEYWOOD, *A Pictorial Chronicle of Siena* (Siena, 1903), p. 57. The 1473 book-cover is now in the Archivio di Stato, and is by Benvenuto di Giovanni.]

[2] The first, in a diadem carrying a cross, the second with a dart and a burning heart, the third longing towards the vision of the Saviour's head above it.

On a long bench at the sides of the "*Comune*" sit six Virtues :—Prudence, to the (spectator's) left, pointing to the flames in a platter held in her left hand (with the inscription : PRETERITUM, PRESENS, FUTURUM). Fortitude, by her side, wearing a diadem and holding a sceptre and shield. Peace again, in the corner, is recumbent on her arm supporting her head on her hand. In white and holding a branch of olive, she rests her feet on a shield and helm, the useless emblems of war. Nothing can be more elegant than her form and attitude. On the opposite side of the "*Comune*" Magnanimity holds a triple crown and a bushel of pieces. Temperance points to the sand-glass in her right. Justice rests the hilt of a sword on a severed head and holds a crown in her left.

[3] A painted frieze above contained four medallions with emblematical figures of the Seasons, now cut in half by a new roof. In a part of the same frieze beneath the fresco are two figures of "Grammar," a female teaching a child, and "Dialectics," a figure glancing from the mask of an aged man in its left to that of a youth in its right. Between them an inscription runs thus :

QUESTA SANTA VIRTU, LA DOVE REGGE,
INDUCE AD UNITA LI ANIMI MOLTI ;
E QUESTI A CIO RICOLTI,
UN BEN COMUN PER LOR SIGNOR SI FANNO ;
LO QUAL, PER GOVERNAR SUO STATO, ELEGGE
DI NON TENER GIA' MAI GLI OCCHI RIVOLTI
DA LO SPLENDOR DE' VOLTI
DELLE VIRTU CHE TORNO A LUI SI STANNO.
PER QUESTO, CON TRIUNFO A LUI SI DANNO
CENSI TRIBUTI E SIGNORIE DI TERRE ;
PER QUESTO, SENZA GUERRE
SEGUITA POI OGNI CIVILE EFFETTO
UTILE, NECESSARIO E DI DILETTO.

zenith, and shows himself a far abler composer than Simone. In Assisi we saw Pietro grand in the energetic rendering of passion. Here is a calm and noble repose.

The results of a good government are illustrated on a second wall of the Sala by Ambrogio in a vast fresco representing the arts, the trades, the business and pleasures of Siena. Divided into town and country by the profile of a wall and gate, with a moat and drawbridge defended by a high square tower and a barbican, on which the she-wolf and twins stand guard, the distance to the left is filled with houses, with towers, in one of which workmen are busy, with the belfry and dome of the cathedral. People of both sexes stream in at the gate with provisions on sumpter mules, with goats and cows. It is a glimpse of public life in the fourteenth century. In a shop, a tailor makes and sells clothes, the teacher at his desk presides over a class, whilst other children play. In the middle of the foreground ten girls, in pretty headdresses and closely-fitting costume, dance in a circle, passing under the arms of two whose hands are joined together, all to the sound of one singing and striking a timbrel. Elegance, elasticity, motion are well rendered by the painter. On the left a lady and gentleman on horseback are followed by an attendant, carrying flowers. Another couple of the same kind have issued from the gate into the country on the right, followed by a page. The man carries a hawk. Others in front are crossbow-shooting, mules and travellers pass over a bridge of two arches on the right. In the distance, hunters gallop on the brow of a hill behind which a castle inscribed TALAM is intended to represent Talamone, the port which Siena in vain endeavoured to make a source of wealth by erecting it into a harbour.[1] Peaceful pleasure in town and country, trade and traffic undisturbed, declare the prevalence and consequent prosperity of peace. A youthful genius of a beautiful shape flies by the side of the entrance tower, veiled in part and inscribed SECURITAS.[2] In the frieze at the base of this fresco three figures of Geometry, Astrology, and Philosophy remain.[3] The whole of this wall has been injured more than the first

[1] This part is all repainted.

[2] In her left hand is a gallows with a criminal dangling from it. In her hand a long scroll contains the words:

SENZA PAURA OGNI UOM' FRANCO CAMINI,
E LAVORANDO SEMINI CIASCUNO,
MENTRE CHE TAL COMUNO
MANTERRA QUESTA DONNA IN SIGNORIA,
CH' ELLA HA LEVATA A' REI OGNI BALIA.

[3] Geometry holding a compass, Astrology the sphere, Philosophy in the garb of an antique priestess with laurel on her brow, and her hand on three books on a chair. Astrology is a graceful figure with a fine head. Though

one, and damp has removed some of the colour, whilst in other parts the intonaco has fallen out or repainting has taken place. The landscape to the right is in fact new.

On the third wall, Ambrogio painted the allegory and consequences of bad government.

On the part to the right sits a figure of Tyranny in front of a crenellated wall flanked with a high towered gate.[1] This is a squinting monster with two white horns and tusks issuing from his mouth, his hair in tresses like those of a woman, in armour concealed by a long red cloak. In his right a knife, in his left a cup for poison, a he-goat lies at his feet. Avarice, Pride, and Vain-glory flutter over his head, the first a hag with a coffin and hook, the second with a knife and a yoke and red horns on her head, the last a girl with a reed, admiring her attire of gems in a mirror. Right and left of Tyranny sit Fraud, Treason, and Cruelty,[2] Fury, Division and War,[3] Fraud with bat's wings, and claws grasping a staff, Treason with a benignant face, but holding a lamb with a scaly tail and the legs of a crow, the same emblem which is placed in the hands of the Duke of Athens in the fresco of the Stinche at Florence; Cruelty, aged, gnawing at a serpent whose folds are twined round her and strangling a child. Fury is represented as a boar with human breast and arms, the forelegs of a horse, the hindlegs of a dog, and grasping a knife and a stone, Division, a female half-dressed in white and black, inscribed SI and NO, and sawing a log in half; War, a soldier waving a sword and holding up a shield with the word GUERRA upon it. Justice lies prostrate at the feet of Tyranny and has lost her balances. To the right are vestiges of thieves and highwaymen. Below prostrate Justice are the words:

LADDOVE STA LEGATA LA JUSTIZIA,
NESSUNO AL BEN COMUN GIÀ MAI S' ACCORDA
NE TIRA A DRITTA CORDA.
PERO CONVIEN CHE TIRANNIA SORMONTI;
LA QUAL, PER ADEMPIR LA SUA NEQUIZIA
NULLO VOLER NE OPERAR DISCORDA
DALLA NATURA LORDA

---

differently conceived and of lower merit than others, Philosophy is a beautiful and elegant allegory. Along the lower border of the picture are the words:

VOLGETE GLI OCCHI A RIMIRAR COSTEI,
VOI CHE REGETTE, CH' E QUI FIGURATA,
E PER SU' ECCELLENZIA CORONATA;
LA QUAL SEMPRE A CIASCUN SUO DRITTO RENDE,
GUARDATE QUANTI BEN VENGAN DA LEI,
E COME E DOLCE VITA E RIPOSATA
QUELLA DELLA CITTA DU' E SERVATA
QUESTA VIRTU CHE PIU D'ALTRA RISPRENDE.
ELLA GUARDA E DIFENDE
CHI LEI ONORA, E LOR NUTRICA ET PASCE;
DA LA SUO LUCE NASCE
EL MERITAR COLOR CH' OPERAN BENE,
ET AGL' INIQUI DAR DEBITE PENE.

[1] In the extreme right of the pictures. [2] Left. [3] Right.

DE' VIZI CHE CON LEI SON QUI CONGIONTI.
QUESTA CACCIA COLOR CHE AL BEN SON PRONTI
E CHIAMA A SE CIASCUN CHE A MALE INTENDE.
QUESTA SEMPRE DIFENDE
CHI SFORZA, O ROBBA, O CHI ODIASSE PACE;
UNDE OGNI TERRA SUA INCULTA GIACE.

In the ornamental frieze are remains of dead-coloured figures of Nero, Geta, Caracalla, and other tyrants.

The left half of the painting is meant to exhibit the effects of bad government, but a great part of the scene is obliterated. In the distance the town appears in the same order as in the fresco of Peace. Persons on a tower are throwing it down. Figures on the foreground lie dead, soldiers commit thefts, and the keepers at the gate rob an old woman of her fruit and vegetables. An armed troop issue into the country; and above the tower a hag inscribed TIMOR, half-naked, sword in hand and with a patched dress, flies waving a scroll in which is written:

PER VOLER EL BEN PROPRIO IN QUESTA TERRA,
SOMMESS' E LA GIUSTIZIA A TIRANNIA;
UNDE PER QUESTA VIA
NON PASSA ALCUN SENZA DUBBIO DI MORTE;
CHE FUOR SI ROBBA E DRENTO DELLA PORTA.

The illustrations of tyranny outside the walls are obliterated. In the upper part of the frame are still allegorical figures of Tubal Cain, an aged man with red and white grapes in one hand, a tree uprooted in the other, a crowned figure, a man holding a white ball or a coin,[1] a fighting soldier, all these interspersed with the arms of the Commune and people, and the signs of the Zodiac. At the base are the following lines, of which the first part is gone:

. . . . . .

COSI PROBABILMENTE E PER EFFETTO;
CHE DOVE E TIRANNIA E GRAN SOSPETTO,
GUERRE, RAPINE, TRADIMENTI E'NGANNI
PRENDONSI SIGNORIA SOPRA DI LEI,
E PONGASI LA MENTE E LO INTELLETTO
IN TENER SEMPRE A JUSTIZIA SUGGETTO
CIASCUN, PER ISCHIFAR SI SCURI DANNI,
ABBATTENDO E TIRANNI;
E CHI TURBAR LA VUOL, SIA, PER SUO MERTO,
DISCACCIATO E DISERTO,
INSIEME CON QUALUNQUE S' HA SEGUACE,
FORTIFICANDO LEI PER NOSTRA PACE.

So ruined is this fresco, that its colour is quite black and the

[1] [This figure, which is represented as holding a ball of snow and in a snow-storm, is evidently meant to symbolise Winter, and that taken by the authors for Tubal Cain, Saturn (*v.* VENTURI, *Storia dell' Arte*, vol. v., p. 708).]

allegorical figures must be closely examined to be understood. As a work of art the painting is of no further value.[1]

Representing the art of Siena in its greatness, it is a pity that these works should be irreparably injured precisely in those parts from which Ambrogio's talent might be most perfectly appreciated. Yet enough remains to justify Ghiberti's raptures and his clear belief that, though Simone was a noble and famous painter, Ambrogio was better endowed and greater.[2] We may add that Pietro deserves the same praise as Ambrogio, though Ghiberti forgot to mention him. The two brothers seem to have been nearly of the same age. They often laboured, and they disappear from records, together. Their manner in certain pictures is so like, that it might be confounded. If they be compared with Simone, they will be found grander, more classical, and of a far more manly fibre. In their composition, comparatively speaking, they had the quality of balance and order; and they are the only Sienese who made a near approach to the great standard of Giotto. Their figures had no longer the predominant antiquated types and forms, but a broader, simpler and more Italian style.

Ambrogio had hardly completed this great series, in which perhaps he had been aided by the talents of his brother, when he undertook the composition of an altarpiece called Tavola di S. Crescenzo for the cathedral of Siena, which, with two figures of angels and a candelabra for its front, was completed in 1340.[3] His name appears in a record of the same year in connection with certain works in the chapel of the cemetery at Siena.[4]

In 1342 he completed for the Spedaletto of Mona Agnese at Siena the Presentation in the Temple, now in the Florence Gallery, inscribed:

AMBROSIUS LAURENTII DE SENIS FECIT HOC OPUS
ANNO DOMINI MCCCXLII.[5]

The picture is much altered by restoring and varnish, and gives little idea of the master's talent as a colourist and draughtsman. Frescoes said to have been executed by him in the same edifice have perished. His Annunciation, finished in 1344 in the Palazzo Pubblico,

[1] The following seems to refer to these frescoes:—April 29, 1337, payment: 10 fl. gold 31 liv. 16 sol. 8 den. June 30, same year, 10 fl. gold. Feb. 18, 1338, 6 fl. of gold. Sept. 24, 10 fl. of gold. Dec. 8, 10 fl. Feb. 18, 1339, 6 fl. gold. June 20, 10 fl. gold. Total 62 fl. This, however, evidently does not represent the whole sum paid for this vast work. *Vide Doc. Sen.*, vol. i., p. 195.

[2] GHIBERTI, *ubi sup.*, p. xxv.

[3] For about 135 gold florins. *Vide Doc. Sen.*, vol. i., p. 196. The altarpiece, as well as two others mentioned by Ghiberti, is gone. GHIBERTI, *ubi sup.*, p. xxv.

[4] Ibid.

[5] [No. 134, Academy of Florence.]

and called Madonna dei Donzelli, is in the Gallery of Siena.[1] Damaged and of a vitreous colour owing to many varnishes, this is still a valuable example of the master.[2]

The latest record of Ambrogio is a payment for figures in the Camera de' Signori Nove,[3] in 1345, but these are not known to exist at the present time; and the student is thrown back upon works unauthenticated by inscriptions.

Amongst these one of much interest is an allegorical figure of the Commune on a book-cover preserved in the "Direzione del Registro della Prefettura," at Siena, and ordered by the assessors of the Gabelle.[4] For these very officials Ambrogio had already executed the Annunciation. He doubtless also completed the book-cover which is painted in his manner, and, if not by himself, at least by his assistants.[5]

Another book-cover in the same archives, but dated 1357 and darkened by age, represents the Presentation in the Temple, but is more in the style of pupils than of the Lorenzetti themselves.[6]

A much damaged Descent from the Cross, with a half-length Virgin and Child between the Magdalen and S. Dorothy above it; the whole between four erect full-lengths of SS. John Evangelist and Baptist, Augustine and Anthony, is in the Gallery of Siena, whither it was taken from the convent of S. Petronilla.[7] Much injured and repainted, especially in the "Descent," which is a composition of many animated figures much in Pietro's manner, the altarpiece is a little feeble.[8] Yet S. Dorothy is graceful in the plump forms peculiar to Ambrogio in the fresco of the

[1] [No. 88 of Cat.] With the inscription: "XVII. DE DECEMBRE MCCCXLIIII FECE AMBRUOGIO LORENCI QUESTA TAVOLA. ERA CAMARLENGO DOM. FRANCESCO MONACO DE S. GALGANO E ASSECUTORI, BINDO PETRUCCI, GIOVANNI DI MEO BALDINOTTI, MINO E ANDREOCCIO; SCRITTORE AGNOLO LOCTI."

[2] The types and character of the two figures are weighty. The angel, with a laurel crown, kneeling and pointing backwards with his thumb, the Virgin, with a highly ornamented head-dress, listening to the message, have the qualities and characteristic plump forms and features of all those by Ambrogio. In the birth of the arches, in which the separate figures of angel and Virgin stand, is the Eternal.

[3] *Doc. Sen.*, vol. i., p. 197.

[4] [Now in Archivio di Stato. See HEYWOOD, *op. cit.*, p. 44–7. Headed "Book of receipts and payments of the general Gabelle of the Comune of Siena for July–January 1344. Don Francesco, monk of S. Galgano being Camarlengo, Bindo Petrucci, Giovanni de Meo Baldinotti, and Mino di Andreuccio being assessors."]

[5] The "*Comune*" sits enthroned in black and white, with the sceptre and seal in hand, and his feet resting on the she-wolf suckling the babes. A white cap with a red slip in the top covers his long silvery hair. (At the sides, as usual, the initials C. S. C. V.) The beard is divided into points, the head is fine, harmoniously and softly coloured in clear tones, the figure in an attitude of noble repose. This small work is so well preserved that it gives a better idea of the power of the Lorenzetti as colourists than any of the pictures at Siena or Florence.

[6] [According to HEYWOOD, *op. cit.*, p. 39, the subject is rather the Circumcision.]

[7] [No. 77 Siena Gallery Cat.]

[8] [The reader will probably agree that the adjective *feeble* has no place here.]

Palazzo Pubblico. Another little Virgin and Child amongst angels and adored by six saints,[1] almost completely rubbed down, has also the character of Ambrogio, and particularly recalls to memory that of a colossal Virgin and Child painted in fresco in a balcony of the upper story at the Palazzo Pubblico in Siena.[2] There the Saviour, lightly clad, seems to play with a seal in the Virgin's right hand representing the half black and white arms of the *Comune* and people and holding a scroll on which are the words: "MANDATU NOV. DO VOBIS UT DILIG . . . . . ." This is the only work that remains in the Palazzo in addition to those of the Sala della Pace. It is clearly and transparently coloured in a good key, but the figures are massive and not very pleasing.[3]

The War of Asinalunga, as Vasari calls it,[4] in the Sala del Consiglio, where Simone's masterpieces are placed, is a series of frescoes in dead colour representing, first, a large figure inscribed DOCT. MIN. being a likeness of Orsini of the Signori di Monte-Rotondo, and a series of battle scenes, most of them executed by disciples of Lorenzetti's school, but not by himself, as is evident from the date of 1363 at which the incidents depicted took place. That part of the work nearest the Majesty of Simone has been visibly restored or repainted. Again, the chiaroscuro frescoes in the convent of Lecceto, so fully described by Della Valle[5] are by Paolo del Maestro Neri, evidently a pupil of the Lorenzetti, on the roll of painters at Siena in 1355,[6] and who finished this series in 1343.[7]

Frescoes less important even than these, but by one of the Lorenzetti school, decorate the choir of the church of S. Leonardo in Selva del Lago near Siena, and represent scenes from the life of the Saviour, the Virgin and saints, much damaged and rudely executed.[8]

[1] [No. 65.]

[2] A balcony looking out on the market-place.

[3] [This is all that is left of a once much more elaborate work, painted in 1340 (see E. VON MEYENBURG, *op. cit.*, and F. MASON PERKINS, *Burlington Magazine*, April, 1904).]

[4] VASARI, vol. ii., p. 66. [This is perhaps a work by Lippo di Vanni (LUCY OLCOTT).]

[5] *Lett. Sen.*, vol. ii., p. 227. [6] *Doc. Sen.*, vol. i., p. 30.

[7] In the primo chiostro of Lecceto, Paolo depicted Paradise, the Infernal Regions, and the Works of Mercy, the Seven Sacraments, some profane subjects, hunts, a sea-fight, and the assault of a town. In the second chiostro he decorated the walls with incidents from the lives of the Augustine hermits, exhibiting the second-rate power of one who had been a student of the Lorenzetti's manner. Notices of Paolo in his native place, between 1343 and 1382, may be found in MILANESI. (Ibid., vol. i., pp. 30, 31.)

[8] Those which most display the character of Ambrogio's school, though not of much importance in themselves, are in the Berlin Gallery. One representing two incidents in the life of S. Catherine of Siena (Berlin Gallery, No. 1077) [these panels do not represent scenes from the life of S. Catherine of Siena, but are parts of the altarpiece by Pietro, painted in commemoration of the ten Beate Umiltà of Faenza (see *antea*, p. 89, *note* 7, under Pietro Lorenzetti)] recalls the style of the picture falsely assigned to Buffalmacco in the Academy of Florence. Yet the representation of incidents in the life of a saint who lived to the close of the fourteenth century, precludes the Lorenzetti. Of the same class in the Berlin Gallery are scenes from the lives of the hermits Paul and Anthony (No. 1035, Berlin Cat. and 1086), and a scene from the life of S. Dominic (ibid., 1094). Another picture of the Virgin and Child and saints

As regards pictures in various galleries, few deserve mention.[1]

From these poor and uncertain works of obscure or unknown followers of the Lorenzetti school, one may pass to those of Bartolo di Maestro Fredi, the founder of the noble Sienese house of the Bartoli Battilori, and the companion in art of Andrea Vanni. Born about 1330 [2] he was registered in the Guild of Siena in 1355. He married in 1359 Donna Bartolommea di Cecco, by whom he had many children, all of whom, however, died before their father, except Andrea Bartoli, a proof sufficient to refute Vasari's assertion that Taddeo Bartoli was of that family.[3] His companionship with Andrea Vanni dates as far back as 1353,[4] and in 1361 he was employed in the Sala del Consiglio at Siena. In 1362, however, he left his native place for S. Gimignano,

(ibid., 1100), of an inferior class, resembles the works of Giacomo di Mino Pellicciaio. [1077 Berlin, Mr. Berenson gives to Pietro Lorenzetti; 1085–6, 1094 and 1100 no longer appear in the Catalogue.] A Martyrdom of S. Catherine of Siena, part of a predella assigned to Ambrogio in the collection of Lord Ward at Dudley House, is not of the Sienese school, but is more properly assigned in the Catalogue to the Bicci. WAAGEN, *Treasures, ubi sup.*, vol. ii., p. 233, also assigns to Ambrogio five pictures in the collection of the late Mr. Davenport Bromley representing Christ, with two angels, between SS. Peter, Francis, Paul, and James. This, however, is not a Sienese picture, but, as has been said *antea*, is in the manner of Jacopo del Casentino. At Wootton they were called Giotto.

[1] [To the above-mentioned works by Ambrogio must be added the following:—

MASSA MARITTIMA. The Madonna and Child enthroned with Saints, Angels, and Virtues. (This magnificent altarpiece, which was mentioned by Vasari, but in Cavalcaselle's day was thought to be lost, was described by G. CAGNOLA in the *Rassegna d'Arte* (Milan), Feb. 1904, and by F. MASON PERKINS in *Burlington Magazine*, April, 1904.

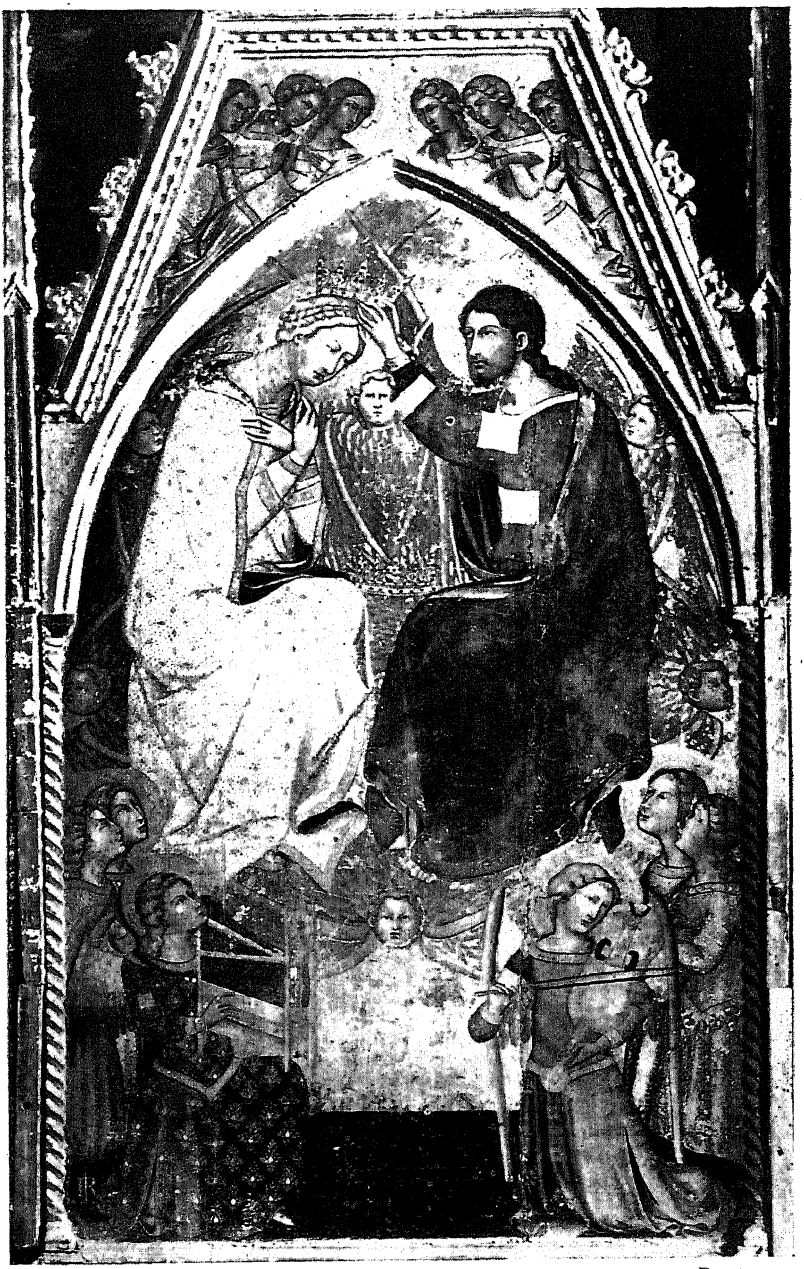
SIENA. *Abbadia di S. Eugenio.* Madonna and Child. This work was hesitatingly ascribed to Ambrogio by Cavalcaselle (*Storia della Pittura*, vol. iii., p. 237, *note*), but by Berenson, Olcott and Perkins is attributed with certainty to the master. MR. PERKINS gives an illustration of it in the *Rassegna d'Arte* (Milan) for December, 1904, and considers it a fairly early work of the master. It has been badly restored in the draperies, but enough of the original remains in the heads to leave no doubt as to its genuineness. Mr. Perkins also attributes to Ambrogio a Madonna and Child in the remote chapel of S. Francesco at Pompana, near Murlo (Siena), a work, he says, of Ambrogio's later years.

As I have already noted, *supra*, p. 89, *note* 7, Mr. Perkins agrees with Signor Suida that the Buda-Pesth Madonna, ascribed by Mr. Berenson and Mr. Douglas to Pietro Lorenzetti, is by Ambrogio. Mr. Douglas assigns to Ambrogio a Madonna and Child in the Dormer Fawcus collection at Quinto al Mare near Genova. Mr. Perkins and Mr. Berenson, I believe, also accept this as by the master.]

[2] *Doc. Sen.*, vol. ii., p. 36.

[3] VASARI, vol. ii., p. 218. [Bartolo di Maestro Fredi was married in 1357. See *Doc. Sen.*, ii., p. 36.]

[4] *Doc. Sen.*, vol. i., p. 304, and vol. ii., p. 36.



Brogi.

CORONATION OF THE VIRGIN

BARTOLO DI FREDI. Montalcino.

Lombardi.

ALTARPIECE

ANDREA VANNI.

S. Stefano, Siena.

where, according to Vasari, he had already, in 1356, decorated the whole side of the left aisle of the Pieve with scenes from the Old Testament.[1] A few heads and figures which have escaped repainting still bear the impress of Bartolo's hand, as it may be found on pictures presently to be noticed, but the date given by Vasari is obliterated. His presence at S. Gimignano in 1362 is proved by a letter without date or address, treating of matters which occurred in that year. He informs the Signoria of Siena, namely, that the mercenary company of the Italians had been seen on the frontier of the state, and appears to have the intention of invading the Maremma, and he thinks it right, as he has been informed of this matter, to communicate it to the authorities.[2] A further proof of his stay at S. Gimignano until 1366 is afforded by a resolution of the council of that city, in which the monks of S. Augustine and Mont' Oliveto, having composed long pending differences, Bartolo was commissioned to paint two brothers of that order in the Palazzo Pubblico with an inscription "in large letters" to keep the matter in the memories of the people.[3] These figures have long since perished, but in S. Agostino of S. Gimignano a chapel to the right of the high altar is evidently decorated with frescoes by Bartolo, a part of which have been recently rescued from whitewash. Joachim may be seen receiving the news of the Virgin's birth which is depicted close by. S. Anna appears in a foreshortened attitude in bed, washing her hands, and in that sort of bold movement which Taddeo di Bartolo so frequently applied at a later period. In front, a female holds the child, whilst another stretches her arms towards it, and servants appear at the door. Bartolo was then in the prime of his talent, such as it was, and painted better as regards composition, action and type, than later at Montalcino. His return to Siena took place in the early part of 1367/1368, when he was employed with Jacomo di Mino in decorating one of the walls near the chapel of S. Ansano in the cathedral.[4] In 1372 he rose to the honours of the government at Siena, and was one of those sent to greet the new Podestà on his approach to the city in October of that year.[5] At some time between this and 1380, Bartolo had been induced by the Bishop of Volterra to paint the choir of his cathedral. Having done so, the payment was withheld, and this gave occasion to the government

[1] VASARI, vol. ii., p. 219. He gives the inscription AN. DOM. MCCCLVI., BARTOLUS MAGISTER FREDI DE SENIS ME PINXIT, which is now absent.

[2] See the original letter in GAYE, *Carteggio*, vol. i., p. 70; and *Doc. Sen.*, vol. i., p. 260.

[3] PECORI, *Storia d. S. Gimignano, ubi sup.*, p. 189. He was paid 10 livres for the work, less than 3 gold florins.

[4] *Vide antea* Pellicciaio, and *Doc. Sen.*, vol. i., p. 263.

[5] GAYE, *Carteggio, ubi sup.*, vol. i., p. 71.

of Siena to write to that of Volterra claiming the debt and threatening, if it were not paid, to retaliate on any Volterrans who might be found having just claims of money in Siena.[1] A second more pressing demand in August, followed by a haughty reply from Volterra,[2] is recorded; but in October, a house was sold by the Commune with the bishop's consent, and Bartolo received the payment of his frescoes,[3] which, however, have disappeared. Bartolo became a member of council shortly after,[4] and again in 1382, when he appears labouring for S. Francesco of Montalcino.[5]

In the sacristy is a Descent from the Cross by him, the usual Sienese composition of about eleven figures, with the addition of four angels in couples, hovering above the sides of the Cross, a mixture of the styles of Simone and Lorenzetti. Bartolo drew out the figures in lean and paltry forms; he gave a bony shape to the nude of the Saviour, and to the Virgin, the ugly types and vehement action peculiar to Pietro Lorenzetti, without the spirit which rescued his works from vulgarity, or the warm brilliancy which gave them charm. His drawing and colour are both hard, the latter flat and of a purple red in shadow. Had Bartolo's position been measured at Siena by his talents, he would never have occupied a leading place. He was not only inferior to those that preceded him in the first half of the century, but to Barna and Lippo on one side and Luca di Tomé, Andrea Vanni, and Giacomo Pellicciaio on the other, a numerous and influential array of painters in its relation to Pisa and other cities, where art remained at a low level, but incapable of competing with Florence. Bartolo's Descent from the Cross bears the remnants of an inscription as follows:

. . . . LUS MAGISTRI FREDI DE SENIS ANNO DOMINI MCCCLXXXII.

Five scenes of the life of S. Philip of Montalcino in three panels, and other fragments representing SS. Peter, Paul, Francis, the Baptism of Christ, and angels, all more or less injured, remain in proximity to the larger scenes of which they, no doubt, once formed a part. Another picture of greater magnitude was completed for the same church in 1388, and remains partly in the sacristy with the Deposition, partly in the Gallery of Siena.[6] It is the least faulty that remains of Bartolo's works, displaying

[1] July 1380, *Doc. Sen.*, vol. i., p. 285. [2] Ibid.
[3] Ibid. The sum claimed was 55 florins of gold. [4] 1381/1380. Ibid.
[5] The picture was commissioned of him in May 1382 for 170 florins of gold. Ibid., vol. i., p. 293.
[6] In its original state the altarpiece resembled the front of a cathedral, with a central and two side gables flanked by two towers standing with the apex of their angles to the spectator. In the central gable now at Montalcino, Bartolo painted the Coronation of the Virgin, in a glory of seraphs and cherubs with angels in front, playing and singing, and a garland of the same, six in number, on the upper borders of the frame. Beneath this panel are the words: BARTHOLUS MAGISTER FREDI DE SENIS ME PINXIT ANNO DOMINI MCCCLXXXVIII.
Each of the side gables is divided into two horizontal parts. In the upper

his close imitation of the animated scenes depicted by the Lorenzetti and filled with figures on a very small scale, showing less defects than larger productions. Still the colour remains as hard, as red and as flat as ever, and much gold is lavished on the accessories and ornament.

An Adoration of the Magi by Bartolo remains in the Gallery of Siena,[1] and is remarkable for the number and exaggerated ugliness of the figures.[2]

A Virgin giving the Girdle to S. Thomas, by Bartolo or his companion Andrea Vanni, and imitating at once Simone and Lippo Memmi, is in the church of S. Maria of Bettona, near Assisi. Reduced to a square form, medallions have been introduced into a modern frame. This is one of numerous false Giottos clearly by Bartolo,[3] but damaged by two vertical splits.[4]

Mr. Ramboux of Cologne has an Adoration of the Magi much damaged, but in the true spirit of the master.[5]

In 1389 Bartolo, assisted by Luca Tomé, painted the altarpiece of the Shoemakers' Company in the cathedral of Siena; in 1390 an altarpiece for the friars of Mont' Oliveto, and in 1392 the altarpiece of S. Piero in the Duomo. In 1393 he restored a *mappamondo*, originally painted by the Lorenzetti, in the Public Palace; in 1397 he worked in the cathedral.[6] In 1407 he made his will, leaving all his property to his son Andrea, and in 1409/1410 (January 26th) he was buried at Siena.[7]

part of the left gable is the Virgin in the midst of the Apostles, beneath it her Marriage, in the upper part of the right gable her Death, and beneath it the Salutation, both the first and third being compositions which Taddeo Bartoli afterwards used. [All under No. 100 in the Gall. of Siena.] In a pinnacle above the Coronation is the Ascension of the Virgin in a glory of angels [ibid., No. 101], in the courses of the flanking towers sixteen small figures of saints. The centre of the predella represents the Pietà, an animated composition, with the Expulsion of Joachim on one side, and the Birth of the Virgin on the other. [Nos. 97, 99, 102 of Siena Gallery Cat.]

[1] [Ibid., No. 104.]

[2] Unpleasant colour is characteristic in this picture, by the side of which may be placed two parts of a predella representing the baptism and martyrdom of a saint [ibid., No. 98], four pinnacles with an Evangelist in each [ibid., No. 110.] [Miss Olcott (*op. cit.*, p. 324) gives to Bartolo two panels (No. 106) in the same gallery, representing SS. Anthony abbot and Onofrio. Rightly given to Bartolo is also No. 103, a predella in five parts, with scenes from the lives of SS. Lucy, Peter, John, and the Baptist.]

[3] [This is probably of Bartolo's school. Cavalcaselle later gives it to Bartolo's "manner" (*Storia della Pittura*, iii., p. 248).]

[4] In the style of this piece is a Christ with the Lamb, adored by the twenty-four Elders of Revelation, in the Academy at Vienna.

[5] [No. 763, in the Museum at Cologne.] In the Campana collection, now in Paris, is a Circumcision, assigned to Lorenzo Monaco, by Bartolo di M°. Fredi. [Louvre, No 54.]

[6] *Doc. Sen.*, vol. ii., p. 36. All the works executed from 1389 to Bartolo's death are gone.

[7] [To the above works Mr. Perkins would add:—

Boston, U.S.A.	*Museum.* Assumption and Saints. (See *Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, an. i., fasc. ii.)
Montalcino.	*Seminario.* Madonna and Child.
	Coll. Signor Galassi. Triptych: Madonna, Child and Saints.
	Municipio. Baptism of Christ.

Were the life of Andrea Vanni to be written from the materials which have been brought together by Gaye and Milanesi, some amusement might be derived from the relation of matters entirely foreign to art. Andrea, born in 1332 and as early as 1353 a painter in Siena on joint account with Bartolo Fredi, had, in 1368, taken part with those who expelled the nobles from the city. As a reward for his services he was elected one of the great council in 1370, a gonfaloniere in 1371, and envoy to the Pope at Avignon in 1372. In 1373 he was sent on a mission to Florence, and in 1384 as envoy to the Pope at

MONTALCINO.	*Municipio.* Two panels with scenes from the Life of S. Philip. (*Cf.* F. MASON PERKINS, *Burlington Magazine*, vol. v., Sept., 1904, *note* xviii., p. 582.)
NEW HAVEN, U.S.A.	*Jarves Collection.* Assumption (early work). (*Cf. Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, an. i., fasc. ii.)
PISA.	*Museo Civico.* Nos. 41, 42, 45, 46. From scenes from Life of S. Galgano (attributed by catalogue to school of Giotto).
S. GIMIGNANO.	*Municipio.* No. 31. Half-figures of women (fresco).
SIENA.	*Gallery.* No. 51. Polyptych: Madonna and Child with Saints and Angels. This, according to Mr. Perkins, is an important early work by the master. Mr. Berenson is of the same opinion.
	No. 63. S. Michael (ascribed to Ambrogio Lorenzetti; *cf. Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, an. iv., fasc. ii.–iii., p. 53).
TORRITA.	*SS. Flora e Lucilla.* Nativity of Christ, and Saints (ascribed to Taddeo Bartoli).

MR. BERENSON ascribes to Bartolo an important series of frescoes in the church of S. Michael at Paganico, half-way between Montalcino and Grosseto (see *Rassegna d'Arte* (Milan), for July, 1905); and also fragmentary frescoes in S. Agostino at Montalcino (*ibid.*).

DR. SUIDA gives to Bartolo an Annunciation (No. 51) of the Gallery at Buda-Pesth (ascribed to Simone). (*Cf. l'Arte*, an. iii., fasc. iii.)

HERR SIRÈN ascribes to the master a second Annunciation with Saints in the Museum at Berlin (*cf. l'Arte*, an. ix., fasc. v.), and also gives to him the Madonna nursing the Child, generally attributed to Lippo Memmi, in the same gallery (see *antea*, p. 65).

CAVALCASELLE (*St. Pittura*, vol. iii., p. 246) further gives to Bartolo an Adoration of the Shepherds (Press 2, No. III.), in the Christian Museum of the Vatican—an attribution repeated by Perkins, Sirèn, and Douglas.

By Bartolo is a signed Madonna and Child at Cusona, near S. Gimignano.]

NOTE.—[The authors make no mention here of Bartolo's son and heir, Andrea, by whom there exists a signed and dismembered polyptych in the church of SS. Pietro e Paolo at Buonconvento. This work represents the Annunciation, and SS. Anthony abbot and Mary Magdalen, and is signed ANDREAS BARTOLI MAGISTRI FREDI DE SENIS. Notwithstanding this signature (which is on the last two panels), the entire work was exhibited at the "Mostra d'Arte Antica" at Siena, in 1904, as in part by Bartolo Fredi himself and partly as of the "manner of Pietro Lorenzetti." The error was corrected by MR. PERKINS in the *Burlington Magazine* for September, and in the *Rassegna d'Arte* for October of the same year, and by MR. DOUGLAS in the *Nineteenth Century* for the following November. Mr. Berenson was the first to publish Andrea's masterpiece, the splendid Assumption of the Virgin, signed, though not dated, formerly in Mr. Yerkes' collection in New York, and now in the Metropolitan Museum of

Naples, following his Holiness to Nocera when he left the South.[1] His despatches, of which half-a-dozen have been preserved, are those of an illiterate man; and they contain little to make one suppose that he had more talent as a negotiator than as a painter. In one of them he complains bitterly of being left without money; and affirms that he is no glutton, no frequenter of taverns, and that he has left his shop in Siena, his "till" and all his business, to do the work of the Commune, which he flatters himself has been well done.[2] From what remains of his works completed between 1353 and 1414, when he died, the student may be disposed to believe that painting with Andrea was rather a business than an art. It has been stated that many of his pictures are in the kingdom of Naples,[3] and there is a triptych in the Minutoli Chapel of the Naples Duomo, described in a previous chapter,[4] which recalls his manner; frescoes, too, in a chapel of S. Domenico at Naples,[5] of the same class. They make a nearer approach to Andrea's manner than others in Naples. In S. Domenico of Siena, chapel of S. Catherine,[6] a remnant of a fresco of his has been preserved, in which Andrea depicted a sister of the Dominican Order celebrated in the annals of her country, and fondly believed to have been the restorer of the Pope to Italy as Jeanne was afterwards the restorer of France to its kings. S. Catherine holds her hand out to be kissed by a kneeling figure. The whole, executed originally with much softness, is much damaged. Andrea was connected with Catherine of Siena, who wrote letters to him on the art of government, and was one of a circle whose admiration for her virtues was fanatic. We still possess the diaries of

that city, and, on the strength of this authenticated work, to reinstate this painter in his rightful place among the Sienese artists of his time. In an *Appendix* to Chapter II. of Mr. Murray's reissue of this *History* (1908), Mr. Douglas gives a number of works to this forgotten painter, among others the frescoes ascribed to Bartolo Fredi in the entrance way to the Palazzo Pubblico of Siena; a Madonna and Child in the priest's house of S. Pietro Ovile; the Madonna and Child (known as the "Madonna delle Nevi") of the Duomo; and two saints in the church of the Sapienza at Siena. Mr. Perkins, however, as we have already seen, gives the "Madonna delle Nevi" to Paolo di Giovanni Fei, citing it as a particularly characteristic work of that master, while he considers the two saints of the Sapienza to be of a period considerably anterior to that of Andrea's activity. Mr. Perkins gives to Andrea a Madonna and Child in the possession of Signor Pilade Merlotti of Siena. For documented notices regarding Andrea, who is first mentioned in a document of 1389 and died in 1428, as well as for a notice of some of his lost works, see MILANESI (*Doc. Sen.*, i. 41.).]

[1] He was also Rector of the Opera of the Duomo in 1376 and Provveditore of the Biccherna, and in 1378 Syndic for the election of a Senator. *Doc. Sen.*, p. 305.

[2] Andrea Vanni to the Commune of Siena, from Naples, February 24, 1384, in *Doc. Sen.*, vol. i., p. 304.

[3] Ibid., and LANZI, vol. i., p. 284.

[4] [See vol. i., p. 267. By Paolo di Giovanni Fei; see *supra*, p. 74.]

[5] [See *antea*, vol. i., p. 269.]

[6] Of Siena.

Andrea's friend Cristofano Guidini, who asked the painter for a likeness of her in the chapel of S. Jacomo Interciso near the belfry in the Duomo, and scenes from the life of S. James, the whole of which have perished.[1] These Andrea finished about 1400,[2] when his career was well nigh spent. There are records of his painting three chapels in the Duomo, one of them, in 1370, with Antonio Veneziano ;[3] and after having been in 1371 Gonfaloniere of his quarter, he painted the banner for it in 1392.[4] For restoring a Virgin and Child on the cathedral front facing the Spedale, for a Virgin Annunciate in the cathedral, he received payments, in 1380 and 1398, and for paintings above the portals thirty florins of gold in 1399/1398.[5] Tizio describes[6] from Andrea's own diary an altarpiece completed for a hundred florins of gold in S. Stefano of Siena, which is still visible in the sacristy of that church, a picture of a common class, combining most of the defects of Bartolo Fredi, with puny figures of vulgar features.[7]

The Nativity of the Virgin between SS. James, Catherine, Bartholomew and Elizabeth of Hungary, assigned to Andrea in the Gallery of Siena[8] is not unlike a picture of Bartolo Fredi, and may have been the result of the joint efforts of both. A similar combination of style may be noticed in frescoes decorating a room in the basement story of the Public Palace, representing the Saviour in a glory of seraphs and the symbols of the Evangelist (ceiling), remains of an angel and Virgin Annunciate, half-lengths of SS. Thomas Aquinas and Anthony the abbot, and a whole figure of the friar Andrea de Galeran.[9]

[1] *Ricordi di* Cristofano Guidini in *Archivio Storico, ubi sup.*, part i., of vol. iv., p. 39. Andrea was godfather to Cristofano's son in 1380.

[2] Milanesi, *Doc. Sen.*, vol. i., p. 305–6. [3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid. For this he is paid 23 livres 8 soldi 6 den., or about 7 florins of gold.

[5] Ibid. [6] MSS. *ap.* Milanesi, *Doc. Sen.*, vol. i., p. 306.

[7] The Virgin enthroned in the centre, a little less than life-size, between SS. Stephen, James the Less, John the Baptist, and Bartholomew. The Four Evangelists in medallions above the niches are surmounted by five pinnacles, the centremost adorned with the Annunciation, the rest with figures of SS. Peter, Paul, Anthony the abbot, and another saint. The predella, in a different character from the rest of the altarpiece and filled with the martyrdom of SS. Stephen, Jerome, Christ on the Cross, Bernard, and other subjects, accuses the inferiority of a later Sienese, Giovanni di Paolo. Of all the parts by Andrea, the small pinnacle figures are the least defective. The head of the infant Saviour may alone serve to prove Andrea's decline from the comparative superiority of Lippo, Barna, and Luca di Tomé, or of pictures already noticed as attributed in the catalogue of the Siena Gallery to Simone and Lippo. The S. John is a dry, bony and disagreeable nude.

[8] [No. 116 of Cat. This is a work of Paolo di Giovanni Fei, and is now rightly given to him by the Catalogue.]

[9] [Now in the entrance of the Palazzo Pubblico. They are by Bartolo di Fredi (Lucy Olcott).] The reddish flesh tones, the types, are more an imitation of Simone than of the Lorenzetti. Another mutilated altarpiece in the Gallery

Andrea's death about 1414 is not noticed in the records of Siena, and it is supposed to have taken place at a distance from his native country.[1]

of which half-lengths, SS. John the Baptist, James, Louis of France [No. 126, Cat.], and SS. James, Catherine, Mary Magdalen, and Ansano [No. 120, ibid.] remain, is like the foregoing Nativity. Again a tabernacle in the same character from the church dell' Alberino fuori della Porta Ovile is assigned to Andrea and is now in the Gallery, representing the Crucified Saviour between the Virgin and S. John, the Magdalen, and two prophets (ibid.) [No. 114.] The character of Andrea's work is, generally, narrow, straight-lined heads and figures, hard attitudes, defective articulations and nude, and large ill-drawn feet.

[Of these three works, No. 126 is by Paolo di Giovanni Fei, No. 120 is in his manner, No. 114 is a genuine but poor work by Andrea Vanni (LUCY OLCOTT).]

Taking these examples as a guide, one may further assign to Andrea a life-size Virgin enthroned in the church of S. Michele or dei Sacri Chiodi, originally in the monastery fuori Porta S. Marco at Siena. The movement of the Virgin as she holds the Infant is graceful. The Child, of pleasant features, grasps His mother's dress and sucks His fingers in a pleasing attitude. Her narrow figure, long slender neck, close eyes, long lids and thin profiled nose, the long-fingered hands are all very carefully drawn in forms reminiscent of the Lorenzetti, whilst the Child rather recalls the style of the followers of Simone, Lippo, Barna, and Luca di Tomé. Here again is similarity with the frescoes just mentioned as in the lower story of the Public Palace.

A picture noticed by Tizio as on the altar of S. Sebastian in the church of S. Martin is no longer to be seen, and a Crucifix and altarpiece in S. Francesco of Siena has shared the same fate (MSS. *ap.* MILANESI, *Doc.*, *ubi sup.*, vol. i., p. 306). Certain pictures at Casaluce, near Naples, are not now to be found.

[1] [To the above works MR. F. MASON PERKINS would add:

MONTEFOLLONICO. *S Sigismondo.* Madonna and Child. (See *Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, an. iv. (1908), fasc. i., p. 9. Mr. Perkins gives this doubtfully to Andrea Vanni.)

FLORENCE. *Settignano, Coll. Berenson.* Madonna and Child.

SIENA. *S. Francesco.* Madonna degli Infermi.
N. transept. Madonna and Child (fresco).
S. Giovanni della Staffa. Madonna and Child.
S. Spirito. Madonna and Child.
Istituto delle Belle Arti. Crucifixion (fragment).
Coll. Griccioli. Two panels: SS. Peter and Paul.

For these pictures, see F. MASON PERKINS in *Burlington Magazine* (1903), vol. ii., No. 6, p. 309 *et seq.* Mr. Berenson and Mr. Perkins also formerly ascribed to Andrea's later period the interesting free copy of Simone Martini's famous Annunciation, to be seen in the church of S. Pietro in Ovile at Siena (*cf. Burlington Magazine, ibid.*). I believe, however, that both critics have for some time past relinquished this opinion, and now ascribe this picture to an unknown, or at least undefined, master of the early fifteenth century. Mr. Douglas gives this painting to Sassetta.

Mr. Berenson gives to Vanni a small panel of S. James (No. 113) of the Gallery at Siena, and a S. John the Evangelist (No. 312) in the same collection.

OSVALD SIRÈN in *Burlington Magazine* (1904), vol. v., No. 17, p. 440, ascribes a Madonna and Child in his collection in Sweden to Andrea Vanni.

For a picture in the Fitzwilliam Coll. at Cambridge, and another in the Berlin Gallery, see LANGTON DOUGLAS in vol. iii., p. 130, *note* 1, of his edition of the authors' *History of Painting in Italy* (Murray, 1908).

CAVALCASELLE, in his *Storia della Pittura*, vol. iii., pp. 254–5, devotes two pages to Niccolò Buonaccorsi, a painter who is not mentioned by the authors in the original English edition. Notices of this painter range from 1372 to 1388, in which year he appears to have died (*cf.* MILANESI, *Documenti dell' Arte Senese*, vol. i., p. 31). A picture by Niccolò, a Virgin and Child with a S. Margaret,

bearing the inscription NICHOLAUS . BONACHURSI . ME . PINXIT . A . DÑI 1387, is in the church of Santa Margherita at Costalpino, near Siena; a fine little panel of the Sposalizio signed NICHOLAUS . BONACHURSI . DE . SENIS . ME . PINXIT, is (No. 1109) in the National Gallery. A somewhat similar Presentation of the Virgin, once in the hospital of S. Maria Nuova at Florence, is now in the Uffizi. In the collection of Mr. A. de Pass at London is a small S. Jerome with the Lion; and Oswald Sirèn tentatively ascribes to Niccolò a very carefully executed triptych of the Tree of Life, with the Annunciation and scenes from the Life of Christ, ascribed to the "school of Giotto," in the Kestner Museum at Hanover (*cf. Rassegna d'Arte* (Milan) June, 1906, pp. 85–86).]

CHAPTER V

TADDEO BARTOLI AND HIS IMITATORS

THE rapid and prolific hand of Taddeo Bartoli closed the fourteenth and opened the fifteenth century for Sienese art.

A contemporary in Siena of Spinello of Arezzo, he rivalled the Florentine in boldness and speed. Disdaining to some extent the feeble masters who immediately preceded him, emulation might prompt him to attempt the revival of the grandeur apparent in the Lorenzetti. But the energy and fire which animated Pietro did not pass unalloyed to him. Yet Taddeo Bartoli was not without great talents. It was not his fault that, inheriting from Duccio, from Simone and the Lorenzetti a certain class of defects, he was unable to strike the path leading to progress. In the end he carried into the fifteenth century the mould of the fourteenth without heeding the process of change which was taking place about and around him.

His father Bartolo di Mino was a barber, whose marriage with one Francesca di Cino in 1361 is registered in Siena.[1] A record of 1386/1385, in which Taddeo contracts to colour seventy-eight figures in the choir of the cathedral,[2] represents him as being still under age, and therefore on the fair side of twenty-five.[3] It is thus clear that he was born shortly after 1362, equally apparent that he is not, as Vasari asserts, the son of Bartolo di Maestro Fredi.[4] Free about this time of the Guild of Painters at Siena, he began practice early and successfully, being in 1389 of the council for the works of the cathedral[5] of Siena, and in 1390 author of an altarpiece for S. Paolo of Pisa, now [1864] in the Louvre.[6] Painted with the fresh-

[1] MILANESI, *Doc. Sen.*, vol. ii., p. 108.

[2] And is paid ten gold florins for the work.

[3] Ibid., vol. i., p. 313, and vol. ii., p. 108. Ugurgieri states that Taddeo died aged 59. His death occurred in 1422, and thus he would necessarily date from 1363. *Vide* in BALDINUCCI, vol. iv., p. 538.

[4] VASARI, vol. ii., p. 219.

[5] MILANESI, *Doc. Sen.*, *ubi sup.*, vol. i., p. 368.

[6] VASARI, vol. ii., *note* 3 to p. 221. [CAVALCASELLE, in *Storia della Pittura*, vol. iii., p. 257, mentioned an early altarpiece, cited by Baldinucci, and said to have been painted by Taddeo for the church of Collegarli, near S. Miniato al Tedesco, in 1389.]

[A very early work by Taddeo, closely reminiscent of Bartolo, is a small panel of S. Benedict, in the collection of Mr. F. Mason Perkins at Assisi.]

ness of youth, yet much injured by time, which has darkened the flesh tints, this altarpiece proves him to have been in the full exercise of his talent.[1] In 1393 he found patrons, and it is supposed a partner for life, at Genoa, where he painted for Cataneo Spinola and the church of S. Luke a couple of altarpieces.[2] He married a lady whose name has been preserved as Simona del Monte of Genoa.[3]

In 1395 he completed an altarpiece of the Virgin, Child and saints for the chapel of the Sardi and Campigli in S. Francesco of Pisa,[4] following up the commission by painting the whole of the walls of the chapel for Donna Datuccia, the representative of the Sardi family. Lately rescued from whitewash, these frescoes are much discoloured but the inscriptions on the pilasters of the entrance fix the name of the patron and of the painter, and prove the time in which the work was completed.

On one pilaster is the following:

TADE BARTOLI DE SENIS PINXIT HOC OPUS ANNO DNI MCCCXCVII.

On the opposite one:

VEN. DNA DATUCCIA DE SARDIS FECIT FIERI ISTA CAPELLA P. AIA VIRI SUI ET SUARUM.

In the vaulting of the entrance Taddeo placed SS. Chiara, Catherine, Apollonia, Agnes, Lucy and another saint in half-lengths; inside above the door a medallion with S. Francis showing the Stigmata. On the wall opposite the entrance, the Virgin and the Angel Annunciate at each side of a window, and S. John the Baptist to the left, S. Andrew to the right of the altar. On the wall to the left, in the lunette, is the Apostles' Visit to the Virgin, with her Death in a lower course; on the side to the right, in the lunette, the Virgin carried to the grave, and the Ascension beneath it. The lower courses on the right and left sides are cut away in the centre.

[1] The Virgin attended by saints sits enthroned in a glory of red seraphs holding the Child standing on her knee and playing with a bird, and the picture is inscribed: "TADDEUS BARTHOLA DE SENIS PINXIT HOC OPUS MCCCLXXXX." No. 63 of the Louvre Cat. The background regilt, and the picture injured. [Now in the Museum of Grenoble.] Whether Taddeo then visited Pisa is uncertain, but it is proved that he did not execute the Virgin above the Aulla Chapel in the Campo Santo. (*Vide antea*, Pietro di Puccio of Orvieto.)

[2] MILANESI, *Doc., ubi sup.*, vol. ii., p. 108. [3] Ibid.

[4] The following inscription was on the picture:

"VEN. DOMINA, DOMINA DATUCCIA, FIGLIA OLIM S. BETTI DE SARDIS, ET UXOR QUONDAM SER ANDREE DE CAMPIGLIS FECIT FIERI HANC TUBULAM PRO ANIMÆ SUORUM DEFUNCTOR. THADEUS BARTHOLI DE SENIS PINXIT HOC, ANNO DOMINI MCCCXCV."

This altarpiece represented the Virgin and Child between SS. Francis, Anthony of Padua, and Gerard. See MORRONA, *Pisa Illust.*, vol. iii., p. 60. This panel, the same no doubt which Vasari described as dated 1394 (VASARI, vol. ii., p. 221), was seen by the latest annotators in possession of one Signor Supino at Pisa. It has been transferred to Vienna.

Though colourless, these frescoes are composed with great spirit, proving Bartoli to have inherited the energy and individual force which impart to artistic creations a true value. It is not the work of one issuing directly from the school of the Lorenzetti, but of one who felt as they did, who carried out bold and vigorous action by exaggeration of vehemence. It is the result of a development in a single path of an art brought up to a certain form of excellence by Duccio, continued by Ugolino and Simone, and more or less by the Lorenzetti without an effort or a wish to alter it by subjection to great but necessary laws. So it happened that as the fifteenth century dawned, Taddeo, who stood at the head of the school of Siena, was still on the false ground of his predecessors, still striving by febrile activity in a confined and vicious circle to show how high art might be brought by one who neglected its simplest yet grandest maxims. He supported the Sienese school by his talent and power. He could not raise it higher than it had already come, nor bequeath any improvement to his successors. Siena gained less from him than it did from the Lorenzetti. It could not rival Florence; not because he had not created men of talent, but because it had had no Giotto.

A glance at the figures of the Evangelists and Doctors in the angles of the ceiling in the Sardi Chapel, or sacristy as it now [1864. To-day the church is secularised] is, of S. Francesco of Pisa, may suffice to show how ably Taddeo could suspend figures in air, broadly drape them in vestments agitated by the wind, vary them in movement and make them hover or fly in attitudes calculated to display at once the excessive boldness and ability of his hand. Yet as regards nude form, he fell into the defects of all his predecessors. Nor was this an occasional failing, but a general one. On the deformed nude of the Baptist,[1] at the left side of the altar, the spectator might pass without more than a momentary attention, were his eye not riveted to the place by the forcible character of an otherwise disagreeable type and the grandeur of the draperies. He might turn from the inferior but more developed form of the S. Andrew at the other side,[2] displeased at the weight of the frame, and the bad design of the hands and feet, were he not attracted by the powerful Greek-Byzantine Sienese attitude and face, reminiscent of the anchorites of the Lorenzetti in the Campo Santo of Pisa, which Taddeo no doubt studied in their original beauty. In the Reception of the Apostles by the Virgin, Taddeo brings the figures together in a very fair and animated manner. He placed the Virgin inside an edifice attended by the Maries. The apostles have

[1] Erect and holding the Lamb.
[2] Grasping with force a Cross and the Gospel.

not all come together. Some, having appeared before the rest, are seated or stand by. One is in the act of presenting himself; another to the left bends reverently at the entrance. One flies in with outstretched arms. Two others drop down as if from heaven. For animation and life, Taddeo never produced anything superior. The breadth and motion of drapery, the firm decision in every line of the drawing, the bold freedom of action in unusual and difficult positions are worthy of the sixteenth century.

It is to be regretted that the central figure of the Virgin, in the funeral mass said for her in a church, should be lost. But one may discern S. Peter reading the service, another sprinkling holy water, the apostles behind, and angels with tapers at the head and feet of the dead. In the centre, the Saviour stands with the soul in the form of an infant in his arms. The usual animation marks the faces and figures amongst the angels, one (third on the left) has features moulded as it were on a given form which served Taddeo even for his Virgins. It is no religious type, but round, plump, youthful, and of this world completely. The hair falls in crisp curls at both sides of the parting, little below the ear. The neck is fleshy, the lips equally so, the brows regularly arched and the nose of a moderate length. The face is in fact of a short oval, a repetition, one might say, of the form in the infant Saviour by Simone at the Palazzo Pubblico of Siena, showing the artist an imitator not merely of the Lorenzetti, but of their graceful rival. A great part of the fresco, representing the Carriage of the Virgin's Body on a stretcher to the tomb, is cut away. On the right the apostles, in long and energetic stride, move forward in the powerful style of the Lorenzetti. Their bold motions are given with unequalled power by Taddeo, and they are perhaps the finest of his productions. The Maries with other females in grief behind the body are realistic and slender figures, outside the simplicity of nature.

Of the Ascension one may still observe a part, the apostles and a group of nine females on the left, in natural movements, recalling to mind the style of Ambrogio Lorenzetti. Venturing to judge of Taddeo's powers as a colourist from such portions as retain tone, one might say that he painted in strong and vigorous tints but in somewhat detached planes.[1]

[1] On the second altar to the right, after entering the church of S. Michele of Pisa, is an altarpiece in the character of Taddeo, representing the Virgin enthroned, with the Infant standing on her knee, between the Archangel Michael, and SS. Catherine, Julian, and Peter. Two archangels playing the viol and harp kneel in front. This is a graceful production of Taddeo's early time, and marked by his least defective types, the faces being round and soft like those

Though Vasari pretends that Taddeo visited Perugia in 1398,[1] there is reason to believe that his journey to that place occurred at a later period, and that, after completing his labours at Pisa, he returned to Siena, where he undertook, during a series of years, considerable works in the cathedral. Nine, formerly twelve, little panels, in which he illustrated the sentences of the Creed, may be seen in the Opera of the Duomo. They are carried out with great versatility of thought and agreeable animation, the figures being admirably draped and not without beauty of form. In such small works as these it was natural that the painter's defects should be less visible than in those of larger size and more complexity of subject.

Six panels in the same place, representing in couples an apostle and an angel, placed perpendicularly above each other, may have belonged to the series of the " Credo."

Taddeo's deficiencies were more apparent in works of a large size, and may be studied in a colossal Crucifix executed by him, if we may judge by style, for the Spedale of Siena.[2] There he presented to the pity and prayers of the sick a long lean figure of the Redeemer, well studied in the muscular development of the frame and limbs, but narrow-chested and unnoble in proportion and shape. Though essentially Sienese in type and attitude, the figure is flexible and well drawn, but the limbs and joints are coarse, and the head large and decked with abundant hair ; nor will a student of the school fail to recognise the continuation of Duccio's old forms and their improvement in realism and muscular anatomy.[3]

It is the more interesting to contemplate these productions, as all the frescoes of Taddeo in the cathedral and Public Palace of Siena in 1400 and 1401 are now obliterated. In the cappella S. Antonio of the Duomo he painted the Last Judgment,[4] in the choir six scenes from the Old Testament,[5] and for an altarpiece in the chapel of the

of the angels in the frescoes of S. Francesco, and the engraved ornament rich as usual with the Sienese. Yet the name of Lorenzo Monaco is appended. (MORRONA, vol. iii., p. 158.) The ground is regilt and the colour of the draperies in the angels abraded.

[1] VASARI, vol. ii., p. 222.

[2] And now in the female ward of that establishment. [This crucifix is now in the Gallery at Siena (No. 56).]

[3] The Virgin and Evangelist at the extremities of the horizontal arms, above the Saviour's head, the Serpent and the Pelican are not different from the rest. Vulgar grief is in the features of S. John, muscular force in his frame. The drawing in every part is firm, relief well rendered, colour delicate, natural and well fused from yellowish lights into greyish shadows. The flying draperies are as usual grand, and the whole interesting to study, as this is undoubtedly the best preserved of all the works on panel by Taddeo.

[4] He commenced in February 4, 1400, at the rate of 12½ florins per month. *Doc. Sen., ubi sup.*, vol. ii., pp. 5, 6.

[5] He engaged himself for this work on the 10th of June 1401. Ibid., vol. ii., p. 7.

Public Palace a predella.[1] It is characteristic of the speed with which he laboured that his contracts, even for such works as these, did not exceed two months, and that he generally fulfilled them; finding time besides for other and not less important work. In 1400 he delivered complete to the Company of S. Caterina della Notte, located beneath the hospital of Siena, a Madonna between SS. John the Baptist and Andrew, inscribed:

TADDEUS BARTOLI DE SENIS PINXIT HOC OPUS ANN. DÑI MILLE CCCC.[2]

A great altarpiece representing the Death, Ascension, and Coronation of the Virgin was furnished but little later for the cathedral of Montepulciano, and still hangs there high up inside the chief portal, with the inscription:

TADEO DI BARTOLO DA SIENA DIPINSE QUESTA OPERA AL TEMPO DI MESSER . . . . . MCCCCI.

This picture cannot be seen without difficulty. Its vast size and its cathedral form seem to indicate that it was once the ornament of the high altar.[3]

At Montalcino, west of Montepulciano, there are likewise traces of Taddeo's industry in six half busts of saints adorning the sacristy of the church of S. Antonio, and a Virgin and Child in the church of S. Francesco.

North of Siena, at S. Gimignano, Taddeo laboured in person, and decorated the spaces above the arches of the central aisle of the Duomo with the Paradise and Inferno. Lines of seraphim, angels playing, female saints, patriarchs, prophets and apostles stand below and round a throne on which the Saviour, holding the Gospel, gives a blessing to the Virgin at his side.[4] Lucifer occupies the upper space of the opposite lunette, presiding over torments of which a description would be tedious and disgusting. Nor indeed are the obscenities which fill this portion of the work of Taddeo to be contemplated without a blush; and their presence in a church calls down a reproof

[1] *Doc. Sen.*, vol. ii., pp. 108, 109. These three pieces by Taddeo are gone.

[2] The Infant playfully scratches its foot; two angels on each side play musical instruments, and in the pinnacles are the dove and two seraphs. The pilasters enclosing the picture are adorned with figures of saints in courses. The picture has been lately cleaned.

[3] The predella in a double course contains twenty-one scenes of the Creation and Passion, the Crucifixion as usual filling the space of three compartments. The whole is executed according to a well-considered plan, with the master's usual ability, and no doubt with the aid of his pupils; the scenes of the Passion on the old and well-known models of the school. [This picture is now over the high altar.]

[4] The whole of the right of this fresco has been greatly injured by time.

from the intelligent historian of S. Gimignano, Canon Pecori.[1] In the archivaults beneath these scenes are figures of prophets and a shield of arms, and on the capital of the column supporting the arch above which the Inferno is painted, an inscription declaring :

THADEUS BARTOLI DE SENIS PINXIT HĀC CĀPELLA . . . . .

The date, which has been read 1393, is difficult to decipher, but looks like 1400 and some years, and the rude execution of the paintings seems of the less careful period of the master in the opening of the century.

Two pictures finished for the same cathedral by Taddeo are now, with others, in the hall of the Palazzo del Comune. One represents S. Gimignano in the act of benediction—a model of the town in his hand, with four scenes of the saint's life on the side panels; the second, a Madonna between SS. Christopher and Nicholas of Bari, and two saints in episcopals. The signature of the first has been removed ; but the picture has quite Taddeo's character ; [2] the second is inscribed :

TADEUS BARTOLI DE SENIS PINXIT HOC OPUS.[3]

The year 1403 saw Taddeo at work for the religious communities of Perugia. For the church of S. Agostino he painted the Descent of the Holy Spirit, inscribed :

TADDEUS BARTOLI DE SENIS PINXIT HOC OPUS, FECIT FIERI AGNELLA PETI P. AIA JOHANNIS FILII SUI AN DNI MCCCCIII.[4]

for the Church of S. Francesco a Virgin and child, signed :

TADDEUS BARTOLI DE SENIS PINXIT HOC OPUS MCCCCIII,

and a S. Francis without signature. In S. Domenico, he completed frescoes illustrative of the life of S. Catherine.[5] The latter have disappeared, the former may still be seen in S. Agostino and in the Pinacoteca of Perugia. Unfortunately the two altarpieces of S. Francesco were dismembered, and being both of the same size it is difficult to say how the side panels, now separate in the Academy, were distributed with reference to the central ones of the Virgin and

[1] PECORI, *ubi sup.*, p. 509.

[2] A split in the centre damages the figure of S. Gimignano.

[3] Vasari states that Taddeo painted in S. Gimignano a picture imitating the manner of Ugolino. No doubt he alludes to one of the foregoing (VASARI, vol. ii., p. 220); yet it may be difficult to assign any motive for his observation, as Taddeo did not imitate Ugolino more than Simone, Lippo, Barna, Tomé, or others of that time ; nay, he may be said to approach Simone more than Ugolino.

[4] The picture has suffered from restoring. [It is now in the Pinacoteca, Sala IV., No. 10.]

[5] VASARI, vol. ii., p. 222.

S. Francis.[1] Taddeo was in his prime at this period. He painted his figures of just proportions and in true action, with less of the old grimness than usual. Drawn with customary boldness, copiously but tastefully adorned with engraving and embroidery, they exhibit, in such parts as remain uninjured, the old Sienese manipulation, abandoned for a time only by the Lorenzetti, resumed by Taddeo, and consisting in flesh tints worked over a solid impasto of deep verde. Thus the system of Duccio maintained itself till the rise of the fifteenth century unaltered by one who was the contemporary of Spinello, Antonio Veneziano, and Masolino.[2] The influence of Taddeo Bartoli and other Sienese at Perugia and the vicinity was immense, and has already been remarked; but a further development of this subject would throw the reader too late into the fifteenth century, and must for the present be postponed.

In May 1404 Taddeo was again at Siena painting in the choir of the cathedral at his usual salary of 12½ florins a month, and producing frescoes which have perished. The contract for this work has been preserved, and is remarkable for a clause in which the artist agrees not to work in wet weather, a precaution which has not saved his pictures from destruction.[3] He had apparently returned from Perugia without receiving all that he had to claim for his work there. We find him accordingly visiting that place anew with permission of the authorities at Siena in August 1404.[4] His activity of mind and body is shown not merely by the completion, in addition to other works, of an altar-piece now in the church of the Servi at Siena, but by his appointment

[1] The former, crowned, sits in a throne with the Infant on her knee holding a bird. Two angels kneel in front and play instruments. Part of a choir of seraphs has been mutilated.

The latter represents S. Francis, showing the Stigmata on his palms, and supported in air by seraphs as he treads on the prostrate figures of Envy, Ambition, and Avarice [Sala IV., No. 5]. Four panels united contain figures of SS. Constantius, Anthony, Catherine of Siena, and John Evangelist, the female, youthful, pleasing, broadly painted, and well draped, the Evangelist injured by abrasion [Sala IV., No. 9]. A double panel of the same size represents S. Ercolano, protector of Perugia, much injured by scaling and abrasion, and S. John the Baptist equally damaged. Another double panel is devoted to S. Louis, spoiled in various ways, and a well-preserved Magdalen, which may be classed amongst the finest creations of the master for type, attitude, and drapery. Two panels from the sacristy of S. Francesco, and repainted in oil, belong to the series, and represent SS. Peter and Paul. [Sala IV. Nos. 6 and 7.]

[2] It is desirable that more care should be taken of these works by the artistic authorities of Perugia. There are pictures at the Academy which have been five years laid by for restoration, and lie in the house of the restorer. There is no gallery in Italy so disordered as this, none in which so many panels forming part of the same altarpiece are so completely separated. (As these pages are going through the press a great change has taken place in the localities of most paintings at Perugia.)

[3] *Doc. Sen.*, vol. ii., pp. 7 and 15.

[4] Ibid., vol. ii., pp. 7 and 8.

to the office of "Esecutore di gabella."[1] The picture at the Servi, representing the Nativity, hangs above an altar decorated with a Massacre of the Innocents by Matteo da Siena, and is mutilated so far, that the central part alone remains, inscribed :

TADEUS BARTOLI DE SENIS PINXIT HOC OPUS ANNI DNI MCCCCIIII.[2]

During 1405, Taddeo finished in September four scenes behind the high altar of the Siena Duomo[3] and in December the painting of two doors of the organ. The window of the choir was adorned by him in January 1406/1405 with an Ascension of the Virgin.

In August 1406, it was resolved in council that he should be employed to repaint the chapel of the Palazzo Comune at Siena. A special deliberation took place to consider the question of ways and means, and the artist was authorised to destroy all the paintings previously existing in the chapel.[4] He began in September, and produced in succession the incidents already used in the Sardi Chapel at S. Francesco of Pisa. In lunettes, and on numerous arches, he decorated the spaces with medallions enclosing allegorical figures of Fortitude, Prudence, Faith, Hope, Charity, Prophets, the Four Evangelists and the Four Doctors of the Church. In the archivaults of the entrances he placed busts of saints, and the arms of the commune and people, in the lower pilasters, SS. John the Baptist, Francis, Judas Maccabæus and other saints. So great was the impatience of the council to see all this finished, that on the 10th of November, scarcely five weeks having elapsed since Taddeo had commenced, he was informed that the whole must be ready before December under a penalty of 25 florins. On the 16th of November, in order to make assurance doubly sure, the council resolved that he should not leave the chapel before the completion of its decoration, and pressed by his employers in this extraordinary and unusual manner, he succeeded in finishing the work to their satisfaction.[5]

Whilst arbiters settled the price that Taddeo was to receive, the hall of the chapel remained to be decorated ; and the artist was ordered on the 8th of January 1407/8 to paint the S. Christopher. For this, which was finished with the usual speed, Taddeo received 33 florins,

[1] *Doc. Sen.*, vol. ii., p. 108. [2] It is to some extent damaged.

[3] *Doc. Sen.*, vol. ii., p. 8. He got March 6, 1405/1404, 20 florins for a month and a half's labour in the choir ; 30 florins for the four scenes behind the high altar in September ; and 30 florins for the doors of the organ. January 13, 1406/1405, he gets 4 florins more for the doors and 6 florins for the Ascension.

[4] Ibid., vol., ii., pp. 27, 28.

[5] Ibid., vol. ii., pp. 28, 29. The council appointed Martino Bartolommeo the companion of Spinello (see *antea*), its umpire, Taddeo, Cecco Manni, to settle the price due for the work. In 1408 they decided that it was worth 205 florins.

for colours, gold and the payment of his apprentices.[1] The rest of the hall was not commissioned of him till the 9th of October 1413,[2] and the payment of 78 liv. 16 sol. for that portion of the work was made in June 1414.[3] There, on a wall facing the altar and visible through the colonnade which separated it from the hall, Taddeo placed figures of such heroes of the olden time as might have been celebrated for the qualities of magnanimity, Scipio Africanus, Furius Dentatus, Marcus Curius Dentatus. These were made to stand erect in niches and in Roman costume; and in the lunette above, Magnanimity allegorically symbolised the virtue assigned to them. In the next compartment, Scipio Nasica, M. Portius Cato and Marcus Tullius Cicero were placed in similar niches, above which a figure symbolised Justice. Beneath Cicero the grammarians of Siena placed an inscription, calling upon the spectator to imitate these virtues,[4] and in order to understand the full value of the sentences, it is necessary to remember that this chapel passage led from the Hall of Peace, painted by Ambrogio Lorenzetti, to the Sala del Consiglio decorated by Simone, where justice was distributed in the name of the commune and people, Taddeo's art being intended to convey lessons to those who on entering might possibly be induced to forget that magnanimity and justice both preside over verdicts.[5]

[1] *Doc. Sen.*, vol. ii., pp. 28–30.

[2] Ibid., vol. ii., pp. 29, 30.

[3] Ibid.

[4] "*Specchiatevi in costoro, voi che reggete. Se volete regnare mille e mille anni, seguite il ben comune; et non v' inganni, se alcuna passione in voi avete. Dritti Consilii, come qua rendete, che qui disotto sono co' longhi panni giusti col armi ne' comuni affanni. Come questi altri che quaggiù vedete sempre maggiori sarete insieme uniti; et saglirete al cielo pieno d' ogni gloria. Siccome fece il gran popolo di Marte, el quale avendo del Mondo vittoria, perchè infra loro si furo dentro partiti, perde la libertade in ogni parte.*"

[5] An illustration of the mixture of the sacred and mythological which seems to have been frequent in the Sienese school, may be found in the Sala del Consiglio (now a prison) at Lucignano, a spot adorned with paintings of an inferior class of different periods, as may be seen from various inscriptions at the feet of divers figures. For instance, the Virgin with the Child stands between six saints (one wanting). Above her, in the ceiling, the Saviour in benediction holds an open book, between two angels in flight. At the Virgin's feet an inscription runs as follows: "PRIORI ODITE L' ALTRA PARTE. . . ." On the book in the hands of the Saviour are the words: "QUI SEQUITUR ME NON AMBULAT IN TENEBRIS SET ABEBIT LUMINẼ VITẼ." A scroll in the hand of one of the angels contains: "CONSIGLA CŌ VETU E SENZA VICIO COME FECE A ROMA EL BŌ FABRICIO." The scroll held by the other angel has the following: "PARLA POCO—ODI ASSAI—GUARDA AL FIN DI CIŌ CHE (FAI)." In the same locality are figures of classic heroes and apostles, with inscriptions beneath stating who caused each of them to be executed, and the time of execution, which is generally the first half of the fifteenth century. In the vaulting of the arches leading into the Sala del Consiglio [in Siena], Taddeo represented Aristotle, Mars on two horses, and Jupiter holding the holy fire; in the centre "Rome" in a medallion, again Apollo playing, Pallas with a bat, and a lance and shield at her feet, Julius Cæsar and Pompey. Of all these classic figures, VON RUMOHR remarks: "Less praise can be given to the orators, statesmen and soldiers of the classic time,

The inner part of the chapel represents, as has been previously remarked, the incidents which Taddeo had, ten years before, completed at Pisa, and he reproduced them in the same spirit and with the same lively boldness. It may be needless to repeat the reflections which those frescoes suggested, but it may be proper to note that, although the chapel at Siena has not been whitewashed like the sacristy of S. Francesco at Pisa, yet the painting has been seriously injured by time and restoring, and has lost in consequence much of its freshness. Some figures, indeed, are totally renewed. The work of 1414 is already more hasty than that of 1407, and betrays the hand of assistants; yet the aspect of the whole is imposing, and Taddeo deserves for it the praise which Vasari is candid enough to bestow.[1] On the capital of one of the arches inside the chapel is the following inscription:

TADDEUS BARTOLI DE SENIS PINXIT ISTAM CAPELLAM MCCCCVII CUM FIGURA SANCTI XPHORI ET CUM ISTIS ALIIS FIGURIS MCCCCXIV.

In the interval of the completion of this interesting work Taddeo finished an Annunciation between S. Cosma and S. Damian,[2] now in the Gallery of Siena, with the inscriptions:

(q u e s t a t a) VOLA FECE FARE MARIONO DI PAOLO DI ROSSO.
(T a d e u s B.) ARTHOLI DE SENIS PINXIT HOC OPUS ANNI DOMINI MILLE QUATTRO CENTO NOVE.[3]

In 1410 he went to Volterra, where he laboured in the church and for the Company of S. Francesco; and his return in 1411, with a debt still due for this work, led to a threatening correspondence between the authorities of the two cities.[4] Siena, however, seems not to have insisted as it had done some thirty years before in the case of Bartolo di Fredi, and Taddeo apparently had to forego his claim. The paintings for which he required payment have ceased to exist, and all that remains of his works in Volterra is an altarpiece in S. Ottaviano, three

whom Thaddeo, to contrast with the antique habit of his Christian heroes, clothed in singular fantastic and ugly dresses" (*Forschungen*, vol. ii., p. 220).

[1] VASARI, vol. ii., p. 220.

[2] [No. 131 of Siena Cat.]

[3] In a predella, and upper courses of the altarpiece which is now divided, Taddeo painted the Martyrdom of SS. Cosma and Damian [No. 134, ibid.], the Nativity [No. 132, ibid.], the Ascension of the Virgin [No. 133], the Adoration of the Magi [No. 127]. Besides these portions a fragment of the head of a Peter Martyr is also preserved (No. 129). This picture is not, however, a good example of the master, being darkened in tone, without relief of light and shade, and profuse in ugly types, of which there is no lack in any one of Taddeo's masterpieces.

[4] *Doc. Sen.*, vol. ii., pp. 49–51.

miles from the city, now in the cappella San Carlo of the Volterra Duomo, and inscribed :

TADDEUS BARTOLI DE SENIS PINXIT HOC AN DNI MCCCCXI.[1]

This piece is rude and dry, and but for the signature it would be difficult to class it otherwise than as the production of an apprentice. This, however, is not the latest panel produced by Taddeo, who now rose (1412) to the honours of the supreme council at Siena, which he enjoyed again and again in 1416 and 1420. He probably painted in 1413 for the church annexed to the convent dell' Osservanza fuori di Porta Ovile, at no great distance from Siena,[2] varying the commissions of patrons in his native place with others from friends in more distant cities.

Yet whatever he may have produced for Mont' Oliveto or Arezzo, where, according to Vasari, he worked,[3] has been lost; and at what time he painted in Padua for Francesco da Carrara is uncertain. Nothing of his can be found in the Santo.[4] As regards the Arena, it is true, the choir of the Scrovegni Chapel adorned by Giotto is filled with feeble and much damaged scenes from the life of the Virgin,[5] but

[1] [Now in the Palazzo del Comune.] The picture is much damaged by restoring. The Virgin sits enthroned, with the Infant, between SS. Ottaviano and John the Baptist, Michael Archangel and Francis. In the pinnacles, the Redeemer in benediction stands in the centre between the Angel and Virgin Annunciate, and a couple of medallions with a saint in each adorns the spandrils. The predella contains an episode from the life of the Virgin and of the saints at her sides, but as regards S. Ottaviano it is obvious that he was not originally intended to form part of the picture. Taddeo had placed S. Anthony the abbot by the side of S. John the Baptist. The name of S. Ottaviano was substituted, and a new hand, with a model of a town in it, was given to S. Anthony, The Virgin is remarkable for the master's usual plump and youthful face; the Child is again fat and awkward.

[2] The altarpiece contains four life-size figures of SS. John the Baptist and Francis, SS. Peter and John Evangelist, with figures in similar order in the pinnacles, of two unknown saints, SS. Stephen and Paul. Though not authenticated by Taddeo's name, the picture is executed in his manner. It has not the excessive boldness and energy which characterises him; and is a little flat in tone, but lively and gay in colour. At all events it is a picture of his school, possibly by Martino di Bartolommeo, or Gregorio, his pupils. The picture is inscribed : " QUESTA TAVOLA HANNO FATTA FARE LE D.NNE DI S. PETRONELLA, AL TEMPO DELLA BADESSA . . . DI SUOR CHOSTANZIE DI PIETRO DI MESSER TAR . . . REDI AÑO DÑI MCCCCXIII." [Both Mr. Berenson and Miss Olcott accept this work as undoubtedly by Taddeo.]

The annotators of Vasari notice also in the sacristy of the oratory of S. Antonio at Volterra an altarpiece representing divers saints inscribed : " TADEUS BARTOLI DE SENIS HOC OPUS PINXIT MCCCC . . ." and Giacchi, who published a guide to Volterra in 1832, completes the date, which is 1418. VASARI, vol. ii., *note* to p. 221.

[3] VASARI, vol. ii., pp. 221, 222.

[4] Ibid., vol. ii., p. 220.

[5] Three frescoes adorning each side. In that to the left, the Virgin announces her coming death, and in the successive lower courses receives the apostles and dies in their presence. In the right side beginning from below is the Funeral, and the Ascension. The Coronation of the Virgin fills the third side.

they are rude productions by some follower of Giotto, and hence are without any Sienese character.[1]

The Annunciation, assigned to Taddeo in the Berlin Museum,[2] that is, the Virgin of a pinnacle, without the angel, is too feeble to be a genuine work of the master, whilst the Trinity in the same gallery [3] is a picture of the Giottesque school in the manner of Niccolò Pietri Gerini. Other productions in public galleries may be passed over as equally feeble or false.

All that is further recorded of Taddeo up to 1422, when he died, is the part taken by him in deliberations for the erection of the Fonte del Campo at Siena, completed at a later period by Giacomo della Quercia,[4] and a resolution of the council that the gates of SS. Martin, Viene, and Nova,[5] should be painted by him.[6]

[1] Three of the same subjects on panel, namely, the Death and the Ascension, twice repeated from the compositions of the chapel at Siena, may be seen in the Museo Cristiano at Rome. [Press F., No. XIII., Press K., No. V.] These, however, are hardly worthy of attention. [Perkins and Sirèn, on the contrary, lay especial stress on the latter of these two paintings as belonging to Taddeo's best and most careful period.]

[2] [No. 1083, Berlin Cat.]

[3] [Ibid., No. 1135.]

[4] *Doc. Sen.*, vol. ii., pp. 51, 52, and 101.

[5] Ibid., vol. ii., pp. 109, 244.

[6] [The Porta Nuova and Porta di S. Martino are the same gate now called Porta Romana. *Cf.* HEYWOOD and OLCOTT, *A Guide to Siena*, pp. 120 and 162. To the above works of Taddeo Bartoli, Mr. F. Mason Perkins would add:

BADIA A ISOLA.	Virgin, Child, Saints and Angels (fresco).
COLLE IN VAL D'ELSA.	*S. Agostino.* Madonna and Child (according to Mr. Perkins, one of Taddeo's most beautiful pictures).
FLORENCE.	*Settignano, Coll. Berenson.* Christ with the Twelve Apostles (predella picture).
	Coll. Serristori. SS. Luke, Louis, Peter Martyr, Matthew, Stephen, and three others; above two angels. Part of a polyptych.
RAVENNA.	*Pinacoteca.* No. 176: Annunciation.
SIENA.	*Academy.* No. 162: Stigmatisation of S. Francis.
CAMBRIDGE, MASS. (U.S.A.).	*Coll. Forbes.* Madonna and Child in glory with cherubim; beneath, eight singing angels.
ENGLEWOOD, NEW JERSEY (U.S.A.).	*Coll. Platt.* S. John Baptist, S. Augustine, S. James, S. Catherine of Alexandria.
UTRECHT.	*Gallery.* Two panels: Two Saints.

(See F. MASON PERKINS in *Rassegna d'Arte* (Milan) Nov. 1904, and *Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, an. iv., fasc. i., ii., iii.)

Mr. Berenson adds:

ASCIANO.	*Collegiata.* Madonna.
FLORENCE.	*Palazzo Panciatichi.* S. Elizabeth of Hungary.
NAPLES.	*Gallery,* Sala dei Bizantini. No. 10: St. Sebastian.

In his will, made in August 1422, Taddeo left his wife, Simona quondam Antonio de Monte of Genoa, a life interest in all his property, which was to revert to Ghirigoro Cecchi of Lucca, his adoptive son.[1] He had no children, and his sister Madonna Petra died childless, after two marriages, in 1444.[2]

Vasari, in his life of Pietro Lorenzetti,[3] mentions a pupil by name Bartolommeo Bologhini. It has been fairly assumed that he alludes to Bartolommeo di Messer Bulgarino, of whom records, but no pictures, have been preserved.

This painter is known, for instance, to have decorated in 1345 a table-cloth for the hall of the "Nove" in Siena,[4] the books of the Biccherna in 1353, an altarpiece in the Hospital of S. Maria della Scala inscribed :

FRATER BARTHOLOMEUS DN̄I BULGARINI DE SENIS ME PINXIT TEMPORE DNI GALGANI RECTORIS HOSPITALIS SCE. MARIA, A. DN̄I MCCCLXXIII.[5]

Bartolommeo, who had been married and enjoyed the honours of the

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Note 6 *continued*—

NAPLES.	*Duomo, Chapel R. of Choir.* Triptych: Madonna, Child, and Saints.
PISA.	*Museo, Sala V.* No. 22: S. Donino, and on the back, Crucifixion.
SIENA.	*S. Eugenio.* Sacristy: S. Ansano and a Bishop.
	S. Francesco. Visitation (fresco ; Miss Olcott gives this to Taddeo's school).
	Academy. Nos. 143, 144: Annunciation.
	Spedale-Infermaria di S. Galgano. Crucifixion (fresco).
MÜNSTER IN WESTPHALIA.	*Kunstverein.* No. 1419: Martyrdom of S. Peter Martyr.
OLDENBURG.	*Gallery.* Nos. 24–27: Four Evangelists.
PERUGIA.	*Gallery, Sala IV.* No. 18: Madonna, from Annunciation.

Professor Venturi adds :

ROME.	*Coll. Sterbini.* Madonna and Child, with four Saints.

Miss Olcott further gives to Taddeo :

SIENA.	*Confraternità di S. Gherardo.* S. Louis of France.

Herr Sirèn adds the following :—

HANOVER.	*Kestner Museum.* Six scenes from Life of S. Francis.
	Kestner Museum. Funeral of the Virgin.
ROME.	*Christian Museum* (Press D, No. V.). Death of Virgin.

A very fine work (signed) by Taddeo is in the church at Ginestreto, some five miles from Siena. It is a panel of S. John the Baptist (see PERKINS, *Rassegna d'Arte* (Milan), October, 1904).]

[1] *Doc. Sen.*, vol. ii. pp. 107, 108.
[2] Ibid., vol. ii., p. 108.
[3] VASARI, vol. ii., p. 31.
[4] *Doc. Sen.*, vol. i. p. 49.
[5] Ibid., vol. i., p. 49.

supreme council in 1362,[1] who had been enrolled in the book called " de' Capitudini delle Arti " in 1363, became a brother of the hospital of Siena, and died in 1378.[2] It is from a drawing by him that Vasari took the likeness of Pietro Lorenzetti which was engraved for his work; and this is the only approach to a remnant of his art that we possess.[3]

It has been stated that Bartolommeo was the father of another Sienese painter, Martino di Bartolommeo, already noticed in these pages as the companion of Spinello Aretino in the frescoes of the Sala di Balia at Siena. But this is an error, Martino being the son of Bartolommeo di Biagio,[4] a goldsmith of Siena. As the contemporary of Taddeo Bartoli, and one who has left traces of his existence, some notice may be given of his career.

Though inscribed on the roll of Sienese painters in 1389,[5] he first appears as an artist in Pisa, in the neighbourhood of which, at Cascina, an ex-church dedicated to S. John and once belonging to the Knights of Jerusalem, still remains covered with his paintings. In this building, which is now a canteen, the spectator may see entire courses of frescoes representing, in the first, life-size saints, a Virgin and Child between S. Catherine and S. Agatha; in the second, above these, scenes from the Virgin's history, a great number of which are all but obliterated, and colossal allegorical figures of Virtues in the lunettes. Inside, above the entrance, a large Crucifixion is depicted, below which these words may be read:

RIS DE CASCINA, ANNO DOMINI M (.C.C.C.) LXXXXVI.

Executed probably in 1397, these frescoes do not deserve the minute description which the patient Bonaini gives of them.[6] The compositions are more or less copies from those of earlier or contemporary Sienese artists, and an imitation in dull but sharply contrasted colours of the manner peculiar to Taddeo Bartoli.

That Martino was a third-rate painter is proved by his subordinate position in reference to Giovanni di Piero of Naples, an artist with whom he kept shop in S. Felice at Pisa, and whose altarpiece of the Virgin between saints, jointly undertaken with Martino for the hospital of S. Chiara at Pisa, is still in existence.[7]

[1] *Doc. Sen.*, vol. i., p. 49. [2] Ibid.

[3] VASARI (vol. ii., p. 32) noticed an altarpiece by Bartolommeo in the chapel of S. Silvestro in S. Croce of Florence.

[4] *Doc. Sen.*, vol. ii., p. 31. [5] Ibid., vol. i., p. 65.

[6] BONAINI, *Not. Ined.*, p. 53, and following.

[7] The Virgin is enthroned, with the Infant on her knee, between SS. John the Baptist, Augustine, John Evangelist, and Chiara, and in the pinnacles are the Trinity, SS. Mark and Luke. The predella is gone. It appears that the two painters contracted on the 27th of April 1402 for this altarpiece, in the pinnacles of which not the Trinity and two Saints, but the Trinity and Annunciation, were to be painted. The whole was to be completed in eight months for 95 gold florins. (BONAINI, *ubi sup.*, pp. 44, 45, and following, and pp. 144

It would seem that in this work Martino did little more than the engraving of the ornaments and the frames. The long slender and defective figures are by a third-rate painter whose manner, to a certain extent, imitates that of Taddeo Bartoli. The payments for the altarpiece extend to August 1404, up to which time Martino remained in Pisa,[1] where, in the interval, he painted a Virgin and Child between saints[2] for the Spedale de' Trovatelli, and now in the hospital of S. Chiara,[3] inscribed:

HOC OPUS FIERI FECIT ANTONIUS DE CASSIANO.
MARTINUS DE SENIS PINXIT ANNO DOMINI MCCCCIII.[4]

The character of the painting is not different from that of the altarpiece of 1404, painted for S. Chiara, where again, in the same year, Martin painted thirty figures at the rate of 15 soldi per figure.[5] Other pictures in the Academy of Pisa and in S. Domenico testify at once to his industry and inferiority.[6]

After 1404 Martino retired from Pisa, leaving there Giovanni di Piero, of whom it may be well to notice such records and works as remain.

Besides the altarpiece of S. Chiara due to him and to Martino, he painted a figure on canvas,[7] gilded certain candlesticks[8] and did other common work for that hospital[9] in 1403 and 1404; and in 1405 finished a great Crucifixion on canvas for the convent of S. Domenico, now to be seen in the inner choir.[10] His style was less like that of Taddeo Bartoli than Martino's, and inferior even to that of the latter. At the foot of the picture a long inscription concludes:

MCCCCV JOHĒS PETRI DE NEAPOLI PINSIT.

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and 146, 147, 148.) It is supposed that the SS. Mark and Luke formed part of the predella, which, with the original figures of the Annunciation, are lost. (Ibid., p. 47.)

[1] BONAINI, *Not. Ined.*, p. 46.

[2] These are half-figures, much restored, the blue dress of the Virgin being new, the red one of S. Dorothea repainted.

[3] [Now in Museo Civico, No. 30, Sala V.]

[4] Though repainted, this inscription is no doubt on the lines of the original. In the pinnacles, the Saviour appears in benediction between SS. Catherine, James the Elder, Agatha, and a fourth saint.

[5] BONAINI. *ubi sup.*, p. 48.

[6] The first of which, mutilated, represents the Marriage of S. Catherine, and is inscribed:

. . . . CCCCIII APRILE FUIT MĒSE. PREGHIAMO DIO PER CHI FECE LA SPESE.

The second, unsigned, represents the Virgin and Child, both of the same character and the former of wine-red tone. (Damaged also by two splits in the panel.)

[7] BONAINI, *ubi sup.*, p. 47. [8] Ibid., p. 147. [9] Ibid.

[10] Here he painted an ignoble nude of the Saviour, with S. Francis grasping the foot of the Cross, the Virgin, like that of Tomé in the Academy of Pisa, on one side, the Evangelist on the other, and a figure of a donor in prayer in front.

At Siena Martino was fairly and continuously employed.

In addition to the decorations, in 1405, of the chapel of S. Crescenzio in the Duomo,[1] the altarpiece of which had been painted by Ambrogio Lorenzetti, he likewise finished in 1406 the adornment of the chapel of S. Savino, in the same edifice[2] whose altarpiece had been painted by Pietro Lorenzetti. He claimed and received, in the same year, 19 florins for the Inferno in the chapel of S. Niccolò,[3] contracted to paint four walls in the Duomo in 1407,[4] and restored the Madonna of the sculptor's altar. On the 18th of June, giving up his contract at the cathedral, he promised to decorate, with Spinello, the walls of the Sala di Balia.[5] Spinello, however, did not allow him to labour there, and he accordingly painted the ceiling only, in which, after dividing the space with the usual diagonals, he represented allegorical half-figures of the Virtues in the manner of Ambrogio. The forms are graceful enough, and have their share of character and movement. The colour is clear and flat, imitating at a humble distance the younger Lorenzetti. But they have the disadvantage of being in contact with the work of Spinello, whose energetic boldness and liveliness quite eclipse his Sienese assistant. Yet of all Martino's works this is the best; and if one considers that it was finished in 1407, fifty years after Ambrogio's death, the persistence with which the Lorenzetti's manner and technical methods were preserved may appear remarkable. A small half-length Virgin and Child, which proves Martino's imitation of Taddeo, is preserved by Signor Bonichi at Asciano. It is inscribed: "MCCCCVIII MARTINUS BARTOLOMMEI DE SENIS PINXIT," and was thus finished a year after the ceilings at Siena. Martino worked in many parts of the Palazzo Pubblico, and a picture in his early manner hangs above the door in the hall leading to the Sala di Balia representing the Magdalen between saints.[6]

Martino was umpire for the council to value Taddeo Bartoli's paintings in the chapel of the Palace. He filled various offices in Siena between 1410 and 1428, and died about 1433.[7]

Vasari mentions as of this period Alvaro di Piero of Portugal, who

[1] *Doc. Sen.*, vol. ii., p. 31.

[2] Ibid., vol. ii., p. 31. He receives 28 florins, of which 10 for his salary during ten days.

[3] Ibid., vol. ii., pp. 30, 31.

[4] Ibid. For 64 florins, including salary for a year, scaffolding, colour, &c.

[5] Ibid., p. 34.

[6] In the Gallery of Siena are the following by this master, classed as "unknown," a Virgin and Child between SS. John Evangelist, Laurence, Ansano, and Augustine [No. 160 of Gall. Cat.]; long slender and affected figures like the foregoing, but clearer in their flat and rosy tones, and more in harmony with those of the ceiling in the Sala di Balia. The Virgin and Child between SS. Stephen, John Evangelist, Dorothy, and Jerome, with two angels at her feet, and five scenes of the Passion in a predella; hard in colour, sharp in juxtaposition of long, thin, and feeble fingers [No. 220, ibid.]. A Virgin and Child between SS. James, Philip, Paul, John the Baptist, John Evangelist, and Peter. [Ibid., No. 155.]

[7] *Doc. Sen., ubi sup.*, vol. ii., pp. 31–34.

painted in Volterra and Pisa. There are still panels of this artist in those cities.[1]

The period of Sienese art under notice may be closed by a reference to Taddeo's adopted son, Ghirighoro or Gregorio Cecchi of Lucca.

He is inscribed on the roll of Sienese painters after 1389, and was author of a picture in the sacristy of the cathedral of Siena representing the Virgin seated giving the breast to the infant Saviour, supported in the air by seraphs, and greeted by the music of six angels divided on each side of her. This seems to be the centre of an altarpiece, and is signed :

GREGORIUS DE SENIS PINXIT HOC ANNO DOMINI MCCCCXXIII.

If any picture more than another shows the hand of Taddeo's pupil, it is this. We may assume that Gregorio, originally of Lucca, took the right of city in Siena, and the picture before us proves it. The richly dressed angels in this piece are quite in Taddeo's style ; their attitudes are graceful and the ornament exquisite. The colour, however, is a little hard, the draperies feeble and involved in fold, but vigorous in tone.

[1] VASARI, vol. ii., p. 223. In the church of Fossabanda, outside the Porta Piagge, half a mile from Pisa, is a picture by him representing the Virgin and Child reminiscent of the Sienese school (the dress of the Virgin damaged), with angels playing instruments on the ground in front of them. One would think, from the appearance of the figures and their resemblance to those of Martino and Giovanni Pieri of Naples, that all three painters were companions. Six angels, three of a side, offer a lily and bird to the Infant. On the throne are the words : "ALVARO PIREZ DEVORA PINTOR." The colour is raw and hard from time and other causes.

A second picture of the same hand in the cappella S. Carlo of the Duomo at Volterra was originally painted for the sacristy of S. Agostino (in Volterra). The Virgin and Child are enthroned between SS. John the Baptist, and Nicholas, Christopher, and Michael Archangel. Two busts in medallions fill the pinnacles. In the predella are six painted reliefs, and a mutilated inscription as follows :

A . . . S . . . PERES . . . PINXIT.

As a picture this is less disagreeable than the foregoing. In the sacristy of S. Agostino, another Virgin and Child with angels, between SS. James the elder, Nicholas of Bari, Christopher, and Anthony the abbot, with the date ANNO MCCCCVIII is more like the frescoes by Cienni di Francesco di Sir Cienni already noticed in the Florentine school, than the pictures of Alvaro Perez.

At S. Maria in Chinseca of Pisa, four figures of Saints, amongst whom are S. Christopher and a bishop in one frame and two apostles severally with a knife and a cross, recall the manner of a Sienese painter of the school of Taddeo Bartoli. Frescoes in the same church and in the Sienese manner are too injured to allow of a reliable opinion. In the same place, however, is a picture, assigned by BONAINI, *Not. Ined.*, p. 96, to Andreoccio di Bartolommeo. Milanesi, however, proves Andreoccio to have been a carpenter, who in 1388–90 executed merely the cupboards on which the pictures, now brought together in a frame, were previously placed (*Doc. Sen.*, vol. i., p. 371). As now arranged, the picture contains a Cross, above which is a small bust of the Saviour. In the centre of the Cross is the Virgin, with S. Peter on the left arm, S. John the Baptist on the right, and, on the lower one, SS. James, John Evangelist, and Peter, are in medallion ornaments. These have the character of a Sienese work by the same hand which produced the four figures of saints above described. The inscription only refers to the work of Andreoccio the carpenter, who is not, as Bonaini believes, the painter.

One may assign to him two half-figures, in the same sacristy, of a bishop and a youthful saint with a banner, surmounted by two seraphs in pinnacles, executed with the same care and grace as the last-mentioned picture. There is much resemblance also between these panels and the altarpiece in the convent dell' Osservanza fuori Porta Ovile, dated 1413, noticed amongst the works of Taddeo Bartoli; and Gregorio may have given his aid there. It was not uncommon that he should work with his adoptive father, for a joint picture by Gregorio and Taddeo hung of old at the altar of the Marescotti in S. Agostino of Siena, and was inscribed:

TADDEUS ET GREGORIUS DE SENIS PINXERUNT MCCCCXX.[1]

The only additional notice of Gregorio is, that he painted in 1384 the books of the Biccherna at Siena.[2]

Considering in the earlier chapters of this work the position of Pisa as regards painting, it was observed that from the time of Giunta she yielded none but second-rate talents. During the fourteenth century such artists as she employed were either Florentines or Sienese, but the influence of the school of Siena was paramount, especially through Taddeo Bartoli. A Sienese painter such as Martino, settling in Pisa at the close of the century, might find there no more formidable rivals than the Vanni or Geras, whose labours he was quite able to equal. The Vanni at Pisa were as numerous a race as the Vanni at Siena, and were possibly related. The reader may be reminded of Vanni of Siena who, in 1300, laboured at Pisa,[3] whom Signor Bonaini considers very likely to have been the father of Andrea;[4] of Betto Vanni who died in 1344.[5] He may now become acquainted with Turino Vanni, a native of Rigoli, a village at the gates of Pisa, whose works are numerous in his own country and in South Italy, and of whom there are records and pictures.

Turino painted in 1390 the Lily of Florence on the banner of the cathedral tower at Pisa.[6] In 1392 he coloured a Madonna of marble for the niche above the door of the Campanile;[7] in 1393 he executed the altarpiece of S. Cristina,[8] and in 1395 he tinted and gilt the tabernacle of a statue of S. John the Baptist above the cathedral font at Pisa.[9] One example of his skill in painting bears his name and the date of 1398. It is in the church of S. Paolo Ripa d'Arno at Pisa[10] and represents the

[1] *Doc. Sen.*, vol. i., p. 47.
[2] Ibid.
[3] *Vide antea*, Early Painters of Pisa.
[4] BONAINI, *ubi sup.*, *Not. Ined.*, p. 89.
[5] Ibid., p. 94.
[6] *Vide* record to that effect in BONAINI, *ubi sup.*, p. 83, where the painter is called "Magister Turinus pictor condam Vannis de Reguli Civis Pisanus."
[7] Ibid., p. 83; and CIAMPI, p. 118.
[8] Ibid. For the price of 18 florins of gold.
[9] BONAINI, *ubi sup.*, pp. 83 and 143.
[10] Having originally been in S. Cassiano. Morrona gives the signature erroneously as M.CCCXCVII, and this error may be repeated in the notices which

Virgin and Child enthroned between S. Raineri and S. Torpe, both of them carrying banners, and adored by four kneeling figures in couples at each side of the throne. On the footstool one reads :

TURINUS VANNIS DE RIGULI DEPINXIT A.D. MCCCLXXXXVIII.

The spectator will be struck, at a glance, with the imitation of Taddeo Bartoli, and may remember that that artist had been in Pisa but a year before. Turino imitated the Sienese master not only in type and forms, but in draperies. He made the features smaller perhaps, cutting the outlines sharply into the gesso with a dry and mechanical minuteness. His figures are fairly proportioned, the nimbuses in relief, the colour reddish and flat. Though a second-rate picture, this is a better specimen of Turino than the Virgin and Child amongst playing and singing angels, in the Louvre, inscribed :

TURINUS VANNIS DE PISIS ME PINXIT.[1]

The influence of Taddeo Bartoli is very strongly marked in a small altarpiece representing the Virgin, saints and angels, now in the Benedictine monastery of S. Martino near Palermo, inscribed :

(T.u.r.)INUS VANNIS DE PISIS PINXIT A.D. . . . . .[2]

The heads, particularly of angels, their sharp profile features and small eyes, the draperies, are all essentially Sienese, and show that Turino, who was the best Pisan painter of his time, was a second-rate follower of the style of Taddeo Bartoli.

In the church of Agnano, near Pisa, a composite altarpiece, in many parts of the same character as the foregoing, is very like a work of Turino, and is coloured in his manner. At all events it is a picture of the Pisan school of the close of the fourteenth century.[3] A different influence, but still from Siena, may be noticed in a series of four half-length figures of saints at the Academy of Pisa, where the minute manner, the profiled outlines and flat colours already noticed in Giovanni di Niccolò are repeated.[4]

he gives of two pictures late in SS. Anna and Silvestro, one of which, it is said, bore the date 1343, the second 1340. MORRONA, *Pis. Illust.*, vol. ii., pp. 429–30.

[1] [No. 1563, Louvre.]

[2] It represents the Virgin and Child enthroned and guarded by angels, who support a tapestry. SS. John Evangelist, Anthony the abbot, John the Baptist, with Archangels Michael and Raphael, in the upper spaces, fill the left side of the altarpiece, whilst SS. Mary Magdalen, Catherine, Oliva, Ursula, and two other saints, with the Archangel Gabriel and two other figures, in the upper spaces, complete the right side.

[3] The Virgin and Child between SS. Jerome, Nicholas, Benedict, and Margaret, with the Annunciation between the Four Evangelists and other saints in a second course, and the Saviour in benediction in the central pinnacle.

[4] SS. John the Baptist, a female saint, with a garland of roses, Peter, and Paul. See *antea*, old school of Pisa.

[O. Sirèn gives to Turino the so-called Buffalmacco "Baptism" in the Museo of Pisa. The same critic also ascribes to Turino the frescoes of the Albornoz Chapel in the Lower Church of S. Francesco in Assisi. See vol. i., p. 325, *note* 3. Mr. F. Mason Perkins, among others, denies these frescoes to Turino.]

Another second- or third-rate Pisan painter of this time is Jacopo di Michele, better known by his contemporaries as Gera, who is recorded as having painted, in 1390, thirty figures round the inner dome of the cathedral[1] of Pisa, and who assisted Turino in the adornment of the tabernacle above the font in the same edifice. A picture by him in the Academy of Pisa bears the inscription :

JACOBUS DC̃US GERA.

and is one of the usual Madonnas between saints, much damaged and vastly inferior to those of Turino. A better production of his may be seen at Palermo in the church of the Annunziata near the Porta S. Giorgio. It is a " Conception," in the usual form, between SS. Gertrude and James the Elder, signed " JACOBUS DI MIGELE DIPINTORE DI . . . . ." and a very rude performance.

The student may remark that most of the pictures of the close of the fourteenth century in Sicily are feeble works of the Pisan school. Bonaini mentions another work by Gera in the monastery of S. Matteo at Pisa.[2]

A common production of the same period, a series of saints with the Annunciation in the space above them, is in the Academy of Pisa inscribed :

GETTUS JACOBI DE PISIS ME PINXIT MCCCLXXXXI.

Cecco di Pietro is another Pisan of little talent noticed casually in these pages as having repaired the Inferno assigned to Orcagna in the Campo Santo.[3] This occurrence took place in 1379, but there are proofs of Cecco's existence in Pisa before that time. He painted in the Campo Santo in 1370 according to Ciampi,[4] together with one Berto,[5] one Nerruccio di Federigo, Puccio di Landuccio, Nicolao di Puccio and Jacopo del quondam Francesco of Rome.[6] He was Anziano del Popolo at Pisa in 1380,[7] painted a Nativity of the Virgin for S. Piero in Vinculis at Pisa ; [8] and we possess altarpieces by him of 1370 and 1380, in addition to one assigned to him in the Academy of Pisa. The first of these, in the collection of Signor Remedio Fezzi at Pisa, represents the Virgin with the infant Saviour standing on her knee. An affected movement and a long shape are peculiar to the Virgin. The Infant is reminiscent of the Sienese school, and the head a counterpart of that in a picture by Giovanni di

[1] At 1 livre per figure. *Vide* BONAINI, *ubi sup.*, p. 96; and CIAMPI, *ubi sup.*, p. 151.

[2] BONAINI, *ubi sup.*, p. 95, and MORRONA give the signature, " JACOPO DI NICCOLA DIPINTORE DETTO GERA DI PISA MI DEPINSE." Is not the word Niccola here an error ? *Pisa Illust.*, vol. ii., pp. 43, 44. Morrona notices also one Nero Nelli, of whom a picture signed " NERUS NELLI DE PISIS ME PINXIT ANNO MCCCIC " existed in the church of Tripalle, near Pisa. Ibid., vol. ii., p. 435.

[3] BONAINI, *ubi sup.*, pp. 103, 104, and RONCIONI, *Ist. Pis.* in *Archiv. Stor.*, part i. of vol. vi., p. 390.

[4] CIAMPI, *ubi sup.*, pp. 96 and 117.

[5] The assistant of Francesco da Volterra. [6] Ibid.

[7] BONAINI, *ubi sup.*, *note* to p. 103.

[8] CIAMPI. It was inscribed: " CECCUS PETRI DE PISIS ME PINXIT A.D MCCCXXXVI," p. 96.

Niccolò. Luca Tomé's works seem to have been the models which Cecco followed. The panel is inscribed :

(.C.e.c.)CUS PETRI DE PISIS ME PINXIT A.D. MCCCLXX.

Another Virgin and Child, the latter sitting, in the same collection is signed :

CECCHUS PETRI DE PISIS ME PINXIT A.D. M.CCC.LXXX . . .

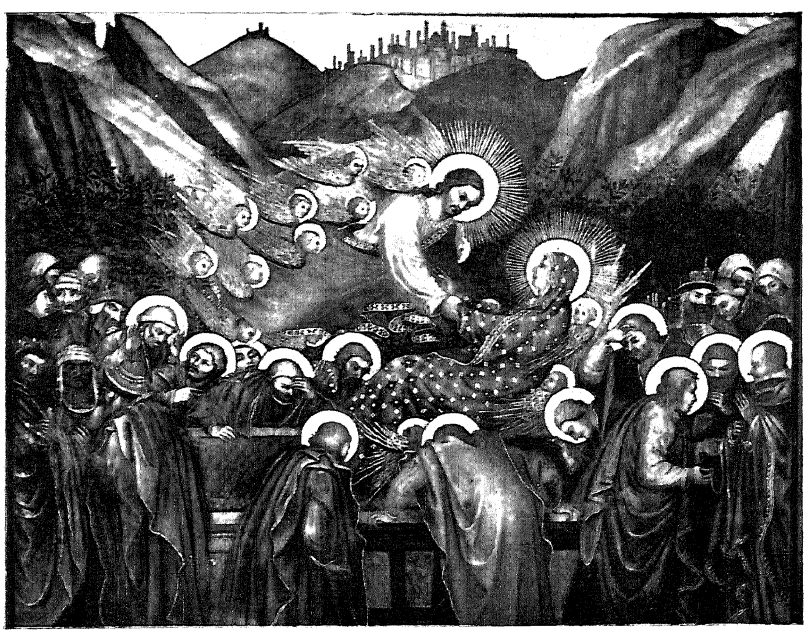
The picture at the Museo of Pisa, of a ruder execution, by the same hand, is a Crucifixion, with the Virgin and S. John and saints in compartments at the sides.[1] Morrona notices[2] a Virgin and Child between two saints in the church of Nicosia near Calvi. This, no doubt, is the picture in possession of Signor Fezzi, part of which belongs to M. de la Tour du Pin at Pisa. Another painter named Giovanni del Gese is noticed by Bonaini[3] as having been Anziano at Pisa in 1372. He may be the author of an altarpiece lately in the Rinuccini Gallery at Florence and signed : "JOHANNES DE PISIS PINXIT :" a picture representing the Virgin and Child, of life-size, between SS. Agatha, Stephen, Francis and Catherine, with a Crucifixion between the Angel and Virgin Annunciate in the pinnacles and six saints in pilasters. It is the work of a second-class imitator of Taddeo Bartoli.

Thus the Pisans followed humbly the examples of Sienese rather than Florentine painters, and Pisa's only title to fame is derived from the sculpture of Niccola and Giovanni.

[1] SS. Catherine, Barbara, Agatha, and Ursula (left); Mary, Agnes, and other saints (right). In the centre of the pediment is a Deposition from the Cross, with saints at the sides.

[2] MORRONA, *Pisa Illust.*, vol. iii., p. 413.

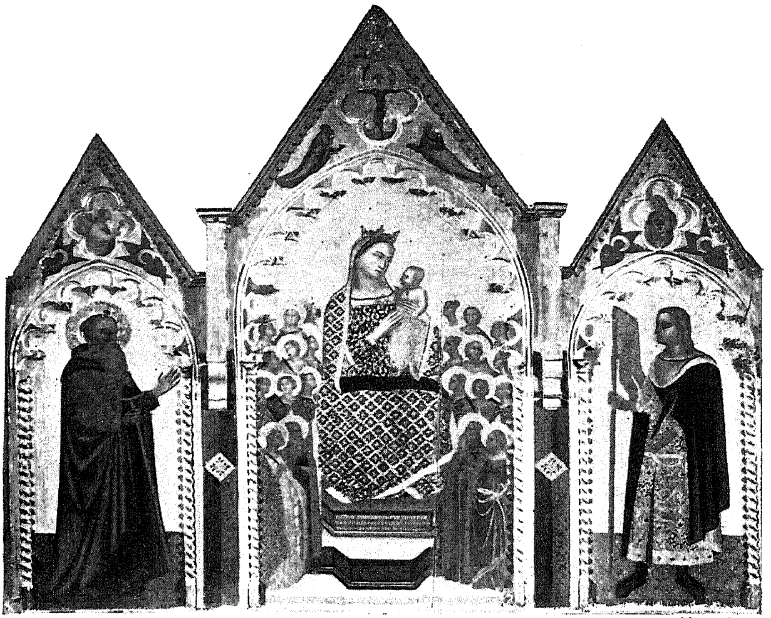
[3] *Not. Ined., ubi sup.*, p. 94.



Alinari.

DEATH AND ASSUMPTION OF THE VIRGIN

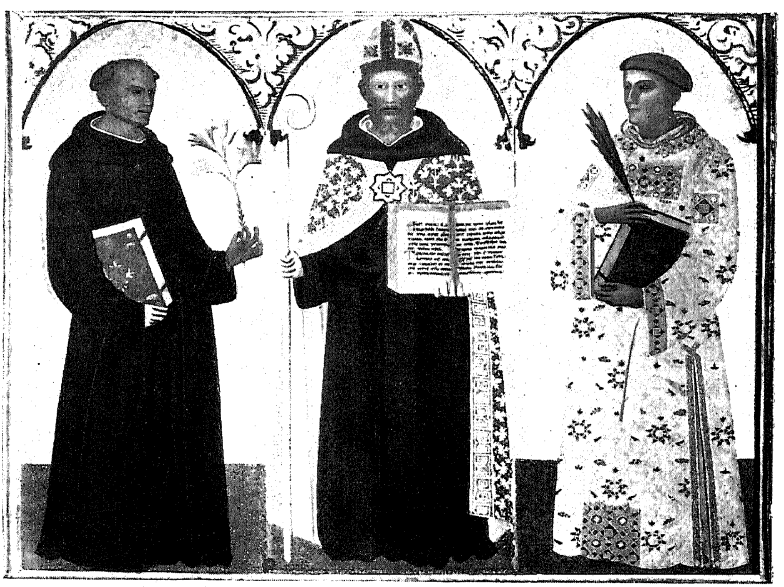
TADDFO BARTOLI. Palazzo Comunale, Siena.



Alinari.

TRIPTYCH

ALLEGRETTO NUZI. Duomo, Macerata.



Alinari.

THREE SAINTS

ALLEGRETTO NUZI. Pinacoteca Fabriano.

CHAPTER VI

THE UMBRIAN SCHOOL AND THE PAINTERS OF GUBBIO, FABRIANO AND THE MARCHES

NOTHING is clearer than that the Umbrian school arose under the impulse of Sienese examples.[1] The geographical position of Gubbio and Fabriano, with reference to Siena, might alone explain that result; the temper of the people, akin to the mercurial Sienese rather than to the graver Florentine, favoured it. The Umbrians produced on the models of Siena with such singular felicity of imitation, that it would be puzzling to distinguish the progeny from the parent stock were it not that a vague stamp of originality still marks the Gubbian painter and his neighbour of Fabriano. Second in talent to the artists of Siena, these men were characterised by a tendency to intensify the affectation of grace and tenderness which, from the earliest time, had been peculiar to their masters. Prettiness was their chief quality; and from the outset marked a class of men whose posterity was destined to contribute by its progress in Perugia and Urbino to the greatness of Raphael. A smiling gaiety and lightness gave charm to their works, which, at the same time, bore the impress of the careful finish and the flat brilliancy of miniatures; and Dante, in the celebrated lines which rescued Oderisio from oblivion struck the true character of the Umbrians when he spoke of the smiling pictures they produced:

> "*O diss' io lui, non sè tu Oderisio,*
> *L'onor d'Agobbio, e l'onor di quell' arte*
> *Ch' alluminare è chiamata in Parisi?*
> *Frate, diss' egli, più ridon le carte*
> *Che pennellegia Franco Bolognose;*
> *L'onore è tutto or suo, e mio in parte.*
> *Ben non sare' io stato sì cortese*
> *Mentre ch' io vissi, per lo gran disio*
> *Dell' eccellenza, ove mio core intese,*
> *Di tal superbia qui si paga il fio.*" [2]

The Umbrian painters arose out of the school of miniature founded

[1] [*Cf.* BERENSON, *Central Italian Painters* (Putnams, 1900), p. 82.]
[2] *Purgatorio*, Canto XI., v. 79 and following.

by Oderisio and Franco Bolognese. Their mode of colouring was a clear, light, gay and transparent one which charms by the bright softness of its tones. Their execution had the neatness necessary to the illuminator. Ornament in tasteful and capricious outlines, precision of details, did not exclude a certain elegance and breadth of drapery. But grace rather than power, tenderness rather than majesty were their qualities and defects. As time developed these peculiarities, patient minuteness and wearying research in detail absorbed too much of their time, and thus wall paintings, whatever their size might be, displayed one characteristic feature. They may still strike the observer as miniatures on a large scale.

In Umbria and elsewhere the study of painting dates from the remotest times; and were records of very early painters to be discovered they should create no surprise. But in Gubbio, it may be difficult to point to any name older than that of Oderisio, the contemporary of Giotto and of Dante, the haughty assertor of his own superiority in the art of miniature. A mutilated record in the Archivio Hercolani at Bologna has been preserved by Oretti [1] and Zani,[2] which fixes the period of his existence : [3]

"1268. 3. *Ex Septembris. D. Gratiolus qu. D. Zagniboni de Mantua venit et dixit promisse . . . . . fres dño Conarixio scriptori . . . . . Magistro Hoderico miniatore.*"

This passage alone might justify Benvenuto da Imola in his remark that Oderisio was "magnus miniator in civitate Bononiae." [4] The Archivio Armanni in the Speriliana of Gubbio [5] has the following in addition :

1264. *M. Oderigus Bonajunctẽ.*
1265. *Oderigus Bonajuntœ.*

Oderisio therefore, according to these records, was in 1264 at Gubbio, at Bologna in 1268, and in 1295 at Rome, where he is said to have died about 1299.[6] Ugo Foscolo, in his commentary on Dante, affirms after Benvenuto da Imola, that Dante studied at Bologna in 1261 and following years. Yet Balbo affirms that the poet did not visit Bologna before 1285, and he supposes that Dante's acquaintance with Oderisio

[1] *Documenti per la Storia dell' Arte.* The Hercolani records are lost to Italy, having been sold in the present century.
[2] ZANI, *Enciclopedia Methodica*, vol. x., parte 1a, p. 286, *note* 44.
[3] [*Cf.* VENTURI, *Storia della Pittura Italiana* (Firenze, 1903), vol. iii., p. 457 *et seq.*]
[4] Benvenuto da Imola, *ubi sup., ap.* MURATORI.
[5] Vol. E 15, p. 265.
[6] See Baldinucci's subtle reasons for believing that Oderisio died before the close of the century. *Opere, ubi sup.*, vol. iv., p. 176, and following.

began between 1285 and 1287.[1] Vasari is our authority for the statement that Giotto and Oderisio knew each other in Rome.[2] No certain miniatures of the Gubbian exist, but in the Archivio de' Canonici di S. Pietro at Rome two masses, "dell' Annunziata" and "di S. Giorgio," are preserved and contain miniatures of great interest.[3]

In the first, an Annunciation and scenes from the life of the Virgin may be studied. S. Celestine, in frock, giving the gospel to Boniface VIII., then a Cardinal-deacon, is on the twenty-third page. As Celestine was Pope between 1292 and 1294, the date of the miniature is fairly ascertained, if we admit the reality of the names assigned to the persons depicted. The mass of S. George is illustrated with scenes from the life of that saint, who was the patron of Cardinal Stefaneschi. A Cardinal-deacon kneeling before S. George is said to be a portrait of Stefaneschi, whose commissions to Giotto were numerous and important, as has been seen in these pages.

To infer from these facts that Giotto executed the miniatures of these masses is to disregard the most obvious facts. The miniatures are not by a Florentine, but by one whose manner is reproduced in the later Gubbian school, who painted with the gay transparent colour, the peculiar choice of harmonies, the richness of ornament and minuteness of detail peculiar to the Umbrians, and without the great maxims of composition which were only possessed by the artists of Florence. It may therefore be presumed, though it cannot be affirmed, that these Roman miniatures were by Oderisio, whose influence at Bologna may be noticed a little later.

The earliest painter in Gubbio, after Oderisio, is Guido Palmerucci, whose name appears in the Elenco or list of the Ghibelines of his native city in 1315. He is known to have painted in the church of S. Maria de' Laici at Gubbio before 1337, and to have laboured in the town hall in 1342.[4] According to records due to the research of

[1] Dante knew Oderisio, since he recognises him in Purgatory.

[2] VASARI, vol. i., p. 321.

[3] These masses are in a volume called "S. Gregoris, M. Istoria," under the press mark, No. 129 C.

[*Cf.* VENTURI, *op. cit.*, vol. v., p. 1022, *note* 1. Venturi apparently agrees with HERMANIN, *Il Miniatore del Codice di S. Giorgio nell' Archivio capitolare di S. Pietro in Vaticano* (*Scritti vari di filologia*, Rome 1901), that these miniatures are the work of Simone Martini.]

[4] For the first of these facts thanks are due to the friendly communications of Signor Buonfatti of Gubbio, the record being taken from a MSS. in the Archivio delle Orfane of Gubbio, Mark A, year 1300 to 1337. For the second the authority is the same. For the third consult GUALANDI (M.), *Memorie Originale Italiane risguardanti le belle Arte* (Bologna, 1840–45), serie 4, pp. 31, 32. [See documents printed by MAZZATINTI, *Storia delle Arti a Gubbio* in *Arch. St. per le Marche e per l'Umbria* (Foligno, 1886), vol. iii., p. 5 *et seq.*]

Canon Rossi of Cagli, Guido was born in 1280, in the Quartiere di S. Pietro at Gubbio, and died about 1345.

Remains of a life-size S. Anthony with a staff and bell, in the usual dark dress and cowl, may be seen on one of the outer walls of the church of S. Maria de' Laici.[1] The saint is venerable, wears a long beard and gives the blessing, with an expression of gentle austerity in his long face, and a languid repose in his attitude. Light yellowish flesh tone of a liquid water-colour, the flatness of a miniature, characterise the piece. Another fragment in the same style, a monk's head, inside a press in the sacristy of the church, seems executed by the same painter, who may be Guido Palmerucci. At all events the earliest examples at Gubbio already show the persistent features of the school, soft kindliness and a tender feeling. Of this period and style are remnants of frescoes on the walls of the ruined Spedaletto of Gubbio, amongst which a life-size S. Anthony in frock and cowl, bearded and holding in his hands a diadem and cross, reveals the now usual soft type and gentle attitude, and the comparatively feeble style of that in S. Maria de' Laici. It is a figure in draperies of gently flowing lines, flatly coloured, languidly graceful in movement, with small thin hands and not without religious sentiment, in fact an enlarged miniature.[2] The most important picture, however, of the Gubbian school, in the first half of the fourteenth century, is a fresco in the upper chapel of the Palazzo del Comune at Gubbio.[3]

A colossal Virgin sits enthroned in a high-backed chair, presenting the infant Saviour to the veneration of a Gonfaloniere, kneeling and recommended by a saint in the presence of several holy and venerable persons. The plump child lying in the fold of the Virgin's mantle, or rather in its lining of white fur, is dressed in a flowered green tunic, and looking at the kneeling magistrate, seems to long with its hand towards him, with somewhat affected motion. The Virgin forms with the Child a tender group; and as her head is bent towards her charge, she reminds one of the Sienese Madonnas. Yet she has a character of her own, pursy lips, a regular head reminiscent of those by Lorenzetti, but a heavier brow and a long slender form. She sits with an imposing superiority of stature over the kneeling figure at her feet—that of a man of forty, with a pointing beard of two days' growth, looking up respectfully with his hands in prayer, dressed in red stockings and sleeves and a green mantle. His

[1] The lower half of the figure is gone and colour of the rest slightly abraded.

[2] The dress and cowl are black and white.

[3] It is on record that Guido Palmerucci contracted in 1342 to paint in the Palazzo del Comune of Gubbio an Annunciation in the upper hall, as well as the arms of the commune in various parts of the building; but these works have disappeared. See the record communicated by Sign. Luigi Bonfatti, in GUALANDI, *ubi sup.*, Series iv., 1843, pp. 31, 32.

patron saint bends and presses his shoulders, looking up and stretching out a chin adorned with a sharp-pointed black beard. He presents a set of soft, youthful, and meek features to the spectator. An austere silver-haired and bearded saint at his right side, a mitred personage with a halo intended perhaps for S. Ubaldo the protector of Gubbio, a fourth whose head is partly visible, complete the picture.

At first sight this piece appears to combine qualities in Simone and the Lorenzetti, yet after a while it strikes one as having a stamp of its own, chiefly because of gay light and harmonious tones, an intention of grace in the figures and a certain dryness as of a miniaturist, coupled with slender frames, gentle features, and a meek expression.[1]

In Gubbio again, to the left of the entrance in S. Maria Nuova, a life-sized S. Anthony,[2] the favourite saint of the place, may be seen on a wall recently freed from whitewash. It is an advance upon the faces and forms of S. Maria de' Laici and the Spedaletto, with the technical style and execution observable in the fresco of the town hall chapel. No painting of the fourteenth century presents the typical character that developed itself in the fifteenth more than this, and the S. Anthony is a natural forerunner of Perugino's splendid saints in the Cambio of Perugia. The fragment of a recovered fresco is thus indeed valuable, since it explains the rise and progress of the Perugian school out of that of Gubbio.[3]

S. Maria Nuova of Gubbio is rich in examples of the school of different periods. A fresco covered by the upper part of an altar cut into a wall painting by Ottaviano Nelli, has been saved by that circumstance from being whitewashed. It is an improvement upon the figure of S. Anthony just described, yet is carried out on the

[1] Gaiety predominates over power in the soft and transparent tones, the flesh tints being of a pale warm yellow, shadowed with a light green, and glazed over the stippling that fuses the whole together. Little or no relief combines with other peculiarities of execution to give the fresco the aspect of an enlarged miniature. Feeling and expression rather than perfect form give a charm of animation to the faces. That of the grey-headed saint is, like that of the Virgin, remarkable for the development of its fine head and brow, yet the expression is soft as in Simone. Individuality and dignity are not deficient in the heads, but gentleness and composure far from the stern gravity of the Lorenzetti are remarkable. The proportions do not strike the eye as faulty, nor is the drawing without freedom. Yet there is a certain neglect in the outline of the hands, a fault very common in the first half of the fourteenth century.

[Nothing exists that we can certainly claim for Guido Palmerucci; but, beside the works mentioned, there are a Madonna with saints in a chapel of S. M. de' Laici, and a tondo of the Virgin and Child and an Annunciation or fragment of an ancona in the Municipio of Gubbio, which are attributed to him. See, however, MASON PERKINS in *Rassegna d'Arte*, June 1907.]

[2] Part of the figure only has been preserved.

[3] The colour is damaged, but the lights and shades are broadly treated and well modelled, though always in the soft, clear key of Gubbian painting.

same principles. The figures, large as life, might almost induce the belief that Lorenzetti laboured upon them.[1]

All the frescoes of Gubbio, from the S. Anthony of S. Maria de' Laici upwards, are painted in the same manner and have but one character; yet a certain progress and advance in their production may be discerned. It remains to be seen whether they are by one hand, as they are by painters of one school and period. It might be admitted that, with the exception of a Virgin and Child which more resembles the creations of Allegretto Nuzi of Fabriano, the same painter produced them all, and that that artist is Guido Palmerucci. One may add to the collection a panel, regilt, abraded and damaged in outlines, representing the Virgin and Child, on an altar to the right of the entrance in S. Lucia of Gubbio.

To Guido modern writers assign a series of frescoes illustrating the life of S. Anthony discovered (1842) in the church of S. Francesco at Cagli near Gubbio. The assertion rests with Signore Michele Boni,[2] who affirmed that on the lower corner of one of the pictures an inscription existed to the effect that Guido Palmerucci painted them and that the work was as old as 1303. Unfortunately the inscription disappeared when the frescoes were sawn from the wall. Signor Boni,

[1] One of the subjects is a youthful female saint holding an infant on her left arm and drawing the folds of her mantle together with her right. Her head of pleasing form, and one of the best gentle types of the school, is decked with a fine drapery; and her red ornamented tunic is covered by a green mantle with a collar showing the bare neck. Here is a form not inferior to the Sienese, drawn with a sweeping outline and gracefully draped, which every one will recognise as a model observed and studied by Gentile da Fabriano and sufficient of itself to account for his peculiar manner. The child, of a plump full form with projecting eyes, pouting lips, double chin, high brow and forehead, a pointed head and little or no throat, is a clear Gubbian type distinguishing that school from the Sienese.

Near this pleasing and affectionate group is another, of the Virgin grasping the Child with both arms to her breast, whilst He looks at the spectator. Her head is softly bent, and there is a peculiar tenderness in her side glance. (Her veil and a green mantle fall over a green tunic.) It is a type like that of the Virgin in the town hall, remarkable for the loftiness of the forehead, but an innovation as regards the long close eyelids, which impart an air of ecstasy to the expression. A small mouth and delicate double chin, complete a form not inferior to those of Ambrogio Lorenzetti. The Infant, like that just described, has a pointed skull, large round eyes, and plump flesh, and He is dressed in a garment of changing hues (green with red shadows and white lights), painted like all those hitherto noticed in tempera, not in fresco, on the wall. Close by stands S. John the Baptist pointing at the Virgin, and remarkable as usual for a high forehead, a long double beard, flowing locks, and a gentle expression of face. Holding the Cross and dress, in the red mantle covering his jacket of camel's hair, his form is well proportioned and the hands well drawn, but thin and long-fingered. (The lower part of these figures is gone.) The keys of harmony peculiar to a miniature may be marked in the light, transparent and rosy flesh tones, shadowed somewhat flatly of a light grey. The drawing as before is minute and precise.

[2] Now deceased.

however, afforded a valuable corrective to his assertion by the further statement that the paintings in S. Francesco of Cagli were executed in obedience to a clause in the will of one Guido di Viva Luzzi of Cagli. Canon Don Luigi Rossi, to whom the matter was referred, having consented to search the archives of Cagli, speedily confirmed the impression conveyed by the paintings, namely that they were produced at the close of the fourteenth century. Guido di Viva Luzzi was a respected "dottore" at Cagli in 1355, who, at his death in 1387, left the bulk of his wealth to his son, Messer Piero, on condition that he should cause a picture to be painted on the altar of S. Francesco in the church of that name in his native place. From this fact alone it might be demonstrated that the frescoes representing scenes from the life of S. Anthony were not commissioned by Guido di Viva Luzzi in 1303. Messer Piero having failed to carry out the charitable bequests of his father in 1387, was sued by Frate Agostino, bishop of Cagli; and the hereditary property was sold to satisfy the clauses of the will. All these facts, with the addition that Frate Agostino was bishop of Cagli from 1379 to 1396, when he was translated to Gaeta, were discovered by Canon Rossi in the MS. annals of Antonio Gucci in the records of the cathedral of Cagli. The paintings thus assigned to Guido Palmerucci in S. Francesco, sawed from their original place and transferred to a wall to the right of the entrance, represent two miracles of S. Anthony of Padua, with figures half the size of life.[1]

Length and slenderness, small heads and ill-drawn hands characterise the figures. Here and there some faces have a certain gentleness of expression, and regular features. The drawing, however, is hasty and mechanical; the flesh tints, of a rosy hue in light and of a pale grey in shadow, have no relief. The artist gave to his surface a general light tone on the white ground; he painted in the shadows sketchily, and then drew in the outlines. Hair of a yellow tinge is of a general local tone and streaked with lines for locks. The pictures are large water-colours, fairly composed of figures wearing costumes of the fifteenth century. It is clear that Guido Palmerucci, if born

[1] In the first, which is a composition of twelve figures, the saint, kneeling, restores to health the unsound limb of a youth seated before him. With one hand he enforces the prayer which he seems to mutter, looking up; with the other he grasps the unsound leg. The youth is supported by a person behind him, whilst the mother stands by in prayer, and others watch the progress of the miracle with surprise. In the second, S. Anthony bends forward, with the host in his hand, in front of a group of monks and incredulous people. A donkey appears led by a youth holding a bag of corn, and kneels before the host; the legend states that he refused to eat the corn in order to do homage to the sacrament of the Lord. At S. Anthony's feet a kneeling clerk holds a taper.

in 1280 and dead in 1345, cannot have been at Cagli after 1387. At all events the wall paintings there have not the character of the frescoes at Gubbio of the first half of the century by one all but proved to have been Guido.

Yet in Cagli the lunette of the chief portal of the cathedral contains a damaged fresco of the Virgin and Child between S. John the Baptist and a monk, in the style of the fourteenth century, and of the same kind as the works assigned to Guido Palmerucci at Gubbio. A figure of the Saviour in benediction decorates the vaulting of the lunette.[1]

Later but not less interesting painters lived in Gubbio at the close of the fourteenth century. There are notices in 1338 of Gio. Agnolo Danti,[2] who also laboured at Orvieto, of Bartolo di Cristoforo and Cecco Masuzzi, all of whom worked in S. Maria de' Laici.[3] Written records are to be found in the books of the Camerlengato at Gubbio, of the following artists :

Mattiolo Nelli, a sculptor, grandfather of Ottaviano Nelli, worked at S. M. de' Laici in 1338,—Martino, the father of the latter, are both mentioned, Martino's name appearing in a record of 1385. Agnolo di Massolo laboured in 1370 and died in 1399. Donato a painter lived in 1374, Gallo in 1389, Pietruccio di Luca in 1380, Niccolò di Maestro Angelo in 1399.[4]

Gualandi publishes a document proving that Donato painted for the brotherhood of S. Maria de' Laici in the latter half of the fourteenth century.[5] Agnolo worked for the same fraternity in 1399.[6] The chapel of these brethren is now the crypt of S. Maria de' Laici, in which many damaged frescoes are still to be seen, exhibiting the characteristic features of the close of the fourteenth century, such as they may be found in the church of S. Francesco at Cagli, but at a still lower range of value.[7]

[1] A S. Anthony in the ex-church (now a private house) of S. Angelo Maggiore at Cagli discloses the hand of a painter like that of the cathedral fresco, and an Annunciation recently whitewashed in the same building displayed the manner of the Gubbian school.

[2] [Or Giovanni "Magistri Donti," mentioned in a document as early as 1326. *Cf.* MAZZATINTI, *ubi sup.*, p. 4.]

[3] See notices of Luigi Buonfatti in GUALANDI, *Memorie, ubi sup.*, serie iv., pp. 48–9.

[4] These notices are due to the search of Signor Buonfatti of Gubbio.

[Agnolo di Massolo is spoken of in a document as early as 1351 ; Donato di Maestro Andrea di Giovanni as early as 1340 ; Pietruccio or Petruccio di Luca as early as 1378. Niccolò di Angelo di Massolo is registered in the catalogue of members of the Fraternità dei Bianchi. Among other painters of the fourteenth century mentioned in the documents published by MAZZATINTI, *ubi sup.*, p. 3 *et seq.*, are Gaddo di Maestro Andrea di Giovanni (1326–1389), Giovanni (Pintali ?) Jacopo di Selano (1381).]

[5] GUALANDI, *Memorie, ubi sup.*, ser. 4a, p. 48. [6] Ibid.

[7] They are paintings in a sketchy water-colour, outlined of a hard red, and

But Gubbio had a school of mosaics. Della Valle mentions Angioletto of Gubbio as a mosaist at Orvieto, in 1321–1329,[1] who afterwards appears at Assisi working at the windows of the Lower Church together with Pietro da Gubbio and Bonino di Assisi. The same artists furnished the glass windows of the Cappella del Crocifisso in the sanctuary. A series of small panels, originally belonging to one picture, in the Ranghiacci collection at Gubbio, has been assigned to Angioletto.[2] It hung in S. Domenico of Gubbio and represented the Virgin giving the girdle to S. Thomas. All that now remains are portions representing S. Lucy, S. Catherine and another female saint, the Virgin, two angels playing and a bust-figure of Thomas Aquinas. These fragments have all the character of the close of the fourteenth century. They have the grace and gentleness, the long slender forms, peculiar to the school, but the heads are characterised by an oblong squareness and by small features. A certain seeking for elegance may be noticed in the dresses and in the golden ornament of the

altered by time and damp. A long bony figure of Christ, bound to the column, vulgarly naturalistic in shape and features, may be seen on a wall to the right of the entrance, near a composition representing in exaggerated forms and types the Redeemer bound and lying on the ground previous to being crucified, with subordinate groups of people on foot and horseback approaching from a city. About the altar is the Crucifixion, arranged without order or judgment, and on the altar itself a figure, in dead colour, of Charity seated with a candelabra and scutcheon blazoned with the arms of the Bentivogli. An inscription runs thus: "HOC ALTARE CONSECRATUM FUIT PR.M.D.D. OTTAVIANUM DE BENTIVOGLIIS DE EUGUBBIO DIGNISSIMO ARCHIEPISCOPO; XXVIII. OTTOBRIS MCCCCLXXXIX." The altarpiece must, therefore, not be confounded with the wall paintings, which are a century older.

On the wall to the left, a niche contains a relief of the Dead Christ possibly by Mattiolo, of whom it is on record that on the 14th of August 1338 he finished a Virgin and Child and two angels with the assistance of Bartolo di Cristoforo, Giovanni di Agnolo Danti, and Cecco Masuzzi. (Records extracted from vol. B of the books "*dell' Amministrazione di S. Maria de' Laici*" by Signor Buonfatti.)

Around the niche occupied by the relief of the Dead Saviour are painted angels about the initials of the name of the Saviour. The Last Supper and the Washing of the Feet decorate the rest of the space, and are as incorrectly drawn as they are hastily executed, the figures being remarkable for defective types, round gazing eyes and wooden extremities. The ceiling is whitewashed.

Remnants of paintings are likewise to be found in the Campanile, formerly a chapel of S. Francesco of Gubbio. A Christ in benediction occupies the centre of the ceiling, where traces of two of the Four Evangelists may yet be discerned. S. Luke with the ox, S. Matthew with the eagle, are feeble and exaggerated in character; but the Saviour is remarkable for great care in the accessorial ornament and a certain easy simplicity in the drapery. The hands, however, are bony and thin. Remnants of figures of male and female saints may be traced on the neighbouring walls, one of which, a bishop, seems a production of the Gubbian school at the close of the fourteenth century, but more defective a great deal than the frescoes of Cagli, though less so than those in the crypt of S. Maria de' Laici.

[1] *Stor. del Duomo d'Orvieto, ubi sup.*, pp. 272–384.

[2] [Angioletto was apparently Angelo di Pietro. *Cf.* MAZZATINTI, *ubi sup.*, p. 3.]

draperies. The colour of the flesh is rosy, and the general tone gay and pleasing. The painter is interesting not only because he fairly represents his school, but because one traces from him such men as Matteo da Gualdo; and he assists us to understand the latter art of this portion of Italy.

If from Gubbio we pass to Fabriano and search for the remains which it may contain, we shall be struck by pieces of great antiquity—a Crucifixion in the oldest form in the refectory, now a wood-magazine, of the convent of S. Agostino, and vestiges on the arch of the public square, of rude paintings of the rise of the fourteenth century. In the sacristy of S. Niccolò, a Crucifixion on gold-ground, with attendant episodes, seems to have been executed about 1350, by a second-rate hand.[1]

Lanzi and Ricci mention one Bocco[2] who painted here in 1306. Colucci,[3] one Tio di Francesco. Other names of artists not known by their pictures might be quoted.

The best of Fabriano's early painters is Allegretto Nuzi, whose name has been mentioned in connection with frescoes in Gubbio and appears on the register of Florence in 1346.[4] He carried the Umbrian manner with him to Florence, and preserved it there, his style remaining throughout consistently the same. There are no particulars of his life,[5] and the earliest inscribed picture that bears his name is that which, of old in the Ospizio de' Camaldoli alla Lungara at Rome, was transferred to the Museo Cristiano at the Vatican.[6] Here he depicted the Madonna between S. Ursula and the Archangel Michael with the donors, two males and a child, two females and a daughter, kneeling at each side of the throne. This picture alone proves Allegretto to have been a genuine Gubbian, and to have preserved the Umbrian character after his residence in Florence. His Virgin bends

[1] [Now in the Pinacoteca of Fabriano. According to VENTURI, *op. cit.*, vol. v., p. 839, it is a work in the manner of Pietro Lorenzetti.]

[2] LANZI, *ubi sup.*, vol. i., p. 333, and RICCI, *Memorie, &c., della Marca di Ancona* (Macerata, 1834), vol. i., p. 86.

[3] *Antichità Picene*, tom. xxv., p. 183. *Ap.* LANZI, *ubi sup.*, vol. i., p. 333.

[4] GAYE, *Carteggio, ubi sup.*, vol. ii., p. 37.

[SUIDA, *Florentinische Mater um die Mitte des XIV. Jahrhunderts* (Strasburg, 1905), p. 43 *et seq.*, asserts that the painter who matriculated in Florence in 1346 under the name of Allegretto Nucci is not the same man as Allegretto Nuzi of Fabriano. He attributes works to the Florentine Nucci. This opinion of Suida, however, is not generally accepted. On Nuzi, see especially F. MASON PERKINS in *Rassegna d'Arte* (Milano, April, 1906), an. vi., No. 4, p. 5 *et seq.* While insisting upon the share which Orcagna had in forming the style of Allegretto, Mr. Perkins was the first to point out the still greater debt which the master owed to Bernardo Daddi.]

[5] RICCI, *ubi sup.*, says on the authority of MS. records at Fabriano, that Nuzi laboured for a time at Venice, vol. i., p. 88.

[6] [Vet. viii., No. 1.] The picture is engraved in Agincourt.

with the affected tenderness peculiar to the school, and is drawn and coloured with the minuteness, the clear rosy tones which we now know by heart. Prettiness, not the simplicity or majesty of the Giottesques, remains characteristic. Damaged by varnish, and repainted in the figure of S. Ursula, the picture bears the signature :

ALEGRITUS NUTII ME PINXIT A. M.CCCLXV.[1]

Four years later Allegretto furnished the altarpiece representing the Virgin, saints and attendant episodes in the sacristy of Macerata cathedral.[2] On the frame he wrote :

ALEGRITTUS DE FABRIANO ME PINXIT M.CCCLXVIIII.

and on the pedestal of the throne :

ISTAM TABULAM FECIT FIERI FRATER JOHANNES CLERICUS PRECEPTOR TOLENTINI ANNO DOMINI MCCCLXVIIII.

No figures more truly characteristic of the school of Gubbio can be studied than that of S. Julian at the Virgin's side, with his double pointed chin, pursy lips and falling hair, or that of S. Anthony on the opposite side with his long beard. The affected head, slender shape, pretty faces, and precise drawing, are as ever to be noticed in the Virgin and saints. The colour, however, is darkened by time, and the picture is thus in one sense without the usual clearness and lightness of tone.[3] In 1372 Allegretto painted the Virgin and Child enthroned, now [1908] in the collection of Signor Romoaldo Fornari at Fabriano. The Infant, standing with its plump limbs and forms on the knees of the Virgin, pats her face with its left hand and looks out towards the spectator. The fleshy soft face of the Virgin, her well-proportioned figure, rosy flesh tints, shadowed in light grey and without relief and slightly browned by age, still charm by their harmony.[4] Allegretto indeed showed some progress in this piece,

[1] [This picture is now in the Christian Museum of the Vatican (Press H, No. I.).]

[2] The Virgin, with the Infant standing on her knee and holding a bird, between SS. Rosa, Catherine, and twenty other saints, and with Anthony the abbot in a niche to the left, S. Julian to the right. In the point of the central pinnacle, the crucified Saviour is placed with Moses and Elias below at each side. The medallions of the wings are occupied by the Angel and Virgin Annunciate.

[3] The commentators of VASARI, vol. iv., p. 161, erroneously date this picture 1368.

[4] The Virgin, in diadem and veil and gorgeously clad in a red gold damask tunic, bends her head and supports the Child with affectionate care. Her figure is wrapped in the usual blue mantle engraved with patterns.

which displays more breadth and power than previous examples. On the pedestal of the throne he wrote :

HOC OPUS PINXIT ALEGRITUS NUTII DE FABRIANO AÑO MCCCLXXII.

A much damaged Virgin, with the Infant grasping her dress at the bosom, may be noted in the same gallery as a picture by Allegretto, unauthenticated by a signature, but in his manner, and like the Madonna in S. Lucia of Gubbio.[1]

An Ecce Homo in the same collection, one third of the life-size, precisely drawn, transparently coloured, and not without merit, may likewise be assigned to the master, as it rivals in type the Redeemer in the Crucifixion at the Berlin Museum. This picture, with its companion, the Virgin and Child between SS. Catherine and Bartholomew, is one of the pleasing miniatures of a characteristic painter. On the sides of the latter are the words :

ALEGRICTUS DE FABRIANO ME PINXIT.

Both have the gay transparence of tone, the neatly rounded tints shadowed in light grey, the bright harmonious draperies of the Gubbian school, yet are still flat and unrelieved owing to the pellucid clearness of the vehicles. Nor are the forms without fair proportion and movement or natural beauty. The cheerful plump Infant, in the panel representing the enthroned Madonna,[2] plays with a bird, and the Virgin is one of Allegretto's happiest efforts. The crucified Redeemer in the second panel [3] displays some power in the choice of a not unnoble form and type, in the setting out of the proportions and the definition of a slender nude.[4]

An altarpiece with half-lengths of the Virgin and Child between SS. Bartholomew and John Evangelist, Venanzio and Mary Magdalen, adorns the sacristy of the Duomo at Fabriano, and, though it has no signature, may be classed amongst the best preserved of Allegretto's works.

A S. Augustine erect between SS. Nicholas of Tolentino and Stephen in the sacristy of S. Agostino at Fabriano can be assigned likewise to the master.[5] The good preservation of the picture enables

[1] The colour of the Virgin's dress is abraded.

[2] [No. 1076, Berlin Cat.]

[3] [No. 1078 Berlin Cat.] Both panels have the same size and seem to have formed part of one picture.

[4] The Pelican above the Saviour's head, the Virgin in grief, with a pointed head, small chin, outstretched arms and dishevelled hair, depicted with some force ; S. John Evangelist opposite, feebler and grimacing, the Magdalen grasping the foot of the Cross, complete the picture which, on a small scale, combines the highest qualities of the Gubbian school.

[5] [Now in the Pinacoteca.]

the spectator to compare it with those of Gubbio and to trace the common tie which unites its school with that of Fabriano and leads up to the superior art of Gentile. According to Ricci, Allegretto died in 1385, and was buried in S. Lucia of Fabriano.[1]

In the neighbourhood of the town, an isolated chapel at Cancello, belonging to the canons of Fabriano [2] contains two pictures on gold-ground, one of which, in two parts, represents S. Anthony the abbot and S. John Evangelist, the second, SS. John the Baptist and Venanzio,[3] both rivalling in beauty the figures in the sacristy of S. Agostino and in the sacristy of the Duomo at Fabriano.

A Virgin and Child between saints and angels [4] in the same church of Cancello is but little inferior to the foregoing, being a production of

[1] RICCI, *ubi sup.*, vol. i., p. 90. [*Cf.* also ANSELMI, *l'Anno della morte e la chiesa ove fu sepolto A. N.* in *l'Arte*, (1906).] Allegretto may further be the author of the much damaged and restored frescoes in S. Lucia of Fabriano, of old the sacristy of S. Domenico and now annexed to S. Agostino. Amongst other figures the spectator may note a female astride of a monster with seven crowned heads inscribed with the Latin curse applied to the ungodly Babylon. Her face is youthful, a blue fillet surrounds her forehead and her hands grasp a cup and trumpet.

A Crucifixion fills the space opposite the entrance with the usual accompaniments of the Virgin and Evangelist, a falling tower inscribed "SINAGOGA" to the left, and a fiend in flight to the right. In the last wall the Thebaic Desert, the Death and Coronation of the Virgin, much injured, in the ceiling, four Franciscan monks (part of the ceiling is whitewashed), form the sum of the incidents depicted. Though much injured, these frescoes deserve attention in the paucity of examples (according to Ricci, they were by Nuzi and bore the dates 1345 and 1349, *ubi sup.*, vol. i., p. 88), and they are not to be confounded with others in a chapel of old the refectory of S. Domenico, and now a granary, dated "1480 die 25 Febbraio," the date alone being sufficient to prove that this is not a production of Allegretto's brush, whilst the manner reveals the hand of Antonio da Fabriano. RICCI, *ubi sup.*, notices further frescoes executed by Nuzi in the cloisters of S. Antonio Abate at Fabriano now gone, but originally dated 1366 (vol. i., p. 88). A picture of S. Anthony between two kneeling saints is in the sacristy of the same church, and a Decollation of the Baptist (fresco) in the Hospital del buon Gesù (vol. i., p. 89).

[The following works may be noticed:—A panel (cuspidale) with S. Antonio between two groups of worshippers, also in the Municipio. This may be a doubtful picture. It is dated MCCCLIII. In S. Niccolò at Fabriano is a Madonna and Child. *Cf. l'Arte* (1906), an. iv. p. 274. CAVALCASELLE (in *Storia della Pittura*, vol. iv., p. 24) mentions an altarpiece by Allegretto in the church of S. Francesco at Apiro, on the strength of a letter written by the Conte Servanzi Collio to Marchese Ricci, and without having seen the picture himself. This work is now in the Scuole Comunali of that remote town. Mr. Perkins, who is one of the few critics who have ever seen this picture, describes it as one of Allegretto's best works. It is a polyptych representing the Madonna and Child, with SS. Catherine, Francis, Martin, and Lucy, and bears the following inscription, transcribed by Collio—HOC OPUS FECIT FIERI FRATER OFREDUTIUS GALTERUTII SUB ANNO DOMINI MCCCLXVI, and below, ALLEGRIT . . . DE FABRIANO ME PINXIT. (*Cf.* F. MASON PERKINS, *Rassegna d'Arte*, April, 1906, p. 51).]

[2] Five miles from Fabriano.

[3] [By Allegretto Nuzi. Now in the Duomo Fabriano.]

[4] SS. John the Baptist, Venanzio, John Evangelist, another saint and angels in the gable points. [Now in the Duomo Fabriano.]

Allegretto's best time. These are pictures distinctly impressed with the qualities of the Umbrian school, and chiefly of a master whose works help the student to the conclusions in respect of that school which form the preamble to these notices of it.[1]

Finally, a well-known chapel dedicated to S. Nicholas in Tolentino may be noticed, although time has injured the fresco decorations in it and they have been so restored as to defy criticism. Still the general features of style and composition, the type and allegories have the stamp of Gubbian art, a sufficient reason for withdrawing the name of Giotto assigned to these productions.[2] Allegretto, it may be remarked, is not the only painter of his native place, and feebler artists are known to have existed at Fabriano, whose capabilities were sufficient for this work at Tolentino.[3] So far, then, Umbria shows itself animated with the same feeling in matters of art as swayed the Sienese painters; and this is a characteristic feature in every part of that country.

After Allegretto, Francescuccio Ghissi adorned the school of Fabriano, and found purchasers for his pictures in many parts of Italy. A Virgin much in his manner has been noticed at Naples;[4]

[1] [Signor Umberto Gnoli (in *l'Arte*, 1908, fasc. iii.) gives to Nuzi five half-figures of Apostles in the Gallery at Sigmaringen, and five more in that of Strassburg (No. 202); Signor Venturi gives to the master a fresco of S. Ursula and her Virgins, in S. Domenico, at Fabriano, a work not mentioned by C. and C. (See *l'Arte*, 1908, fasc. ii.)

In the collection of Sir Frederick Cook at Richmond is a fine triptych of the Coronation of the Virgin, with many attendant saints, rightly ascribed to Allegretto.]

[2] [These frescoes are not, it appears, so badly damaged or repainted as the authors would make out, and still constitute one of the most important artistic treasures of the Marche (*cf.* F. Mason Perkins, *Rassegna d'Arte*, an. vi., fasc. iv.). Venturi connects them with the art of Allegretto, but Sirèn and Perkins are of a different opinion, and consider them to be rather of the Romagnole-Giottesque school (*cf.* O. Sirèn, *l'Arte*, an. ix., fasc. v.) These frescoes have also been ascribed to Baronzio by F. Hermanin and G. Vitzthum.]

[3] In the ceiling are the Four Evangelists and the Doctors of the Church, and in the ribs of the diagonals eight Virtues conceived and executed on the Sienese rather than on Florentine models. Each wall is divided into three courses filled with subjects taken from the legends of the Virgin and S. Nicholas of Tolentino. One of the former, representing the Massacre of the Innocents, another the Circumcision, will strike the spectator as creations of the Sienese school, whilst the Limbo in the old typical arrangement reveals a painter who clung to the oldest traditions, and therefore not a Florentine. Marchese Carlo Luzi informs us that there is a picture of Allegretto Nuzi in the church of the convent of Apiro in the province of Macerata. [Mr. Perkins draws our attention (*Rassegna d'Arte*, April, 1906, p. 51) to certain hitherto unpublished frescoes in a species of chapel to the left of the choir of S. Domenico at Fabriano, by a Giottesque master of no small talent—a contemporary of Allegretto, but more purely Florentine in character. As to the unknown painter of the chapel of S. Niccolò at Tolentino, he certainly cannot be considered as inferior to Allegretto in his gifts.]

[4] See *antea*, in Giotto at Naples.

but there are perfectly authentic panels by him not only in Fabriano, but in the Marches. One representing the Virgin, giving the breast to the Infant, between two angels on their knees may be seen in the Fornari collection at Fabriano inscribed: "A.D. MCCCLXXXXV FRANCISSC . . . . S ME FECIT;" another at Fermo, a third at Rome.[1]

Though Perugia inherited in the fifteenth century the style of the painters of Gubbio, it produced nothing of value during the fourteenth, a curious and not uninteresting fact, when we consider how near it lay to Assisi, where the best painters of Florence and Siena rivalled each other in the production of the finest masterpieces.

The testimony of two men whose opinions have had weight impress a stamp of antiquity upon a piece in S. Francesco of Perugia,[2] representing S. Egidius erect under an arch supported by columns, with six scenes from his life in threes at his side. According to tradition, the picture once covered the tomb of Egidius whose remains

[1] As regards the first of these, the feeble drawing of hands and rude general execution, the flat and unrelieved colour, make this an example inferior to a more characteristic creation in the church of S. Salvatore of the Augustines at Monte Giorgio in the province of Fermo. Here Ghissi painted a subject that has become familiar by its peculiarity and the frequency with which it was repeated. In a square inscribing an arched niche fringed with curves adorned with gilding, the Virgin sits on a cushion on the ground holding the Infant at the breast. Rays issue from her person and are supposed to dispel the darkness of the night symbolised by stars on a dark-blue background and the crescent of the moon near her feet. An angel, with flowers on his head, hovers to the left, with his arms crossed on his breast, and in medallions in the upper angles are the Angel and Virgin Annunciate. The Virgin is dressed in a red damask tunic and blue mantle with gold flowers, on her foot is a slipper, and an inscription runs: "PULCRA EST LUNA," whilst below one reads: "HOC OPUS FECIT ET DEPINSIT FRANCISCUTIUS CHISSI DE FABRIANO SUB ANNO DOMINI MCCCLXXIV." This peculiar Madonna is in type and character hardly inferior to those of Allegretto.

At Fermo itself, in the choir of the monastery of S. Domenico, is a Virgin giving the breast to the Infant, similar to the foregoing, and no doubt by Ghissi, whilst the same subject life-size, with two instead of one angel kneeling before the Madonna, may be seen under the name of Madonna della Pace in the church of S. Agostino at Ascoli. The same fringed arch, and medallions above, containing the Annunciation as in the Madonna of S. Giorgio, the same style, imitating at a lower level that of Allegretto, prove the painter to have been Ghissi. [Another Madonna and Child by Ghissi is in the Municipio at Fabriano, and is signed and dated 1359 (*cf.* PERKINS, *Rassegna d'Arte*, April, 1906).]

Ascoli, however, yields Giottesque as well as Umbrian examples, and before leaving the student may notice in the sacristy of S. Domenico a picture of the close of the fourteenth century, by a native artist under the Giottesque influence, representing the Virgin and Child, Adoration of the Magi, Nativity, Resurrection, Christ in Glory, the Virgin in the midst of Apostles, with saints in the pinnacles, a rude production full of defective forms and ugly types, but gay in colour. Other pictures at Ascoli deserve no particular notice.

But to conclude with Ghissi and the school of the fourteenth century at Fabriano, the student may find at Rome, in the Museo Cristiano at the Vatican (Press No. 13), a Virgin like those of Monte Giorgio and Ascoli, but small and injured by cleaning, which originally may have been by Ghissi.

[2] In a room near the sacristy.

were translated to Perugia in 1262,[1] and Mariotti with his colleague Appiani testified on the back of the picture that the author was a painter of the thirteenth century. Yet Rosini justly doubts the tradition and the judgment of Mariotti;[2] and the student will observe that the work, whether it be considered in reference to design and colour, or to execution and composition, is a production of the close of the fourteenth or rise of the fifteenth century,[3] with the defects and peculiarities characteristic, as may be shown later of Giovanni Boccati of Camerino, or of other painters of the Umbrian school, from whose failings Buonfigli is not exempt. Much damaged by time and dust, this is an example of the zeal with which pictures of little price are supposed to gain value by a judicious retrogression into the darker ages.

Amongst the early painters at Perugia there is one whose existence is historically recorded. Bartolommeo, usually called Meo, has been already noticed as the son of Guido Guarnieri of Siena and the author of a picture in the church of Montelabate.[4] He was a citizen of Perugia and owner of property there in 1319.[5] We have thus a Sienese artist here in the rise of the fourteenth century.

Of earlier date, were we to believe the record given by Mariotti,[6] is a fresco of the Virgin holding the infant Saviour, standing on her knee with angels supporting a drapery behind her, removed from the walls of the Palazzo del Popolo to a small church near the Seminario. The Virgin, called the "Maestà delle Volte," is supposed to date as far back as 1297, yet what is presented to view in this fresco is of the fourteenth century. And admitting that pictures may have been executed in the Palace of the People at Perugia, at the time indicated, the spectator may safely deny that the "Maestà delle Volte" is one of them.[7]

The least defective and perhaps the oldest frescoes of Perugia are remains in the chiostro of S. Fiorenzo, now abandoned, but of old part of the transept of the church.[8] Yet these remains, which are

[1] *Vide* MARIOTTI, *Lettere Pitt.* (Perugia, 1788), vol. i., p. 32; and ORSINI, *Guida di Perugia*, p. 315.

[2] *Storia della Pittura, ubi sup.*, vol. i., p. 201.

[3] In the little scenes especially the character of the close of the fourteenth century is most apparent.

[4] See *antea*, The Early School of Siena, and MILANESI'S, *Della Vera Età di Guido*, &c., *ubi sup.*, p. 9.

[5] MARIOTTI, *Lettere Pittor. Per., ubi sup.*, pp. 42, 43.

[6] Ibid., pp. 35, 36.

[7] See this Virgin engraved in ROSINI, vol. i., p. 205.

[8] In the vaulted ceiling, the Saviour holds the Gospel and gives the blessing in a glory of angels. Above him are the symbols of the Evangelists. The Saviour is in an elliptical glory, rays issuing from His frame.

of the fourteenth century and are older than other vestiges on the same walls, have more Florentine than Sienese or Umbrian character.

Above an altar to the left, in the church of S. Fiorenzo itself, is a rude fresco of the Saviour erect holding the Gospel, the work of a second-rate painter of the close of the fourteenth century, whilst in the choir a Virgin and Child, equally rude, seems a production of the rise of the fifteenth.

Some notice has already been casually taken of wall paintings of this period in the ceiling of the old church of S. Domenico,[1] representing prophets, without originality or talent. Common and uninteresting productions in S. Angelo Rotondo of Perugia display the general defects of all the lower schools of Italy with some traces of the Sienese or Umbrian style of the fourteenth century.[2]

The crypt of S. Agostino, a brotherhood in Perugia, is also noted for old fresco paintings which by no means deserve the veneration in which they are supposed to be held, in spite of the fact that the locality is now a granary.[3]

A fragment in the church of S. Francesco, with part of an inscription, "ERUD. MCCCLXXXII. II. DEL MESE JUN.," represents the Virgin and Child with two angels in a penthouse, and above it three more of the celestial messengers, a work which, in the midst of much feebleness and incorrect drawing, recalls the type of the Umbrian school, chiefly in the soft regularity of the Madonna's features. In continuation, and still reminiscent of the Umbrian manner, are vestiges of frescoes of little merit in a room at S. Fiorenzo near the sacristy, in which certain angels are characteristic of the beginning of the fifteenth century, and a Virgin giving the breast to the Infant (fresco) before SS. Stephen, Lawrence, and of another saint in a room to the right at S. Angelo Rotondo, a work of the first half of the fourteenth, showing some relation between the schools of Gubbio and Fabriano in the fourteenth and that of Perugia in the fifteenth centuries, yet of little value as a work of art.

Sienese art was better and more continuously represented at Orvieto than at Perugia. A Virgin and Child in the Chiesa de' Servi really appears to have been produced in the thirteenth century, but the principal examples are of the fourteenth. The chapel of the SS. Corporale in the Duomo is filled with frescoes, partly obliterated, partly restored, representing scenes from the Old and New Testaments, from the story of the miracle of Bolsena, and the legend of the Holy Sacrament. Beneath the Calvary, Burial, and Resurrection, the spectator may still read the words: "HANC CAPELLAM DEPINXIT UGOLINUS PICTOR DE URBEVETERIS, ANNO DOMINI MCCCLXIV DIE JOVIS VIII MENSIS JUNII." Yet Vasari with

[1] *Vide antea*, Stefano Fiorentino and Buffalmacco.

[2] One amongst them represents S. Apollonia erect in a strange striped red and green dress with yellow flesh tints shaded in red; another, a head of the Saviour; and the remainder, fragments, all of an ugly type and form.

[3] Here is an Incredulity of S. Thomas, a triple-headed Trinity in the form which Padre di Ayala and Bellarmine reprobate as "absurd and monstrous," with a single crown, four eyes, and three noses; part of a crucified Saviour, with the Virgin and S. John, and heads of S. Anthony the abbot and S. Dominic, all very poor, but of the close of the fourteenth or rise of the fifteenth century.

characteristic carelessness assigns these frescoes to Pietro Cavallini, finding, no doubt, some vague resemblance of style between them and those of the transept at Assisi. This Ugolino, not to be confounded with the goldsmith Ugolino di Veri, is called in contemporary records "di Prete Ilario." He was employed at the same time with Orcagna and Andrea Pisano, in whose company he dined on a well-known occasion.[1] He was assisted by Maestro Giovanni Leonardelli, a glass painter and mosaist long employed in Orvieto cathedral, and painted, besides the chapel of the SS. Corporale and with less skill, scenes from the lives of the Virgin and Redeemer in the choir of the Duomo.[2] Ugolino exhibited in all these frescoes the character of a Sienese painter of a class hardly up to that of Bartolo di Fredi, whose compositions he imitated. Puccio of Orvieto, a contemporary of Ugolino, has already been noted as one of those who decorated the Campo Santo of Pisa.

In other cities of this neighbourhood there are paintings of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. At Trevi a figure of Christ Crucified, with the feet apart, is preserved in the convent of Santa Chiara and dated 1257.

The convent of the nuns of S. Anna at Foligno has a chapel sacred to the Beata Angelina with common frescoes of the fourteenth century. Wall paintings of a rude kind assigned to Giotto, but only in the Giottesque manner, may be seen in a chapel of S. Francesco at Terni. They represent Paradise and the Inferno, and are inscribed:

HÆC EST CAPELLA HEREDU DI GIOVANNI DI PARADISI DE INTERAÑE F. A.D. MCCCL . . . .

In S. Domenico of Spoleto a chapel now used for the bell-ropes is full of common decorations of the fourteenth century. The Saviour in benediction is in the centre of the ceiling, and the Crucifixion between the thieves on one of the walls, with vestiges of other subjects. In the convent della Stella is a feeble Crucifixion with SS. Francis and Dominic at the foot of the Cross, painted in the close of the century, and two pictures, each with four scenes from the life of the Virgin, in the same character.

It is clear from the foregoing that very little of interest is to be found in that part of the Marches and Umbria lying around Assisi, and that the humblest examples only remain. In none of the monasteries or convents of that country, which are numerous, is any thing to be seen except bare and whitewashed walls. Such as have been noticed would be hardly worthy of record, were it not proper to register even the feeblest works of early times.

At S. Severino, in the church del Castello, are remains of Umbrian

[1] See *antea*, and for his employment at Orvieto, DELLA VALLE, *Storia del Duomo d'Orvieto*, p. 115.

[2] *Vide* DELLA VALLE, *ubi sup.*, p. 196. These paintings have been damaged by damp and restoring, they comprise an Annunciation, the Visitation, the Presentation in the Temple, remains of the Dispute in the Temple, a figure of a prophet and S. Gregory; but they are inferior to those in the chapel.

frescoes of the close of the fourteenth or rise of the fifteenth century,[1] and in S. Francesco of that place similar poor remains of the same period.

Of old the church of the Franciscan convent, near Jesi, was covered with frescoes. Some of these still exist in the apsis and right transept, amongst them a Crucifixion with numerous figures. These fragments have unhappily been restored of late; yet one can still trace in them the original character of paintings of the fourteenth century, by a Giottesque of fair attainments.

Finally, a common Umbro-Sienese picture of the period under notice is to be seen in the sacristy of the Minorites of Ancona.

[1] [Mr. Perkins considers these to be by the Salimbeni of S. Severino.]

CHAPTER VII

PAINTERS OF BOLOGNA, FERRARA AND MODENA

THE true lover of art would be seriously disappointed if, trusting to the highly-coloured statements of Malvasia, he should expect to find first-rate painters in the early school of Bologna. That school was of the second class during the whole of the fourteenth century, but had a stamp of its own, a mixture of the manner prevalent in Umbria, Modena, Ferrara and Rimini. Though Giotto is supposed to have resided at Bologna, his influence on the painters of that country was not direct, and they rather studied the second- and third-rate Pietro and Julian of Rimini than the great Florentine himself.

That Bologna, like most Italian cities, had its art in the remotest times is proved by Giambattista Verci,[1] who gives the following inscription on a lost picture, of old in S. Francesco of Bassano :

GUIDUS BONONIENSIS PINGEBAT A.D. MCLXXVII.

Malvasia adds Ventura, who painted between 1197 and 1217, and Ursone, who lived between 1226 and 1248.[2] We may consider in the same unknown class Simone di Bartolommeo, a miniaturist of Bologna, respecting whom Vescovo Muzi publishes a record of the year 1288,[3] an artist who may have been a contemporary of Oderisio at Bologna. The paintings of these distant times have perished, or have been so much repainted that the critic is under the necessity either of denying their original antiquity, or of supposing that local rivalry has led historians to transform the feeble productions of one century into the noble efforts of a remoter age.[4] This probably occurred with regard to the scriptural scenes, in the Upper Church of S. Stefano of Bologna, of which a Procession to Calvary, and a Crucifixion with the initials F. P. have been sawed from the walls of a chapel

[1] *Notizie, &c., de' Pittori della Città di Bassano* (Venezia, 1775), p. 2.

[2] [There is mention of a certain Gandulfus Pictor at Bologna as early as 1090, as well as of numerous other painters during the two following centuries. See T. GEREVICH, *Sull' Origine del Rinascimento Pittorico in Bologna*, in *Rassegna d'Arte* (Milan), November, 1906.]

[3] *Storia della Città di Castello*, vol. i., p. 134.

[4] For the earliest Bolognese paintings see CARLO CESARE MALVASIA'S *Felsina Pittrice* (fol. Bologna, 1678), vol. i., pp. 2–4, 7, 8, &c. He notes works of "Ventura" and "Orso," and "Manno" of the thirteenth century.

and transferred into the transept. In the midst of injuries inflicted by time and restorers, one can still trace the hand of an artist of the fifteenth century.[1]

Malvasia affirms that Franco Bolognese founded in his native city the school out of which Vitale, Lorenzo, Simone, Jacopo and Cristofano arose.[2] Yet there is no authentic record of his existence at Bologna, and Vasari only knew certain of his miniatures at Rome executed at the close of the thirteenth century, and drawings in his own collection.[3] It is only from the Lucchese commentator of Dante, Vellutello, who lived in the middle of the sixteenth century, that we learn to consider Franco as a pupil of Oderisio, a fact unknown to Vasari and Dante. Of the miniatures and paintings assigned to this master, and originally seen by Lanzi in the Malvezzi collection,[4] one remains in the gallery of Prince Ercolani at Bologna and bears, not the date of 1313 given by the "Agate," but the inscription, whether genuine or false, of:

FRANCO BOL. FECE 1312.[5]

It represents, as he says, the Virgin enthroned, holding the infant Saviour in a veil and tickling him with her right hand, but the whole is repainted. It seems a picture of the fourteenth century with some of the affected grace of movement peculiar to the artists of Gubbio and Fabriano.[6]

Something more is known of the works produced by Vitale, of whom two pictures dated 1320 and 1345 prove that he lived in the early part of the fourteenth century. Baldinucci notes, and d'Agincourt has engraved, a Madonna by him bearing the inscription "VITALIS FECIT HOC OPUS 1345."[7] Another Madonna supporting in air a veiled Infant erect and clutching at her dress, with a diminutive kneeling figure of a donor in the right foreground, and an angel kneeling on each side, was originally in the church of Madonna del Monte fuori Porta S. Mammolo and is now in the Gallery of Bologna inscribed:

VITALIS DE BONONIA FECIT ANNO MCCCXX.
HOC OPUS FECIT FIERI DOÑA BLAXIA P̃. AĨA MAGISTRI JOHANNIS DE PLAXẽCIA.

[1] Assigned by Malvasia on the authority of Baldi to the year 1115! *Felsina, ubi sup.*, vol. i., p. 7.

[2] *Felsina, ubi sup.*, vol. i., p. 15.

[3] VASARI, vol. i., p. 321.

[4] LANZI, *ubi sup.*, vol. iii., p. 9.

[5] The signature is repainted and possibly a forgery.

[6] [This picture is no longer to be traced. As to the miniaturists of Bologna, see F. HERMANIN, in *Vita d'Arte* (Siena), vol. i., No. 2 (1908), pp. 109–120, and also VENTURI, *Storia dell' Arte*, vol. v.]

[7] BALDINUCCI, *ubi sup.*, vol. iv., p. 323; AGINCOURT, plate cxxvii. The Madonna of 1345 is noted by Malvasia, *ubi sup.*, vol. i., p. 16, as in the church of the Madonna de' Denti.

This production of a painter who imitates the affected tenderness and delicacy of the Umbrians, proves Vitale to have been of second-rate power, his thin tempera and straightly lined draperies, with copious gold embroideries, displaying the mechanical attainments of a miniaturist.[1]

A Madonna by the same hand in the Museo Cristiano at the Vatican,[2] inscribed :

VITALIS DE BONONIA F.

exhibits, though damaged, a clearer resemblance to the productions of the Gubbian painters. Taking these pictures as models, one may assign to Vitale :

A Madonna in the church of S. Giovanni in Monte at Bologna, attributed to Lippo Dalmasii.[3] The Virgin's grasp of the Infant is expressive of great affection. The figure is in proportion and attitude correct, in expression soft, and the picture is a dainty bit of early art. A Coronation of the Virgin in S. Salvadore at Bologna, with two attendant scriptural incidents, discloses the same peculiarities. The Virgin kneels to receive the crown from the Saviour, and five angels form the glory.[4]

Three small panels by the same hand in S. Paolo of Ferrara represent triple groups of saints [5] in the manner of the foregoing.[6]

We shall presently see whether Vitale is one of the painters of the church of Mezzarata. Lanzi describes a S. Benedict with other saints by him in the Malvezzi collection,[7] and Malvasia a Birth of Christ and other pictures in the cloisters and church of S. Domenico, at Bologna.[8]

A follower of Vitale's manner, a rude executant, but still imitating Umbrian painters, is the Bolognese Andrea,[9] one of whose pictures, a Virgin in a diadem giving the breast to the Child, may be seen in the church del Sacramento at Pausola, near Macerata, inscribed :

DE BONONIA NATUS ANDREAS FĀTUS A.D. MCCCLXXII.

[1] [Vitale was influenced more by the Sienese than by any other school, as Dr. Gerevich and other critics have since pointed out.]

[2] Vet. K., No. I. The Virgin's blue dress repainted.

[3] *Felsina, ubi sup.*, vol. i., p. 29.

[4] To the left, a diminutive monk kneels as he is recommended by a saint in episcopals ; and to the right a little child is introduced in a similar attitude by S. John the Baptist. Two episodes adorn each of the side panels, one of them an Adoration of the Magi. [Dr. Gerevich connects the picture with Cristoforo of Bologna.]

[5] In the first, SS. Peter, Paul, and James ; in the second, a female saint, S. Mary Magdalen, and S. Catherine of Alexandria ; in the third, S. John the Baptist and two other saints.

[6] [Gerevich ascribes to Vitale a picture of S. Helena Venerating the Cross, together with a kneeling nun, No. 328 of the Gallery at Bologna (*cf. Rassegna d'Arte*, November, 1906, p. 165.]

[7] LANZI, *ubi sup.*, vol. iii., p. 11.

[8] *Felsina, ubi sup.*, vol. i., p. 16.

[9] Not mentioned by Malvasia.

—a rude example, less ambitious than another in a passage of the convent annexed to the hospital "FATE BENE FRATELLI" in Fermo, a picture distributed into a double course of seven compartments, comprising a Virgin and Child and scriptural subjects.[1] The Virgin—the Child, imitate the type and movement of those in Vitale's Madonnas; the latter grasping the dress as it strides over the lap of the former. Andrea may therefore have been one of Vitale's assistants. Yet none of his works can be found in Bologna.[2]

A better artist of Vitale's school, yet undeserving of the high consideration in which his works have been held, is Lippo Dalmasii, who flourished at the close of the fourteenth and beginning of the fifteenth century in Bologna. His life has been written at some length by Malvasia,[3] who tells of him as Vasari does of Angelico, that he set himself devoutly to prayer before undertaking to paint the form of the Virgin.[4] Baldinucci adds, quite in error, since it appears he died married, that, towards the close of a virtuous life, Lippo went into seclusion in the convent of the fathers of S. Martino at Bologna, where he continued to paint Madonnas for the mere pleasure of exercising his art and without any greed of gain.[5] Lippo was born about 1376, and was the son of one Dalmasio di Jacopo Scannabecchi.[6] His will, according to Piacenza, was dated 1410, and it may be fair to suppose that he died about that time.

A Virgin by him in the form of those painted by the Umbrian Ghissi, may be seen in the Ercolani collection at Bologna.[7] A smiling Virgin and Child, the latter holding a bird and feeding it, the former in a gorgeous blue dress embroidered with gold birds, is on the first altar to the right on entering the church of S. Domenico.[8] One of the best works of Lippo, however, is the fresco noticed by Vasari[9] as on the arch above the gate of S. Procolo at Bologna, representing the Virgin and Child between SS. Sixtus and Benedict, figures marked alike by character and nature in their forms, by some affectation of grace in the Virgin, but also by ruddy fiery tones in the flesh tints. Another fresco mentioned by Vasari

[1] An inscription may be read on the lower border as follows: "A.D. MCCCLXVIIII., DE BONONIA NAT. ANDREAS FECIT HIC OPUS" (*sic*). A rude execution in thin dry tempera marks this production, which consists throughout of poor and mechanically outlined figures, flatly coloured in opaque tones.

[2] [Andrea seems to have made a long sojourn in the Marches, and Mr. Perkins tells us that he was not influenced by the painters of the early Fabrianese school.]

[3] *Felsina, ubi sup.*, vol. i., pp. 26 and following.

[4] Ibid., vol. i., p. 26.

[5] BALDINUCCI, vol. v., p. 109.

[6] Ibid., Piacenza's *note* and *Comment.* to VASARI, vol. ii., p. 208.

[7] Outside the walls of the Collegio dei Spagnuoli a much injured and repainted fresco of the Virgin giving the breast to the infant Saviour may be seen as described by Vasari with the words: "LIPUS DALMAXII PINSIT." [No longer to be found.]

[8] At Bologna.

[9] VASARI, vol. ii., p. 208.

and till 1859 in existence in S. Petronio of Bologna, with the signature "LIPPUS DALMAXII PINSIT 1407," [1] has been recently whitewashed.[2]

Lippo painted figures of a broad, not a thin and slender, form; yet they are still reminiscent of the style of Vitale in the smile and attitude of an infant Saviour or the movement and mode of grouping figures together. He was probably Vitale's pupil, and still preserves a trace of the influence derived from the school of Gubbio.[3] A marked and deep outline, sharp colour and neglected forms are peculiar to him, whilst a tendency to profusion in ornament reveals the follower of the Umbrians and Sienese.[4]

The pictures of Simone, generally called "de' Crocifissi," have the Bolognese character, and more or less a family likeness to, the productions of Vitale, Andrea and Lippo Dalmasii.[5] Yet there was less of the Umbrian in him and more of the low Giottesque.[6] Instead of the affected daintiness of the former, his figures have a coarse and masculine vulgarity. Two of his Crucifixes remain—one of them, colossal, inscribed:

SIMON FECIT HOC OPUS A.D. MCCCLXX DIE ULT. FEBR. . . . HIC.

in the chapel della Croce at S. Giacomo Maggiore of Bologna; the other under glass in the fourth chapel dedicated to SS. Pietro e Paolo in S. Stefano of Bologna, inscribed:

AFFIXUS LINGNO P̃TE SUFFERO PEÑAS. SYMON FECIT HOC OPUS. MEMENTO Q. PULVIS ES, ET PULVE REUTERIS. AGE PENITECIA, ET VIVES IN ETERNUM.

[1] The signature was on the base of the Virgin's throne.

[2] It represented the Virgin and Child enthroned in a choir of singing and playing angels, and formed the ornament of the fourth pilaster to the right of the church portal. [This fresco was lately removed from the wall, and is now in the Museum of S. Petronio, attached to that church.]

[3] [SIGNOR VENTURI ascribes to Lippo an interesting fresco of the Virgin and Child with angels, in the Palazzo Pubblico at Pistoia, in which city Lippo seems to have spent some time (*cf. Storia dell' Arte*, vol. v., p. 948). This appears to be one of Lippo's more important works.]

[4] The Saviour between SS. Peter and Paul in S. Francesco of Bologna has disappeared (VASARI, vol. ii., p. 208). MALVASIA (*Felsina, ubi sup.*, p. 28) notes, amongst many others, a Magdalen before the Lord in S. Domenico, a Virgin and Child under the Bolognini portico in S. Stefano, another in the parish church of S. Andrea. [By Lippo Dalmasi is a Coronation of the Virgin, and Saints (No. 225) in the Bologna Gallery, and the same collection possesses a second dated picture of 1394, by the master, having likewise for its subject the Coronation. This latter (No. 500) is a very careful little work. A signed picture by him of the Virgin, Child, and saints is also said to exist in a farm-house near the Porta Sant' Isaia (see Bolognini-Antonini: *Vita de' Pittori Bolognesi*, p. 17 (Bologna, 1893).]

[5] Malvasia describes Simone as executing none but Crucifixes, in contra-distinction to Vitale, who always scrupulously avoided that subject. *Felsina*, vol. i., p. 17.

[6] [Mr. Perkins does not consider Simone to have been influenced by the

Nothing can be more common, exaggerated, or heavy than the form of the crucified Saviour or the faces of the Virgin and Evangelist.[1]

Simone's frescoes were as rude in execution as his panels, of which one may convince himself by examining a Virgin and S. Ursula in the seventh church dedicated to the SS. Trinità in S. Stefano of Bologna.[2]

Conflicting opinions exist as to whether Simone's contemporary Cristoforo or Cristofano, is a Bolognese, a Ferarese or a Modenese,[3] and the question might be easily elucidated, were any sensible difference to be traced between the works of the painters in each of those cities. But as a humble mediocrity characterised them all, the discussion may be left to local disputants, and the student may be content to learn that Cristoforo differs very little in style from Simone de' Crocifissi, and that his productions, such as they are, date from the close of the fourteenth and rise of the fifteenth century.

Giottesques, so much as by the Sienese; Sienese influence is strongly noticeable in all the work of the early Bolognese school. See GEREVICH, *ubi sup.*]

[1] The latter of these Crucifixes is much damaged by dust. Instead of the female saint at the foot of the Cross, opposite the Magdalen, is a monk bearing a cross. Another Crucifixion was noted by Malvasia in S. Martino Maggiore. (*Felsina, ubi sup.*, i., p. 21). Another subject peculiar to Simone is the Coronation of the Virgin, one example of which may be seen, much damaged by cleaning, in the Fine Arts Academy at Bologna, signed "SIMON FECIT" [No. 164]. Another, inscribed "SIMON DE BONONIA FECIT HOC OPUS," is engraved in Rosini (*Stor., ubi sup.*, vol. ii., p. 223) [No. 474]; whilst a third with the date of 1377 is indicated by Malvasia and the Annotators of the latest edition of Vasari as in the Foresteria of S. Francesco at Bologna. (VASARI, *note* 4 to p. 40. vol. iii.) Two more in the Academy of Bologna have neither date nor signature [No. 340]. There is a polyptych of the Coronation, together with the Crucifixion and numerous Saints, signed "SYMON FECIT HOC OPUS" (No. 163) in the Gallery at Bologna (see GEREVICH, *ubi sup.*, p. 165).] Pope Urban V., enthroned in the act of benediction and holding a picture of SS. Peter and Paul, signed "SIMON FECIT" [No. 340], besides a small picture inscribed "SIMON FECIT HOC OPUS," representing Christ amongst the Apostles, and two more which shall be noticed amongst the works of Jacopo.

[2] S. Ursula wears a diadem in relief and holds the Gospel and banner. The figures, life-size, are visible to the knee. A Virgin and Child in a glory of angels, much damaged by restoring and inscribed "SIMON FECIT HOC OPUS" is in the Gallery of Modena (No. 24 of Modena Gall. Cat.). A Madonna between two saints (one of them in episcopals) and guarded by four angels in rear of the throne, with the words, "SYMON PINXIT," in the Galleria Costabili at Ferrara, completes the catalogue of existing works by a third-rate master, whose contributions to the decoration of the church of Mezzarata at Bologna may be noticed presently. [Two more works by Simone, representing his favourite subject of the Coronation, were formerly in the Gozzadini collection at Bologna, dispersed in 1906. Both were signed "SIMON PINXIT HOC OPUS." One of these pictures is, I believe, now in the collection of Mr. Langton Douglas in London. There is a signed Nativity by Simone (No. 260) in the Academy at Florence. CAVALCASELLE (*Storia della Pittura*, vol. iv., p. 72) also mentions a signed triptych of the Virgin and Child, with angels and saints, in the Costabili Gallery at Ferrara.]

[3] See the conflicting opinions in *notes* to p. 41, VASARI, vol. iii., in Vasari himself same page, in BALDINUCCI, vol. iv., p. 513, and LANZI, vol. iii., p. 12.

A small panel with the Crucifixion and the Entombment, in the Costabili collection at Ferrara, inscribed: "XP̃OFORUS FECIT;"—another, equally small, in the same place, representing the Saviour on a tree-cross, with the Pelican above him, angels about the head, and a youthful female saint below in the act of reading;—a third Crucifixion near the foregoing, with a most defective figure of Christ, of dark tones, raw opaque colour and marked outlines—a fourth Crucifixion, with a vehement angel at each side of the Cross, in the Public Gallery at Ferrara—are sufficient to explain the claims of that city to Cristoforo. But besides these, a picture in the bellroom, of old a portion of the church, of S. Andrea at Ferrara, might prove that the artist inhabited that city. This fresco of the Virgin and Child was part of an Adoration of the Magi. In the same church near the steps leading to the "Cantoria," of old the chapel of S. Andrea, is a Coronation of the Virgin with three angels on one side, life-size figures, by the same hand.

These feeble productions of the Bolognese school betray the impress on Cristoforo of the manner introduced into these countries by the lower Giottesques, who are already noticed as having influenced Simone; and a general resemblance may be traced between them and the remnants assigned to Vitale, Simone, Cristoforo and Jacopo in Mezzarata. The frescoes of S. Andrea are, however, more in Cristoforo's style than in the manner of the other artists just named. They are firmly drawn, fairly proportioned, but of a general reddish flesh tone. In Agincourt the student will find a plate [1] of a Madonna called "del Soccorso," originally in Mezzarata and signed "XP̃FORUS PINXIT, 1380," which has disappeared together with another signed "CHRISTOPHORUS PINXIT 1382," depicting the Virgin and Child between SS. Anthony and Catherine, originally, according to Baldinucci, in the church of the Padre Celestini at Bologna.[2] A fresco in S. Francis of Bologna, signed "CRISTOFORO ORTALI" and now whitewashed, has been engraved by Agincourt,[3] who admits in him a painter different from his namesake.

To judge accurately of the manner peculiar to Jacopo degli Avanzii of Bologna, the best means are afforded by a Crucifixion in the Colonna Gallery at Rome, signed:

JACOBUS DE AVÃCIIS DE BONONIA. F.

Here the Saviour appears nailed to a tree-cross with the Pelican above him. The Virgin, wringing her hands at the side of her cheek, mouthing fearfully and straining her face into corrugations, exhales her grief by showing her teeth. Nearer the foot of the Cross, the Magdalen kneels with her arms thrown back, whilst to the right S. John Evangelist looks up grieving to the Saviour. Jacobus imagined the Redeemer thin and feeble in frame, livid, straight and lifeless, in a drapery of poor lines; a reedy slenderness and pinched features are peculiar to the remaining figures, the whole being coloured in a dull yellow tone stippled over deep verde, with dark draperies of changing hues and outlines of great minuteness.

[1] Plate clx. of AGINCOURT'S work.
[2] BALDINUCCI, *ubi sup.*, vol. iv., p. 514. [3] Plate cxxxvi. of AGINCOURT.

From this work alone, Jacopo may be noted as a painter of the Bolognese school of the close of the fourteenth century, whose mode of drawing and colouring, whose types and character are distinct from those of the painter with whom he has been confounded, namely, the alleged author of frescoes in the chapel of S. George at Padua.

Perfect identity of style justifies the critic in assigning to Jacopo degli Avanzii a Crucifixion in the Academy of Arts at Bologna,[1] evidently a pinnacle of an altarpiece.[2]

A much damaged panel, likewise in the Academy of Bologna,[3] divided into spaces decorated with scriptural scenes, may be regarded as a lower example of Jacopo's manner. A third of the same kind,[4] represents the Crucifixion, the Coronation of the Virgin and other subjects.

Ugly types, grimace, exaggeration of movement united to feeble execution, are thus combined in Jacopo, who imitated the painters of Ravenna and of Pomposa, whose Giottesque derivation has already been explained.[5] Through the lower or third-class followers of Giotto, therefore, Bologna received the Florentine influence. Nor can any difference be noticed between the foregoing examples of Jacopo and the frescoes assigned to him at Mezzarata, from whence the conviction is strengthened, that there is nothing in common between the painter of Bologna and the artist of the same name, who laboured about the same period at Padua.

The reader may now be asked to repair to Mezzarata, where a church, originally called Casa di Mezzo, situate outside the Porta S. Mammolo of Bologna, was decorated with frescoes by most of the artists whose works have been described.

[1] [No. 160 Bologna Academy Cat.]

[2] It represents the Saviour on a tree-cross with the Pelican above His head, from whose nest a flying serpent issues. At the extremities of the horizontal limb, two prophets with scrolls are not without character, whilst the Saviour is represented with some nature, though of vulgar features. This is undoubtedly the best Crucifixion of the Bolognese school. The Magdalen, embracing the foot of the Cross, mouths as she looks up. The Virgin faints on one side in the arms of her attendants in the presence of S. John and others; and on the right the usual crowd looks on.

[3] [No. 159, Bologna Academy.]

[4] [Ibid., No. 161.]

[5] [The authors, together with later writers have been manifestly unfair in] their judgment of Jacopo degli Avanzi, as Mr. Perkins has pointed out. Jacopo was, in fact, not the least gifted of the early painters of Bologna, if not the most talented of them all. Mr. Perkins gives to him five panels representing the Nativity and the Adoration of the Magi; the Magdalen at the feet of Christ: and three scenes from the Life of S. Catherine of Alexandria, in the collection of Mr. D. F. Platt, of Englewood, N.J., U.S.A. These are probably Jacopo's best works. The same critic also gives to him a large panel representing the Funeral of S. Francis, in the Christian Museum of the Vatican (Press N, No. I.), an attribution with which Sirèn is also in agreement. (See F. Mason Perkins in *Rassegna d'Arte* for August, 1906, p. 122, and O. Sirèn in *l'Arte*, an. iv., fasc. v., of same year).]

For a long time these wall paintings, which, according to Vasari, were completed in 1404,[1] remained in a good state, and were considered by him as worthy of attention. They were subsequently whitewashed—a part of the church walled off, and every trace of painting obliterated. Signor Minghetti, to whom the edifice belonged, caused the whitewash to be removed and exposed most of the original frescoes; causing some to be sawn away and taken into his private residence.[2]

Entering the church, the spectator may see eight incidents from the life of Joseph,[3] one of which is carried on to the wall in which the portal is pierced, but the latter is well nigh obliterated, and the traces of a name beneath the farthest one are quite indistinct. According to Vasari, the scenes of the Creation from Adam to Moses were executed by Cristofano,[4] of whom it is further stated in the *Guida di Bologna* of 1845, on the strength of MS. records, that he painted at Mezzarata in 1380. But the *Guida di Bologna* of 1792 [5] notices that the name beneath the incidents of Joseph's life was "JACOPUS F."

The next lower course of the same wall is filled with subjects from the life of Moses, partly damaged and restored, and some absent. In such parts as are more distinct than the rest, for instance where Moses casts down the tables of the law, a Giottesque look distinct from that of Vitale, Cristoforo, and Simone may be traced; yet no one need be misled by Lamo [6] into the belief that Giotto himself painted at Mezzarata; and the frescoes of the second course have still a predominant Bolognese character.

The third and lowest part of this wall was decorated with subjects apparently taken from the Book of Daniel, and according to the *Guida di Bologna* of 1792 was inscribed "LAURENTIUS F." The *Bologna Guide* of 1845 states, on the authority of MSS. of the seventeenth century (!), that one of the painters of Mezzarata in 1360 was one Lorenzo. The character of the frescoes in the third is very like that of the second course, both being of a rude execution.

Above the entrance door, a Nativity is recovered, which Malvasia describes as bearing the name of Vitale.[7]

The space to the left of the entrance is divided into two courses, in the uppermost of which indistinct traces of an Adoration of the Magi and a Flight into Egypt appear. Malvasia, however, describes the subjects at length in his *Felsina Pittrice*, and adds that they were inscribed "JACOBUS, SIMEON F." [8]

Rosini has engraved some of the subjects in the lower course where

[1] VASARI, vol. iii., p. 41.

[2] Some of these representing scenes of the Creation.

[3] The first and most distant is difficult to explain, the second represents Joseph in the Well, the third, his Sale by his Brothers, the fourth, Jacob receiving the Clothes, the fifth, the Confinement of Joseph upon the charge of Potiphar's wife, the sixth, Joseph's Interpretation of the Dream, the seventh, the Brethren before Joseph, the eighth, an indistinct incident. The traces of a name are on the lower border of No. 8.

[4] VASARI, vol. iii., p. 41.

[5] p. 397.

[6] LAMO, *Graticola di Bologna, ubi sup.*, p. 16.

[7] *Felsina, ubi sup.*, vol. i., p. 18.

[8] Ibid.

vestiges of a Last Supper,[1] and the Miracle at the Pool of Bethesda remain,[2] and beneath the latter still appears the signature "JACOBUS FECIT."[3] The whole of the paintings on this side have the character of Bolognese art of the close of the fourteenth century, in the general style of Jacopo, Simon and Cristoforo. None of them disclose the hand of Galasso Galassi, whom Vasari describes as having painted scenes of the Passion in this very church. It may not be forgotten, further, that in the most distant corner of the lower course, to the right of the entrance, remains of a fresco representing a wedding exist, and are assigned to Galasso Galassi, and these have truly a more modern appearance than the rest of the decorations in this church.

As regards pictorial value, it is sufficient to say that the frescoes of Mezzarata confirm the opinion derivable from an examination of pictures produced elsewhere by the painters of the school of Bologna in the fourteenth and rise of the fifteenth centuries, and that nothing in them can lead the critic to doubt but that the Jacopo of Bologna is a different artist from Jacopo who painted at Padua.

But the necessity of carefully distinguishing the creations of artists of the same name living at one period is shown by the fact that besides the Jacopo of Padua, and the Jacopo degli Avanzii of Bologna, a third painter existed in the latter city whose name was Jacobus Paoli, and who is not to be confounded with them.[4] He was of the rise of the fifteenth century, feeble in character and the author of pictures, totally unrelieved by shadow, remarkable for the broken folds and straight lines of his draperies, for a wiry system of outline and for a dry raw tempera of dull tone.

The least defective work of this third-rate artist is in the Archivio Notarile, Palazzo del Podestà at Bologna, where an Annunciation less than life-size is represented with a kneeling patron in prayer on the left hand. Beneath this figure the name "JACOBUS DE BLACHITIS" is written and on the border the signature "JACOBUS PAULI F." may be noted.

A large altarpiece in the complicated Venetian form, partly by this painter, is the ornament of the chapel S. Croce in S. Giacomo Maggiore of Bologna. Of this, the upper course, representing the Coronation of the Virgin in the centre, is inscribed "JACOBUS PAULI F."[5] It is curious that

[1] Retouched by Bagnacavallo, says MALVASIA, *Felsina, ubi sup.*, vol. i., p. 19.

[2] *Storia, ubi sup.*, vol. ii., p. 226.

[3] The first syllable all but gone. That this signature is genuine is proved by Malvasia, who noted it before the frescoes were whitewashed. *Felsina, ubi sup.*, vol. i., p. 18.

[4] This confusion may be noted in Malvasia, *Felsina, ubi sup.*, vol. i., p. 22. Frescoes representing the Annunciation and Crucifixion, and inscribed "JACOBUS PAULI F.," are mentioned by the author, who states that they were painted in 1384 in the sacristy of SS. Nabor and Felice at Bologna.

[5] In the central pinnacle is Christ Crucified, with the Virgin and S. John at the sides. The wings on each side of the Coronation contain a figure of a monk and S. John the Baptist, with S. Catherine of Alexandria and the Angel

this assemblage of hard wiry figures of a dark and dull colour, unrelieved by shadow and quite inanimate, should be part of an altarpiece, the remainder of which is Venetian and executed in the manner of Stefano and Lorenzo Veneziano, who lived and laboured at the close of the fourteenth century, the form of the altarpiece itself being Venetian. Possibly some accident destroyed the upper part, and Jacobus was called upon to restore it to its pristine form.[1]

The name of Petrus Johannis, another feeble Bolognese, may be found on a fresco in the cloister of S. Domenico of Bologna representing the Trinity in the consecrated form, but damaged by the obliteration of one half of the crucified Saviour. On the left, a kneeling male[2] is presented by his patron saint. This Petrus has some Giottesque character, gave some nature and movement to his figures and coloured them fairly; yet his outlines are somewhat dry and his draperies broken.[3]

Malvasia's long list,[4] may be consulted for a further study of this artist's works, and of the men of inferior talent at Bologna. One alone may perhaps deserve a momentary notice. His name is Michele Lambertini, or Michele di Matteo, of whom we may speak later.[5] An ugly and injured picture by him may be examined in the Bologna Academy, inscribed "MICHAELI MATTEI FECIT 1462" (? 7). It is a Pietà between SS. John, Mark, Roch, and Anthony the abbot.[6] A

Annunciate severally in the pinnacles, SS. Lawrence and Mary Magdalen, with a saint and the Virgin Annunciate in the pinnacles.

[1] A Crucifixion with the thieves [No. 10, Bologna Acad. Cat.], and usual attendant scenes, inscribed "JACOBUS PAULUS F.," a Coronation of the Virgin [ibid., No. 11], similarly authenticated and less defective, are in the Academy of Arts at Bologna, together with figures of SS. Peter, John the Baptist, James, Michael, and the Annunciation, which seem originally to have been part of the foregoing Crucifixion [ibid., No. 367]. To Jacobus Paulus may perhaps also be assigned the half-length S. Helena, kneeling, in the same collection. [By Vitale (see *antea*, p. 154).] Malvasia notices may works of the same hand in Imola, Faenza, Modena, and Verona. *Felsina, ubi sup.*, vol. i., p. 22.

[2] Part obliterated.

[3] His earliest work was known to Malvasia. It was signed "1415: PETRUS JOANNIS PINXIT," representing a Virgin and donor, and was in SS. Frediano fuori Porta S. Mammolo. A Virgin and Child, possibly by the same hand and inscribed "1436. PETRUS JOHANNIS DE LIANORIS," may be noticed much damaged and repainted in oil in the sacristy of S. Giuseppe of the Cappuccini fuori di Bologna. Another by the same and dated 1453, representing the Madonna between saints, amongst whom SS. Jerome and Petronius are to be distinguished, occupies a place in the Bologna Academy [No. 107, Bol. Acad. Cat.]. A fresco by him in the court of the Palace belonging to the Marquis Virgilio Davia, represents the Virgin and Child between S. James and another saint, and is dated 1449.

[4] *Felsina, ubi sup.*, p. 32 and following.

[5] See *Doc. Sen.*, vol. ii., records of Michele in 1447. [Michele di Matteo Lambertini is not to be confused with another painter by the name of Michele di Matteo da Bergamo (*cf.* GEREVICH, in *Rassegna d'Arte*, Dec. 1907, pp. 177–8).

[6] [No. 103, Bologna Acad.]

Virgin and Child, similarly inscribed, with the dates 1469, has much the same defective character; and in the Venice Academy an altarpiece, originally in S. Helena, containing the Virgin, Saints, a Crucifixion and scenes from the life of S. Helena, is inscribed "MICHAELI MATTEI ONONIA F."[1] Other examples of the same kind are too numerous to mention.[2]

Omitting the ingenious inquiries which have been suggested by the varied readings of an inscription on a picture in the Gallery of Vienna, in which Barisino or Rarisino appears as the father of Tommaso of Modena;[3] it is of interest to note that the latter painter is proved by this and other works to have been below the first class and of but moderate talents in the second. No other qualities or defects are to be discerned in his panels than those which characterise the Bolognese, Ravennese, Modenese, and Venetian pictures of the

[1] [No. 2, Acad. of Venice.]

[2] Finally, in a study of Bolognese examples at Bologna, the student may cast a glance at the following:

In the Chapel della Consolazione at SS. Stefano, a S. Benedict, with SS. Sixtus and Proculus, much in the manner of Simon de' Crocifissi, a quadruple panel with incidents from the life of some saint, inscribed (modern) "MORBOS PELLIT, INNOCEM SALVAT, MARTYRES REGIT, DOMINUS FUGAT," in the style of Jacopo degli Avanzii. Better still than the foregoing and under the Giottesque influence at the rise of the fifteenth century, a triptych of the Virgin and Child with saints, one of whom is S. Christopher, another recommends a patron, whilst the Angel and Virgin of the Annunciation are in the pinnacles. In the same place likewise, SS. Anthony the abbot, Mark, James, and John Evangelist, and a Coronation, all part of one Altarpiece, beneath the last of which are the words: "JOHANNES DE . . ." in style like a painting of Petrus Pauli, of the rise of the fifteenth century. [According to SIG. ANDREA MOSCHETTI (*cf. Rassegna d'Arte*, an. iii., fasc. ii.–iii., 1903), this picture is signed "JONANES (or JOANNES) DE CANELO," and is not by Giovanni da Bologna, as C. and C. believed. By Giovanni is a picture, No. 17, in the Academy at Venice, representing the Virgin and Child, the Annunciation, four Saints, and a worshipping company of the Brethren of S. Giovanni Evangelista, signed "CVANE . DA . BOLOGNA . PENSE." This picture is described by CAVALCASELLE in the *Storia de Pittura*, vol. iv., pp. 86–87. Cavalcaselle also speaks of a picture of the Coronation of the Virgin in the possession of Signor M. Gualandi at Bologna—only known to him in a photograph. Signor Gualandi's picture was said to have been signed "IOĀNES . PICTOR . DE . BOLOGNA," but the inscription was never verified, and the picture is no longer to be traced, having been sold some years ago. Giovanni's name was originally preserved to us by Lanzi, who read it on a panel of S. Christopher, in his day to be seen in the Scuolo de' Mercanti at S. Maria dell' Orto at Venice. Sig. Moschetti rediscovered this picture in the magazine of the Gallery of Padua, and reproduced it in the above-mentioned number of the *Rassegna d'Arte*, proving at the same time that Giovanni was a member of the early school of Venice rather than of that of Bologna. This is obvious from the style of the panel in question, which is signed "IOANES . DE . BONONIA . PINXIT."]

[3] [Tommaso has been proved to have been the son of a certain Barisino dei Barisini, who was himself a painter of Modena. For this and other notes regarding Tommaso and the early painters of Modena, see G. BERTONI and E. P. VICINI, in their monograph *Tommaso da Modena pittore Modenese del Secolo XIV.* (Modena, 1903). On Tommaso, see also VENTURI, *Storia dell' Arte*, vol. v., p. 958 *et seq.*]

time. It is thus of little moment to discuss with Federici the moot question, was Tommaso born or taught at Modena or Treviso, the fact being immaterial, as the decision, in whichever sense it may point, does not affect the state of art in those places. Tommaso personally seems to have preferred Modena, and appends the name of that city to his own in all the pictures that now exist.[1] He is the first artist of any skill there; and his pictures illustrate at the same time his comparative mediocrity and the art of the fourteenth century in the place of his choice. In the Gallery of Modena [2] is an altarpiece in six parts, with the Virgin and Child between saints, and attendant scene so damaged by repainting that it is difficult to judge correctly of Tommaso's power. Yet in the long stride and vehement action of the Saviour in Limbo which recall the old forms—in the exaggerated movement of the S. Jerome—it is impossible not to notice the feeble powers of a second- or third-rate artist.[3] One of the remaining records of the painter is that which sets forth that he received, in 1352, a commission to paint in the newly-built church and chapterhouse of S. Niccolò at Treviso, in the first of which are saints on the pillars, and in the second a series of portraits of Dominicans are preserved.[4] A few years later, namely in 1357, Tommaso left Italy for Prague, where he painted a picture now in the Academy at Vienna, in which he represented half-lengths of the Virgin holding the Child, who plays with a little dog, between Wenceslaus of Bohemia and S. Palmasius, inscribed:

[1] Federici, however, gives apparently convincing proofs that Tommaso was born at Treviso of a Modenese father. See D. M. F. FEDERICI, *Memorie Trevigiane* (4to, Venice, 1803), vol. i., p. 65 and following.

[2] No. 32, Gallery of Modena. The Virgin's head repainted in oil.

[3] This picture is inscribed:

PULCROS AURORA MATER PIA VGO DECORA ꝑ NOBIS ORA
ET IN MORTIS NOS SUSIPE ORA . . . THOMAS FECIT 1385.

[The date 1385 is, according to CAVALCASELLE (*Storia della Pittura*, vol. iv., p. 168), not the original one, and is probably altered. If the picture be by Tommaso, as is generally supposed, it must have been painted considerably earlier than 1385, as, according in BERTONI and VICINI (*op. cit.*), he died in 1379. VENTURI (*op. cit.*, p. 961) holds the picture in question to be a work of much earlier date.]

Ab. Boni, *ap.* LANZI, *ubi sup.*, vol. ii., p. 80, notices two Virgins executed by Tommaso in 1351 at Venice. A S. Catherine, formerly in the Gallery, Molin, is now in the Academy of Arts at Venice (No. 352). It is said to have been signed "IO. TOMS. PICTOR DE MUTINA PIN ANNO MCCCLI," but the inscription, now illegible, is false, and the picture is of the close of the fifteenth century. A S. Barbara by Tommaso is lost.

[4] FEDERICI, *Memorie Trevigiane*, vol. i., p. 187, describes all these paintings, and states, what the paintings themselves sufficiently prove, that they were executed by Tommaso. [These very interesting frescoes are described more at length, as is their due, by CAVALCASELLE in his *Storia della Pittura*, vol. iv., pp. 103 *et seq.*]

QUIS OPUS HOC FINXIT [?] THOMAS DE MUTINA PINXIT. QUALE VIDES LECTOR. RARISINI FILIUS AUTOR.[1]

It is supposed that he decorated the castle of Carlstein for the Emperor Charles the Fourth; and an Ecce Homo, much injured, and a Madonna, still in that edifice, are assigned to him.[2] His style is a mixture of the Gubbian and Bolognese.[3]

A far superior artist was Tommaso's contemporary, Barnaba of Modena, whose career illustrates Piedmont and Pisa more than his native city. He surpassed not only his own countrymen, but the Bolognese and Pisans of his time; and he made a respectable approach to the better class of Sienese painters. Like them he practised the familiar method of colouring which consisted in stippling lights over deep preparations of verde, fusing the parts together without much contrast of light and shade, but with the patient minuteness of the period and glazing the whole with warm rosy tones. His draperies, of many involved and ill-defined folds, are touched up with strokes of gold light, and are generally of brightly contrasted colours, engraved with copious ornaments on the stuffs for the sake of richness. His pictures have thus a sort of lively brilliancy, with a flat surface unrelieved by light and shade, and transparence carried out to a fault. Affectation of grace in the Virgin and Child, which was his favourite subject, regular forms and proportions in the frame, roundness and breadth in the heads, give his pictures an old Sienese appearance, which is increased by the roundness and gaze of the eyes, the pursy lips and long-fingered but coarse-jointed hands. A fibre of the old artist stuff of bygone times was in him, without much life or animation.

[1] No. 1 in the German School, Belvedere collection, the first letter in the word Rar- or Bar-isini is abraded. [This altarpiece was painted for the castle of Carlstein, and has recently been sent back to that spot.]

[2] *Vide* KUGLER, *Handbook*, p. 170. [There is no doubt that Tommaso worked at Carlstein, but critics and writers differ as to the date of his stay there. Bertoni and Vicini consider it to have been between 1368–79, but VENTURI and J. NEUWIRTH (*Prag.* in *Berühante Kunstötten*, Leipzig, 1901) are of the opinion that it took place even before 1357.]

[3] [Other works of Tommaso, mentioned and described by CAVALCASELLE (*ubi sup.*), are:—a fresco of the Virgin, Child and Saints, in the Capella Rinaldi in the former church of S. Francesco at Treviso; a fresco of the Crucifixion in the cathedral of Treviso (possibly an early work); frescoes from the life of S. Ursula once in S. Margherità, now in the Museo Civico at Treviso; frescoes of the Virgin and Child, Saints, an Emperor and Empress kneeling and holding a cross, and the Crucifixion, in the chapel of S. Catherine in the castle of Carlstein. Julius von Schlosser (in *Jahrbuch d. Kunsthist. Sammlungen des allerh. Kaiserhauses*, Band xix., Vienna, 1898) ascribes to Tommaso frescoes in the Castle of Colalto, which are, however, ascribed by other writers to the Ciottesque-Romagnole school.]

A half-length Virgin and Child in the Staedel Gallery at Frankfort,[1] inscribed :

BARNABAS DE MUTINA PINXIT MCCCLXVII.

the earliest work of Barnaba that has been preserved, might alone suffice to illustrate his style, being of clear transparent tones and showing the Virgin with a round head, thin hands and reedy fingers swelling to coarseness at the ends.

A second in the Gallery of Berlin,[2] inscribed :

BARNABAS DE MUTINA PINXIT MCCCLXVIIII.

and representing likewise the Virgin, with the Infant on her arm feeding a bullfinch, would be equally characteristic but for the great injury which it has received, and the blackness of its tones.

No record throws light upon the painter's career at the time in which these pictures were completed. In 1370, however, Barnaba painted a Madonna for S. Domenico of Turin, inscribed, according to a notice by Cav. Cibrario : [3]

BARNABAS DE MUTINA PINXIT MCCCLXX.[4]

and in Tiraboschi's time an altarpiece by him existed in the convent of S. Francesco at Alba, with his name and the date of 1377.[5] That Barnaba lived a great part of his life in Piedmont is evident not only from pictures by him that were noticed in that state, but because, when the authorities of the Pisan Campo Santo sent for him, to complete the frescoes of S. Raineri, in 1380,[6] their messenger was despatched to Genoa. Barnaba came to Pisa, where it is clear that he did not finish the frescoes of S. Raineri. If indeed he worked at them at all,[7] no one can tell where or in what part, but he may have hesitated to treat large subjects, being accustomed to the repetition

[1] [No. 7, Staedel Gall. Cat.]

[2] [No. 1171, Berlin Cat.]

[3] *Ap.* BONAINI, *ubi sup.*, p. 100. [This picture is now in the Gallery of Turin.]

[4] Lord Wensleydale possesses, and the curious might see at the Exhibition of Manchester, a Coronation of the Virgin, Trinity with S. John Evangelist and the Virgin, the Virgin and Child and patrons, a Crucifixion inscribed: "BARNABAS DE MUTINA PINXIT 1374"; a fine production of the master. [Now in the Earl of Carlisle's Collection at Naworth Castle.]

[5] *Vide* BONAINI, *ubi sup.*, and LANZI, vol. ii., p. 293. The picture is not there now. [This picture was later seen and described by CAVALCASELLE (*Storia della Pittura*, vol. iv., pp. 130–31). It is signed "BARNABAS DE MUTINA PINXIT MCCCLXXVII." It was found by Cavalcaselle in the church of S. Giovanni Battista. According to him, it shows an advance over much of the master's other work.]

[6] *Vide antea*, Buffalmacco and Antonio Veneziano; BONAINI, *ubi sup.*, p. 102; and RONCIONI, *Ist. Pis.*, *ubi sup.*, *Arch. Stor.*, vol. vi., part vii., p. 950.

[7] Which is not impossible, considering the style and execution.

of a few religious themes, and he left in Pisa but a couple of altar-pieces in S. Francesco, one in the monastery of S. Giovanni del Fiero, and a fourth in a small church at Ripoli, four miles from the city.

Of the two pictures originally in S. Francesco,[1] one alone remains, representing in half-length the Virgin giving the breast to the infant Christ, the Annunciation and other figures.[2] The picture bears the inscription :

BARNABAS DE MUTINA PINXIT.[3]

For type and form this is the best and most agreeable representation of the Virgin Barnabas has left us. The companion picture, now absent, represented the Coronation of the Virgin between SS. Francis, Louis, Anthony of Padua, and the Beato Gerardo.[4]

The altarpiece of S. Giovanni transferred, on the suppression and removal of that monastery, to the great chapel of the Campo Santo,[5] still bears the inscription :

BARNABAS DE MUTINA PINXIT.
CIVES ET MERCATORES PISANI PRO SALUTE A . . . . .

and is now in the Museo.[6] Here Barnaba represented a life-size Virgin enthroned in front of a tapestry held up by six angels, and adored by two others before her on their knees pointing and holding scrolls.[7] The master's best altarpiece, however, is that which hangs above the door of the sacristy of Ripoli unauthenticated by his name, but unmistakably in his manner, in which a full-length Virgin sits giving the breast to the Infant, between SS. Andrew and Bartholomew, Peter and a saint in episcopals.[8] It is a work executed technically and artistically on the principles peculiar to Barnaba. An inscription on the border only contains the words :

JACOBUS COMPAGNIUS PISANUS.

The Modena Gallery [9] boasts of a fair example signed :

BARNABAS DE MUTINA PINXIT.[10]

[1] MORRONA, *Pis. Illust., ubi sup.*, vol. iii., p. 90.

[2] The Virgin is in an arch inscribed within a rectangular frame having two medallions at the upper angles containing the Angel and Virgin Annunciate. Behind the Madonna four angels support a drapery.

[3] [Now No. 8, Sala V., Museo Civico.]

[4] MORRONA, 1st ed. *ap.* Bonaini, *ubi sup.*, p. 101.

[5] MORRONA, *ubi sup.*, vol. ii., p. 233.

[6] No. 6, Sala V.

[7] The Infant stands on her lap. Nothing can be more minute than the engraved ornament in the dresses, or more patient than the execution in general ; but unfortunately the flesh tints are abraded and the Virgin's dress darkened and retouched. Two wings of an altarpiece (in the Academy of Pisa), containing severally SS. Peter and James the Elder, Andrew and a friar-saint with a staff, life-size figures, with medallions above them, filled each with a saint, may be assigned to Barnaba, whose gay pellucid tones are as characteristic as the forms and types.

[8] Four angels hold up the drapery behind the throne. Medallions in the pinnacle contain the Angel and Virgin Annunciate.

[9] From the Puccini collection at Pistoia.

[10] [Regarding Barnabà da Modena, see also G. BERTONI and E. P. VICINI

Seraphino de' Seraphini of Modena was a poorer artist than Barnaba, and clung more to the style of the Bolognese school.

His name and the time in which he flourished may be seen in the inscription on a Coronation of the Virgin, with scriptural incidents, in the cathedral of Modena :

SERAPHINUS DE SERAPHINIS PINXIT 1385 DIE JOVIS XXIII MARCII.[1]

In Seraphino the Bolognese style alternates with some Giottesque feeling. His execution is rude, his colour dull and flat and coldly shadowed. Whether he is of Modena cannot be affirmed.[2] Lanzi and others take it for granted.[3]

With this curt, but sufficient notice of early Modenese art, we pass to the neighbouring city of Ferrara, which, no doubt, boasted of painters not less respectable in attainments and antiquity than those of her neighbours. We may read, for instance, in Lanzi the following respecting Gelasio di Niccolò.

The Ferrarese school took its twin origin, so to say, with that of Venice, if we may credit a monumental testimony cited by Dr. Ferrante Borsetti, in his work called "Historia almi Ferrariensis Gymnasii," published in 1735. This memorial was extracted from an ancient codex of Virgil, written in 1193, which, according to Baruffaldi, passed from the library of the Carmelites at Ferrara into the possession of the Alvarotti, Counts at Padua, whose books, in course of time, were added to the library of the Paduan Seminary. At the end of this codex is the name of Gio. Alighieri, the miniaturist of this volume; and in the last page there had afterwards been added, in the ancient vulgar tongue, the following memorial; that in 1242 Azzo d'Este, first Lord of Ferrara, committed to one Gelasio di Niccolò a painting of the fall of Phaethon; and from him too Filippo, bishop of Ferrara, ordered an image of our Lady and

in the *Rassegna d'Arte* for August, 1903. According to these writers, Barnabà had already left Modena for Genoa in 1367, and appears to have spent a number of years in that city. He was again in Genoa in 1383, after which we have no further documentary records of him. In addition to the works above mentioned, Sig. Venturi gives to Barnabà an Ascension of Christ, in the Sterbini Collection at Rome; CAVALCASELLE gives to him a Madonna and Child in the church of S. Cosmo and Damian at Genoa (*op. cit.*, p. 137); in the National Gallery is a Pentecost by his hand.]

[1] [CAVALCASELLE also gives another picture of the Virgin and Child, on the altar "delle Reliquie," in the same cathedral, to Serafino (*cf. Storia della Pittura*, vol. iv., p. 138).]

[2] [For further information regarding Serafino, see BERTONI and VICINI in *l'Arte*, 1904, fasc. vi.–vii.). According to them, Serafino could not have been born much later than 1325. In 1361 he went to Ferrara, and the last notice we have of him is one of 1393. His son Paolo was likewise a painter, and is the author of a picture in the Duomo of Barletta.]

[3] Frescoes of a rude kind in the Bolognese character may be noticed in various parts of Modena cathedral and principally in the chapel leading out of the choir. They are by a common painter of Bologna or Modena at the close of the fourteenth and rise of the fifteenth centuries.

an ensign of S. George which was used in the procession sent out to meet Tiepolo when he came as ambassador from the Venetian republic to Ferrara. Gelasio is there stated to belong to the district of S. George and to have been a pupil in Venice to Teofane of Constantinople, which induced Zanetti to place this Greek at the head of the masters of his school. On the authority of so many learned men, to whom such memorial appeared genuine, I am led to give it credit, although it contains some marks which, at first sight, appear suspicious.[1]

This story doubted by Lanzi, by Frizzi,[2] and by Tiraboschi,[3] is believed by Laderchi,[4] and does not seem more improbable than Vasari's account of Tafi. Baruffaldi[5] and Scalabrini[6] are in support of Laderchi. Let us see what the so-called works of Gelasio di Niccolò are like.

The Virgin of the Duomo of Ferrara is so venerable that it can only be seen by the faithful at one period of the year. Lovers of art may and have found it as toilsome to hit this period as to discover that in which various Madonnas so-called Cavallinis are visible at Florence.

As regards the frescoes in the ex-church of the Martiri, late a military hospital at Ferrara, a fragment of one of them representing the Virgin in a swoon in the arms of the Maries, is now in possession of Professor Saroli at Ferrara, and once formed part of a Crucifixion on the wall of the choir assigned to Gelasio. Though much damaged and altered by time, the fragment is a common production of the close of the fourteenth century, having the style and character, the exaggeration and grimace of similar productions noticed at Pomposa and Ravenna. The painter therefore, whoever he may have been, is a Giottesque of the fourth class, below Julian of Rimini in power. The remains in the ex-church itself are, or were, for they are probably whitewashed, worse than the fragment under notice and of the rudest kind.

A Virgin and Child in the Costabili collection, assigned to Gelasio and engraved by Rosini,[7] needs but be examined for an instant to convince the beholder that the author was of the fifteenth century; and if the lost works of the same artist, enumerated by Citadella,[8] were of this kind, he may be considered, as far as pictures are concerned, a mythical person.

We need but name Laudadio Rambaldo, who, according to Lanzi,

[1] LANZI, *ubi sup.*, vol. iii., p. 185.
[2] FRIZZI, *Memorie Historiche*, vol. iii., p. 147; *apud* LADERCHI, *La Pittura Ferrarese* (Ferrara, 1856), p. 20.
[3] *Notices of Modenese Artists*, in seven vols. (Modena, 1781).
[4] LADERCHI, *ubi sup.*
[5] BARUFFALDI (GIROLAMO), *Vite de' Pittori Ferraresi* (Ferrara, 1845–48), vol. i., p. 8; vol. ii., p. 517.
[6] SCALABRINI, *Pitture di Ferrara*, p. 109.
[7] *Storia, ubi sup.*, vol. i., p. 148.
[8] CITADELLA, *Catalogo historico dei Pittori Ferraresi*, t. i., p. 8, and following.

flourished about 1380,[1] and painted in the Servi by Castel Tedaldo not far from Ferrara,[2] and of whom a totally repainted Madonna is shown at Ferrara in the court of the Castel Ducale.[3] At the same time, we remember that if ever Giotto painted in this city, his works have long since disappeared and are not now to be seen. We may pause, however, to examine a fragment of fresco recently recovered from whitewash in one of the lower rooms of the ex-Palazzo Estense, now University of Ferrara. This much damaged fragment represents a fight. A woman may be seen at the summit of a tower. By its side two others drag at each other in vehement action, and a man hard by shoots with a bow. On an opposite wall is the remnant of one playing an organ on the top of a tower. These are productions of the close of the fourteenth or rise of the fifteenth century by one who exaggerated action in his figures and painted in sharply contrasted tones.

It is in this very palace that Antonio Alberti da Ferrara, according to Vasari a pupil of Agnolo Gaddi, laboured; but before alluding to his remains it may be well to state that the fragments just recorded are not by him.

Antonio having studied in the Florentine school, and particularly under Agnolo Gaddi,[4] must necessarily have been born between 1370 and 1380. Yet his productions are dated as late in the fifteenth century as 1439. According to the local historians, he left Florence for Urbino and Città di Castello, and was employed in 1438 to decorate the Palazzo Estense at Ferrara with subjects illustrating the union of the Greek and Latin Churches. One fresco of the number, representing the Saviour amongst the elect, withstood the assaults of time till 1780, and has since perished, leaving to the locality in which it was painted the name of Palazzo del Paradiso. Antonio was a frequent resident in Bologna, and married a daughter, Calliope, to Bartolommeo, the father of the well-known Timoteo Viti.[5] But one picture authenticated by his signature exists, and is preserved in the sacristy of the church of S. Bernardino, outside Urbino.

The Virgin, all but life-size, enthroned, and holding the infant Saviour asleep on her lap, is draped in a mantle and tunic of superfluous folds, embroidered with gospel sentences in the borders. Her large face, though expressive of a certain religious feeling, is yet not pleasing, but deserves

[1] BARUFFALDI, *ubi sup.*, vol. i., pp. 10 and 471.
[2] A church destroyed in 1635, according to LADERCHI, *ubi sup.*, p. 22.
[3] Where it has recently been recovered from whitewash.
[4] VASARI, vol. ii., p. 155.
[5] VASARI, vol. viii., p. 148, but see the records of 1464–65 in PUNGILEONI, *Elogio Storico di Timoteo Viti* (Urbino, 1835), p. 1.

less condemnation than the ugly one of the Infant. An inscription reads as follows:

1439. ANTONIUS DE FERAIRIA.[1]

The whole is a creation of second- or third-rate talent, a rudely executed tempera, of a wine-red tone unrelieved and flat in appearance, yet revealing a tendency to realistic study in Antonio. It is a picture without a trace of such a Giottesque influence as might be expected from the examples and teaching of a master like Agnolo Gaddi, and suggests that, if Antonio in his youth studied in the Florentine school, he had lost its impress in his later years.

Though comparatively feeble, the altarpiece of S. Bernardino is of interest, as it enables the student to trace the career of Antonio a little further, to the church of S. Maria della Nunziata ex muros by the Porta S. Lucia of Urbino, where remnants of a figure, partly concealed by a wooden altar and representing the Angel Annunciate,[2] may be noticed. The latter, of a gentle face with a round outline, and of thin hands, wears a cap and hair arranged in plaits. It is warmly coloured, and pleasing enough in its somewhat decorative mode of execution. We may notice further the frescoes in the chapel of the Bolognini at S. Petronio of Bologna. Vasari, it is true, assigns them to Buffalmacco.[3] Yet figures of saints, monks and bishops, as guards in the pilasters and vaulting of the chapel entrance, display Antonio's peculiar shortness and breadth of forms, long closed eyelids, superfluous drapery, and defective drawing of hands and feet. The same features characterise the incidents of the Passion, the Paradise and Inferno inside, where an Archangel Michael, with the balance, is a counterpart, in form, head-dress and plaited hair of that in the SS. Annunziata near Urbino. Muscular and fairly proportioned shape cannot be denied to many figures in the Paradise, nor are the heads without a certain force of expression.

The same hand, and therefore that of Antonio, produced the frescoes which still decorate the inner choir of S. Antonio Abate at Ferrara,[4] representing the half-length Virgin giving the breast to the Infant, between S. Benedict, an energetic type, S. Sebastian, another saint, and an angel with a balance. The fresco was executed in 1433, as appears from the following inscription:

HOC OPUS FECIT FIERI SOROR AGNETIS DE FONTANA MCCCCXXXIII.

In six small and much damaged half-lengths representing saints, now

[1] The sides and upper courses of the altarpiece hang dismembered near the central one of the Virgin, and comprise whole-lengths of SS. Peter, Paul, Louis of Toulouse, John the Baptist, and Jerome, and half-lengths of SS. Catherine, Anthony of Padua, Louis, Chiara, a holy friar and a bishop (thirteen panels in all). The S. Peter, in a mantle of exaggerated amplitude, is without expression in face, broad and short in head and figure, wooden in attitude and ill-drawn, particularly as regards the extremities. The same defects may strike the beholder in the profile of S. Paul with his sword, in that of S. John the Baptist and in S. Francis; and better outlines in that of S. Chiara.

[2] Part of whose blue dress is repainted.

[3] *Vide antea*, Buffalmacco, and VASARI, vol. ii., p. 52.

[4] The student will require a special permission to see these frescoes.

in the collection of Signor Saroli at Ferrara, falsely assigned to Giotto, the spectator will notice, particularly in a S. Anthony Abbot, a clear resemblance with the figures in the vaulting and pilasters of the Bolognini Chapel at S. Petronio of Bologna, and he may remark that these tastefully coloured panels, executed with the care and softness of a miniaturist, but drawn in the square and broad form peculiar to Antonio of Ferrara, come from S. Antonio Abate, whose frescoes have just been noticed. It may appear, from the consideration of all these works, that Antonio perhaps studied at Florence, but that his works exhibit the usual mixture of Umbrian and low Giottesque character common to the painters of Bologna in the fourteenth and rise of the fifteenth centuries. This indeed was the general character of the early Ferrarese school, which only began to assume importance after 1400 contemporarily with the school of Padua, but which was instrumental in giving a new impulse to the later painters of Bologna.

The reader may now expect a notice of such local painters as illustrated the fourteenth century in Pistoia. A few words will suffice for that purpose, if it be borne in mind that the necessities of this narrative have already anticipated that which might otherwise have found a place here respecting Antonio Vite.[1]

Some remains of old art have been marked in these pages as proving the existence of Pistoian painters of a very early period. But besides the Crucifixes and the works of Coppo, which come more properly into the Florentine school, the historians of Pistoia describe a fresco of the Virgin and Child on the altar of the Madonna delle Porrine in the cathedral, detached from the outer wall of that edifice in 1140, of which, as of all such venerable relics, no true judgment can be formed. Mention has been likewise made of Manfredino d'Alberto, who in 1291 painted the suppressed chapel of S. Procolo in the Pistoia cathedral and in 1292 the suppressed church of S. Michele at Genoa.[2]

In 1786 the frescoes of the Cappella S. Jacopo in the Duomo of Pistoia were whitewashed. They were executed in 1347 by Alesso d'Andrea and Bonaccorso di Cino with several assistants, at a total charge of 1510 livres, and represented subjects taken from the legend of S. James, with the Saviour in glory in the ceiling.[3] One of the assistants was Tommaso di Lazzaro,[4] whose brother Jacopo di Lazzaro painted at Pistoia a Virgin and Child between SS. John and Catherine.[5] He is recorded in 1368, and supposed to have been in Florence in 1373.[6] Filippo di Lazzaro is also noticed at Pistoia in 1380 as labouring at S. Jacopo.[7]

Passing from these empty names, the student stumbles upon another local artist, Giovanni di Bartolommeo Cristiani, described by Vasari as a pupil of Cavallini and noted in the records of his native place as of the

[1] *Vide antea*, Starnina and Vite.
[2] In the original record in S. Procolo in CIAMPI, pp. 117 and 145.
[3] Ibid., pp. 93–94, 145–150.
[4] Ibid., p. 106.
[5] Ibid., p. 106.
[6] Ibid.
[7] Ibid., p. 107.

"Anziani" in 1374.[1] It is conjectured by Ciampi that he was employed in the Campo Santo of Pisa in 1382,[2] proved that in 1390 he painted a Virgin and Child between SS. Nicholas and John the Baptist in the Oratorio dei Nerli at Montemurlo, and supposed that he is the author of a Madonna in the church of the Umiliati at Pistoia. His latest work, now destroyed, was the decoration of a church in Pistoia called the "Disciplina dei Rossi," commenced in 1396, completed in 1398 at the rate of eight and five gold florins per compartment.[3] The subjects were the genealogy and the life of the Saviour. Deprived of these examples, we turn to an altarpiece, of old authenticated with Cristiani's name,[4] now in the sacristy of S. Giovanni Evangelista of Pistoia, and inscribed:

HOC OPUS FECIT FIERI PRBR PHILIPPUS SIMONIS FRANCISCI P. AĨA DÑE LAMBRE, SORORIS EJUS A.D. MCCCLXX.

S. John Evangelist, bearded and austere in features, sits enthroned in a noble attitude, with a pen and book, guarded by two angels, who support the corners of the drapery on which his form is relieved. Angels of a gentle air, playing the lute and viol, occupy the ground in front, and a nun and priest kneel at the corners. Something in the angels akin to the softness of Orcagna, might suggest that Cristiani studied that master.[5] This altarpiece may guide the spectator to the name of the artist who really executed the frescoes in the chapel of S. Lodovico at S. Francesco of Pistoia assigned to Puccio Capanna.[6] This may be Cristiani, whose style can likewise be discerned in some of the frescoes in the ex-church of S. Antonio di Vienna, now a private residence in Pistoia.[7]

Cristiani is supposed [8] to have painted in the cathedral of Pistoia and in the Palazzo Vescovile. He is the author of the design for the silver altar of S. Jacopo.[9]

Prato, also, where many pictures of the Florentine school exist, had some local painters.

One Bettino who in 1312 pictorially illustrated the theft of the Virgin's

[1] TOLOMEI, *ubi sup.*, p. 162. [2] CIAMPI, &c., p. 117.
[3] TOLOMEI, *ubi sup.*, p. 163. [4] Ibid., p. 102.
[5] Four little compartments adorn each of the side panels, the four upper ones being in a ruder and feebler style than that conspicuous in the remainder. This picture was once in the middle of the church of S. Giovanni, and must not be confounded with one in the vestibule of the sacristy by another hand more impressed with the peculiarities of Taddeo. *Vide antea*, T. Gaddi.
[6] See *antea*, Puccio Capanna.
[7] No. 355, Piazza S. Domenico. In the upper part of this building the original ceiling of the church is divided by partitions erected to form the space into rooms. One part represents Christ in glory and Paradise, with the signs of the Zodiac, and is executed in soft light tones with the types and drapery of one who studied the creations of Orcagna, the profiles and outlines of figures being similar to those in Cristiani's picture at S. Giovanni and the frescoes of the Cappella S. Lodovico. The rest of the paintings in this place, by a poorer painter, have been assigned, probably with truth, to Antonio Vite. (See *antea*, Vite.)
[8] *Guida di Pistoia, ubi sup.*, by TOLOMEI, p. 13.
[9] Ibid., p. 26.

girdle in the Pieve, and painted frescoes in the canonry of S. Tommaso,[1] and who, in 1360, received payment for the "arms" of the "Consoli di Giustizia," Guido who in 1330–40 painted certain frescoes in the house of the "Conservator" of Prato,[2] Migliore di Cino and Giovanni di Lotto, who were Pratese painters in 1348.[3]

[1] *Giornale Stor. degli Archivi Toscani*, vol. ii., p. 248; and *Calendario Pratese*, anno 1360, p. 102.

[2] *Calend. Prat.*, p. 103.

[3] Ibid.

Anderson.

MADONNA AND CHILD

BARNABÀ DA MODENA. Gallery, Turin.

Anderson.

THE VIRGIN ON THE WAY TO CALVARY

JACOPO AVANZI. Il Santo, Padua.

Anderson.

PART OF POLYPTYCH

LORENZO VENEZIANO. Gallery, Venice.

CHAPTER VIII

PAINTERS OF VERONA, PADUA, MILAN AND VENICE

NORTH ITALY, perhaps under the influence of Venetian examples, continued to cultivate the artistic forms and methods of past ages long after the degenerate Italo-Byzantine style had been discarded or improved by the schools of Florence and Siena. The powerful families of the Carrara and Scaligeri enticed Giotto to their courts, where the great Florentine might have roused the emulation of local painters and spread the seed of Tuscan art. Yet throughout the Lombardo-Venetian territory we seek in vain for traces of the Giottesque manner; and a solitary example at Colalto[1] only reveals the mixture of the old Venetian with the style of the later Gaddi. Giotto resided long at Padua, without leaving behind him a single artist to continue his manner. We may admit that he visited Verona, and gave Alboin or Can Grande occasion to admire the greatness of his genius; but his example produced no imitator; and the capital of the Scaligeri still betrayed a painful barrenness after the lapse of half the fourteenth century. Verona had followed the same decline as the cities of Central and South Italy. The curious traveller may note in SS. Nazaro e Celso a Baptism of the Saviour produced in the earlier ages of Christian art, in the crypt of San Fermo, near the high altar, a syren painted after the fashion of the primitive times, fragments of figures dating as far back as the twelfth century, and a Deposition from the Cross on a pilaster in which the Redeemer's feet are nailed separately to the cross according to the habit of the thirteenth. A Crucifixion, in S. Zenone,[2] with the Saviour in benediction above it, and the Virgin and S. John at the side, is a fresco of less antiquity than local writers suppose, but is of the first half of the fourteenth century, having no doubt been commissioned by the friar whose kneeling form appears in miniature as its base. The state to which local art was reduced in 1360 is betrayed in the curious and defective Trinity, Coronation of the Virgin, and Saints in the Pinacoteca of Verona, inscribed:

OPUS TURONI 1360 [HOC OPUS TURONE MCCCLX]

[1] See *antea*.

[2] Inside the chief portal and to its left as one enters.

and rudely painted with dark and unpleasant colour. If it be denied that this Turone be a Veronese, one may turn again to S. Fermo and contemplate a Crucifixion above the door, in the same manner, assigned to Cimabue, but clearly of the close of the fourteenth century. Other productions of a similar kind, both in this and other churches, convince us of the low state to which painting had been brought. Suddenly artists sprung into notice whose qualities were those of the Giottesque school, and whose masterpieces were sought not only at Verona but in Padua. Great obscurity dwells upon the birth and career of these painters, but Vasari affirms,—

That "Aldigieri da Zevio, the familiar of the lords della Scala, was of Verona, where he painted, besides many other works, the great hall of the palace, depicting there the war of Jerusalem as described by Josephus, in which he showed great power and judgment, placing one episode upon each wall surmounted by an upper frieze filled with medallions, containing, it was thought, portraits of celebrated men of the time, and particularly many of the Scaligeri. Aldigieri displayed not merely judgment in this work but ingenuity, having given due consideration to all points of interest in the representation of battle scenes. His colour has been well preserved, and amongst the portraits of lettered men is one of Messer Francesco Petrarca."

"Jacopo Avanzi, a Bolognese painter," adds Vasari, "was Aldigieri's competitor, and above the foregoing paintings, he executed in fresco also two beautiful triumphs, with such art and in such happy style, that Mantegna praised them as rare productions." [1]

To the great distress of the inquirer, none of the frescoes thus described by Vasari exist, but, having disposed of Aldighieri's and Jacopo Avanzi's works at Verona, the Aretine continues :

"The same Jacopo, together with Aldighiero and Sebeto [he means Aldighiero da Zevio [2]], painted in Padua the chapel of S. George .... the upper part of whose walls were decorated by Jacopo, whilst, lower down, Aldighiero represented scenes from the life of S. Lucy and a Cenacolo, and Sebeto [no doubt still Aldighiero] stories of S. Giovanni." [3]

A century earlier than Vasari's time, Michael Savonarola wrote a description of the art-treasures in Padua, assigning,—to Giotto, as the author of the frescoes in the Scrovegni Chapel and the Santo, the first rank in the hierarchy of Paduan art,—to Jacopo Avantii Bononiensi, painter of the chapel of S. James, the second place,—and to Altichiero of Verona, the third for his decoration of the chapel of

[1] VASARI, vol. vi., pp. 89, 90.
[2] Considering Sebeto, which is Latin for Zevio, and the name of a place to be the name of an artist. See on the point LANZI, *ubi sup.*, vol. ii., p. 76.
[3] Ibid., p. 91. VASARI, vol. vi.

S. George.[1] Yet Savonarola, positive as his testimony appears, receives correction from the family records of the Lupi family, published by Michel-Angelo Gualandi[2]—in which we find the contract signed on the 12th of February 1372 between Messer Bonifazio Lupi and the architect Andriolo of Venice, for the building of the chapel of S. James—the accounts of the expenses up to 1379, and amongst them one item, being a payment, in the last-named year, of 792 ducats to Maestro Altichiero for the painting of the edifice. Bonifazio Lupi, Marquis of Soragna, is thus the founder of the chapel of S. James, afterwards consecrated to S. Felix, when the bones of that sainted Pope were carried thither in 1504; and the painters of the chapel, are Altichiero and his assistants. The "Anonimo," edited by Morelli, states that the artists employed were Jacomo Davanzo, a Paduan, Veronese, or Bolognese (he was not so sure as Savonarola and Vasari, where Avanzi was born), and Altichiero Veronese;[3] and his opinion is followed by Brandolesi,[4] Lanzi,[5] Kugler,[6] Ernst Förster,[7] and others.

The chapel has a groined roof spanned by two arches, between which and the end walls three large lunettes open out. The sides of the chapel, however, rest on six columns forming five arches with medallions in the spandrils, and all adorned with paintings on one side, whilst on the other the arches open into the basilica of S. Antonio. As the visitor enters from the latter he finds before him three central arched compartments devoted to the Crucifixion. In the middle one, the Redeemer on the Cross is bewailed by a flight of angels, and His agony is watched by the usual soldiers on horseback, priests to the left, and soldiers to the right. In a landscape at this side, interested spectators watch the guards dicing for the garment. On the left, the Virgin has fainted in the arms of the Maries, and the procession of spectators moves to and fro on the road to Jerusalem, a well-ordered and numerous multitude of riders, and males and females on foot.[8] The legend of S. James the Elder is illustrated in the six

[1] Michaelis Savonarolæ, *Commentariolus, ubi sup., De Laud. Pat.* lib. i., *ap.* Muratori, *Scriptores*, vol. xxiv., p. 1170.

[2] Gualandi, *Memorie Originale Italiane, ubi sup.*, ser. vi., p. 135; and Gonzati's *Illustrazioni della Basilica di S. Antonio di Padua*, p. cvii., Doc. cii.

[3] Anonimo, ed. Morelli (Bassano, 1800), *ubi sup.*, p. 5.

[4] Brandolesi, *ubi sup.*, p. 29.

[5] Lanzi, *ubi sup.*, vol. iii., pp. 12, 13, who confounds, like Vasari, the Paduan Jacopo with Jacopo degli Avanzii and Jacobus Pauli.

[6] *Handbook of Italian Painting* (Murray).

[7] *Kunstblatt*, No. 3, anno 1838.

[8] The tomb of Bonifazio Lupi, who was buried here in 1380 (Anonimo, *ubi sup.*, p. 5), is let into the wall of the compartment to the right of the Crucifixion, and a wish, a hope, seems expressed for his future bliss, by the symbolical subject painted above his tomb: the Resurrection of Christ standing with the banner in His sepulchre between two angels. A tomb, likewise let into the

lunettes at the sides and a double course at the ends of the chapel, the first episodes beginning in the lunette of the east end or to the spectator's left as he enters.

Three scenes fill this space. S. James preaches in the pulpit of the Temple of Jerusalem to a crowd of men and women; whilst on the left the magicians Hermogenes and Philetus confer as to the means of combating his doctrines. On the right, Hermogenes is carried away by the fiends, and a crowd flies in terror from the spirits that surround them. Continuing the subjects on the lunettes of the south side, the painter represents the apostle revealing the divine nature of his mission by ordering the fiends to bring him Hermogenes and Philetus. Hermogenes appears at his invocation carried down by a dragon, and, throwing away the magical books, which perish in fire, he is baptized, whilst the unbelievers retire to accuse S. James. Next comes the saint, bound and led to death. One of the executioners falls at his feet asking for pardon and baptism. He shares the fate of the doomed apostle and awaits with him the stroke from one more hardened than himself. The legend proceeds to declare that Hermogenes and Philetus took the body of S. James, put it on board of a ship, which, steered by an angel, came to the coast of Spain. The painter depicted in the third lunette of the south side the boat guided by the angel, then the placing of the body on a gravestone, and thirdly the disciples, asking permission of Lupa, the owner of the castle, to bury the saint. Hermogenes and Philetus, who have thus honoured the apostle, are, in the western lunette, led before a judge and sentenced to prison. In the next lunette, the prisoners with their guards are thrown by the fall of a bridge into the stream, and are saved by an angel from drowning. Again they appear with the body of S. James before Lupa, the owner of the castle near which the landing took place, and she orders the funeral car to proceed, drawn by two wild bulls. The furious animals, however, are tamed by the sign of the cross, and (in the last lunette Lupa, converted, receives the rite of baptism and surrenders her castle to the service of God, to be made holy by the remains of the apostle. A second and lower course of frescoes on the west wall is ruined, and vestiges only remain of a S. Christopher. A similar course on the east wall represents the posthumous miracles of the saint, his appearance to Rainero, king of Oviedo, with a promise of victory over the Moslems; Rainero, on his throne, relating the vision to his courtiers—the battle, with the king in prayer in the centre and S. James hovering over the field to witness the discomfiture of the unbelievers. Nine carved stalls surmounted by tabernacles, in the arches of which a painted saint is placed, are

wall in the compartment to the left of the Crucifixion, is in honour of Rolando, Marsilio, Pietro, and Dandolo di Rubeis, Dukes of Parma, with the Pietà painted above it. The Angel and Virgin Annunciate, a female saint, two friars and a saint in episcopals fill the medallions of the spandrils. Similar spaces in the two arches spanning the groined roof contain figures of saints, and in the centre of the diagonals above the Crucifixion is a painted relief of the Saviour surrounded by the symbols of the Four Evangelists. Saints likewise adorn six medallions in the spandrils of the arches, through which the spectator looks out into the Basilica.

ranged along the base of the western wall, seven of the same along the eastern.

It is very much to be regretted that this great series of frescoes should be damaged by restoring, and thus prevent a certain analysis of the difference between its various parts. Altichiero, as the records show, was the painter of the chapel, but he had assistants, and one of these may have been Jacopo Avanzi. But, as there are no certain productions either by the latter or by Altichiero, it is very difficult to assign to each his share of the labour. In general, it may be just to affirm that the Crucifixion, with its attendant scenes, is the most perfect production in the chapel; that the least so are the scenes on the western wall, all of which are injured and restored, and those of the eastern which are the poorest, most damaged and restored of the series.[1] As regards the lunettes of the north and south sides, they all seem by one master, though differing as to merit, in a proportion too slight to be defined in words. Judging of them as compositions, they appear to have been created by one person, as indeed the conception of the whole series seems to be one. Altichiero therefore is the painter of the Crucifixion, which is the most important part, and that nearest the spectator; but in comparing it with the six lunettes of the north and south sides, it is well to remember that the latter are in better preservation than the former.[2]

To say that the Cappella S. Felice is the noblest monument of the pictorial art of the fourteenth century in North Italy is not an exaggeration. Its frescoes contribute to assign a high place in history to the painters of Verona. In none of the Northern seats of art had any master combined in so great a measure the true Giottesque maxims of composition and distribution. No artists, except the greatest of the Florentines, had done better. In harmony with the grandeur and simplicity of the conception and arrangement, the natural formation of the groups, the individual character of figures and expression of faces, justify the highest admiration; yet the painter was shackled in the attainment of a greater perfection by his

[1] This had already struck the "Anonimo," *ubi sup.*

[2] [Opinions still continue to differ regarding the respective parts taken by Altichiero and Avanzi in these and other works at Padua. There seems little doubt, however, that Altichiero was the leader, if not the more gifted, of the two artists, and that Avanzi was, in reality, his assistant. P. SCHUBRING (*Altichiero und seine Schule*, Leipzig, 1898) thinks that three different painters worked in the chapel of San Felice; to one of these he gives the Crucifixion; to a second the Battle; to a third the lunettes, from the life of S. James. VENTURI (*Storia dell' Arte*, vol. v., p. 284) gives to Altichiero the Crucifixion and to Avanzi the Battle and the lunettes. BERENSON (*North Italian Painters*) gives all the frescoes of this chapel and that of S. George to Altichiero, admitting the assistance of Avanzi.]

inability to idealise type or form, or rescue it from a stamp of realistic imitation. But for this absence of quality and an occasional deficiency in the drawing of form, the ease with which the figures are set in motion, the simple waving lines of draperies, and a certain ability in the production of relief would have left a still stronger impression. Soft tones, carefully and minutely finished, charm the eye, not merely by their harmony, but by a certain atmospheric modification in their use at the divers planes represented. Glazes giving force and transparence to the flesh tints are applied with skill. A tasteful gaiety and brightness are combined in the harmonies of vestment colours. The distances of country or architecture, though imperfect, were not in the painter's mind so much a subordinate feature as to justify absence of proportion or triviality of object.

The Redeemer on the Cross, though softly expressive and thoughtfully conceived as to position, reveals the qualities and betrays the defects of the artist. Whilst the form is well and carefully imitated from nature, it reveals no effort to seek out a combination of perfections. The reverse of this, indeed, is apparent, for the muscular body has less than the average height. The limbs and articulations are studied, but like the hands and feet are somewhat coarse. In the face the expression of bodily suffering is apparent from the contraction of the brow, the coarseness of an extensive nose, and the faded aspect of the whole mask. Force and energy may be seen in the damaged angels of the Crucifixion without the combination of elegance and grace peculiar to those of Giotto in the Arena hard by. Nothing can be truer or more natural than the fainting Virgin,[1] the multitude returning to Jerusalem, the dicers surrounded by interested spectators. There is invention of incident or a keen observation of nature in its daily garb. Expression is true and to the point, but the ideal and a noble choice of form were gifts not possessed by the artist.

Such being the qualities of Altichiero, it becomes doubly interesting to ascertain what share he may have had in other works at Padua, and one turns necessarily to the frescoes in the Cappella S. Giorgio, rescued from the dust of centuries by M. Ernst Förster twenty-five years ago [1840 *c.*] and restored by him, if not to their original brilliancy and beauty, still to such a state as enables the spectator to admire and analyse them with fruit.

The opinion of Vasari has already been quoted respecting these frescoes, that of Savonarola also. Campagnola, whose letter to Leonico Tomeo is known by fragments only, is quoted by the "Anonimo,"

[1] The group of the Virgin is injured.

edited by Morelli, who repeats Vasari's opinion ;[1] but in doing so he calls Avanzi "Padoano," whilst Rizzo[2] prefers Savonarola's authority and gives the frescoes to Altichiero alone. Brandolesi affects to be able to distinguish between the works of Avanzi, Altichiero and Sebeto,[3] the latter being no other than Altichiero himself. Lanzi playfully confounds the chapel of S. George with that of S. Felice.[4] Kugler follows Mr. Ernst Förster in the opinion that Avanzi is the only painter of the Cappella S. Giorgio,[5] and the Marchese Selvatico, translator of the latter, joins issue with him in favour of Altichiero.[6] The Commentators of Vasari are of the opinion held by Campagnola and Rizzo;[7] and finally, Bernasconi and Laderchi[8] complete the list of somewhat angry disputants who poison their debate with the further question as to whether Jacopo Avanzi is identical with Jacopo degli Avancii and Jacobus Paoli of Bologna. It has already been stated in these pages that Jacopo degli Avancii of Bologna and Jacobus Paoli are two persons. It will be admitted by artists that the frescoes of S. Giorgio and the Crucifixions of Jacopo degli Avancii of Bologna are creations of two very different hands; and for such the debate will have no interest.

The Cappella S. Giorgio, situate near the basilica of S. Antonio at Padua, was projected and erected in 1377 almost simultaneously with the Cappella S. Felice. A graven inscription above the portal declares that Raimundino dei Lupi of the Soragna of Parma (brother of Bonifazio) caused it to be raised to the memory of himself, his parents, his brothers and their descendants. Raimundino, however, died on the 1st of December 1379, and Bonifazio, by whose orders Altichiero had just finished the Cappella S. Felice, carried out the wishes of his brother by causing S. Giorgio to be adorned with paintings. It would have been strange indeed if, having secured for his own chapel the services of one so able as Altichiero, he should hesitate to confide the decoration of his brother's to the same able hand.[9] Though dedicated to S. George, the chapel is illustrated not only with incidents from his life, but from those of the legends of S. Catherine and S. Lucy. The side walls to the left of the entrance, divided into a double course of four, is entirely devoted to the first saint, with a votive fresco representing the members of the Soragna family before

[1] ANONIMO, *ubi sup.*, pp. 6 and 101. Campagnola wrote in the sixteenth century.
[2] RIZZO in ANONIMO, p. 6, *ubi sup.*
[3] BRANDOLESI, *ubi sup.*, p. 53.
[4] LANZI, *ubi sup.*, vol. ii., p. 76.
[5] *Vide Kunstblatt*, No. 6, 1838.
[6] 1846, Padua.
[7] VASARI, vol. vi., p. 109.
[8] BERNASCONI, *Studi* (Verona, 1859); and LADERCHI, *Risposta al Bernasconi*, in t. viii. of *Opusculi* (Modena, dated Ferrara, 1860).
[9] See GONZATI, *ubi sup.*, *Illusirazioni della Basilica di S. Antonio*, vol. i., p. 39.

the Virgin and Child; the wall to the right, with its upper course, to S. Catherine, its lower to S. Lucy, the end opposite the portal to the Crucifixion, that in which the entrance is pierced to five scriptural scenes; the Annunciation (lunette) the Adoration of the Shepherds and of the Magi, the Presentation in the Temple and the Flight into Egypt. In the waggon roof are the Four Evangelists and Doctors of the Church; medallions of saints in each of the three windows piercing the long sides of the chapel.

Damaged as these paintings have been since they were abandoned to the vicissitudes of weather—spoilt as they are, because the chapel, having been used as a prison by the French at the close of the last century, was left without window sashes, and because damp altered the colours, or caused the intonaco to drop—still enough remains to show that the spirit, the composition and execution are the same as in the frescoes of San Felice.

The whole of the wall, at whose base the altar stands, is filled with the incidents of the Crucifixion, the Saviour being represented between the thieves, whose arms are thrown over the horizontal limbs of their crosses.[1] The multitude, below, is divided into three great groups on foot and horseback.[2] The scene, differently represented from that of S. Felice, because of the altered condition in the arrangement of the space, is still composed according to the same laws and executed in the same spirit. The type of the Saviour, adopted from the school of Giotto, is similar in form and character to that in S. Felice, and may be said to have been lined from the same original drawing. It would be difficult to criticise the frescoes of S. Giorgio otherwise than those of S. Felice. Yet in some parts of the former perhaps, a greyer and more abrupt method of colouring, a harder outline may be noticed. Above the Crucifixion, the Saviour, on a throne with the Virgin, gives her the crown of glory in a choir of angels. It may be needless to detail the subjects on the opposite wall, which are the forerunners of the Crucifixion; we may note, however, how, opposite the Coronation of the Virgin, the painter has placed the Annunciation, the Alpha and Omega of the Madonna's life, and remark that in the Adoration of the Magi and Flight into

[1] The soul of the repentant is taken by an angel to heaven, that of the unrepentant by a fiend to hades, whilst an angel threatens him with his sword. Six angels, whose action recalls the power and energy of Giotto, wail about the head and arms of the Redeemer.

[2] On the left, the Virgin, having swooned and fallen, is raised from the ground by the Maries; one of them lifting her head with great tenderness. To the right of this group, the Magdalen, kneeling, looks up to the Saviour. Clever contrasts of feeling and expression are noticeable in the laughter of a female in rear of the Maries and Virgin, and in the gravity of those who appear in the distance converted by the mournful spectacle.

Egypt, a Giottesque feeling prevails. The episodes of S. George begin on the east face in the upper corner near the Annunciation as follows:

The King and Queen look from the battlements of a city—their daughter from a shorter distance—at S. George killing the dragon. All are baptized in front of a church, in the second fresco of the series, by the hero of the legend. Nothing can be richer than the composition, in the centre of which the King kneels with the crown in his hand as S. George pours the water over his head. The Queen and her daughter are at his side, females behind, courtiers and people about. Beneath the first fresco, S. George appears drinking the poisoned cup tendered to him by the magician Anastasius. Beneath the second, his martyrdom by the wheel is depicted, the moment being that when the saint, having been stretched naked on the instrument of torture, it drops asunder at a touch from the wands of two angels; and as he looks up, praying with joined hands, the fragments strike down one of the torturers, startle another, and frighten or astonish the surrounding groups of magicians, officers and people. In the distance, S. George appears before Diocletian unhurt by the torture, and baptizes two prætors convinced by the miracle. The Emperor, anxious now to save the saint's life, ordered a solemn ceremony to take place before the temple of Apollo, hoping that S. George might be induced to return to the worship of the gods. S. George, on the contrary, prayed on his knees for the overthrow of the idol, and the fall of the temple: and this scene the painter depicts in the third compartment of the lower course. But this fresco is seriously damaged by an eruption of salt, and the fall of a large portion of the intonaco at the left-hand corner. By its side is the final episode of the series, the saint's decapitation, where S. George, prostrate in prayer, awaits the stroke of the executioner who stands with arm uplifted, awaiting a signal from one who with bending frame stands behind the saint and appeals to him to abjure his error. A curious child near this figure, a circle of soldiers with lances, complete a composition alike remarkable for decorum and feeling, for true action and gentle expression, and for harmonious colour. Above the two last-mentioned scenes, the Virgin and Child in profile receive the homage of the family of Soragna, Rolandino and his wife Mathilda, kneeling first under the protection of their patron saints; their sons under similar escort, being Montino, Guido, Bonifazio and Antonio; their nephews, Antonio, Simone and Folco, and last, under the guard of S. George, Raimundino, the founder of the chapel. Of old the statues of these members of the Lupi adorned a sarcophagus in the middle of the chapel.

The four frescoes of the upper course at the west side are devoted to the legend of S. Catherine, in which the painter repeated the episodes already illustrated in S. Clemente of Rome.

The first, which is hardly visible, is the refusal of Catherine to worship the idol, whilst her companions kneel before it in adoration. In the

second, she convinces the philosophers, whose conversion is shown by their attitudes and by the surrender of their books, which they have thrown into a fire. In the third, an attempt is made to torture her with the wheel, but lightning from heaven and the wand of an angel break the instrument. The painter being under the necessity of varying the same incident already depicted in the martyrdom of S. George, represents S. Catherine kneeling, between the fragments of the wheel, whilst in the upper story of the palace the Emperor looks on. Last is the beheading, and a distant episode of angels awaiting the saint's death to take her soul to Paradise. The lower series represents S. Lucy before a Roman prætor, sentenced to death for her refusal to abjure. The next composition is fine and animated. On the left, S. Lucy with joined hands and looking up to heaven, with an expression of gentle repose and confidence in her upturned face, stands bound; and the rope wound round her form is fast to a team of six oxen, goaded by drivers in animated action. A figure behind the saint pushes her forward, another tugs at the rope, and a third, in the centre, implores her to move.[1] The crowd in surprise are converted by the miracle, for the will of God has enabled S. Lucy miraculously to withstand the efforts of her persecutors. The scene is in the court of an edifice built out into wings, in one side of which two persons appear in converse. It is a fine and well-distributed composition, where the human form is not better delineated than that of the brute creation, where progress is visible in the details of an architecture tasteful in style and studied in detail.

A third fresco is devoted to the martyrdom of S. Lucy by burning oil at the stake. Her intended punishment being miraculously inefficacious, the executioners deprive her of life with their knives.

In the last compartment, the martyr lies on a stretcher in an interior, watched by a crowd, a part of which is in prayer; and one of the figures to the left wearing a cap is said (one may ask on what authority) to be a portrait of the painter, whose name once existed on the border of the frame. Of this inscription, which is now illegible, it is sufficient to say that Mr. Ernst Förster affirms,[2] having read "AVANTIIS" or "AVANTUS VE . . ." whilst the Marquis Selvatico read "JACOBUS." The question thus remains in obscurity and reduces itself to this, whether the Jacopo or Avanzi, supposed to have inscribed his name, is of Bologna or Verona, and whether the frescoes are by him or by Altichiero. The only test is that of composition, distribution, execution, and colour; and of these it is enough to repeat that they are identical with those of the Cappella S. Felice, and that the diversity of hands to be traced in the carrying out of different parts is the same in both buildings. The fresco of the

[1] The group of the saints, with eight figures and traces of architecture drawn with point on vellum, is in possession of Mr. Robinson in London. The drawing is masterly and free.

[2] *Kunstblatt*, No. 6, 1838.

decapitation of S. George displays the same execution as that of the Crucifixion at S. Felice, but the fresco of S. Lucy dead on her stretcher has the greyer tones, the harder outlines, of the inferior paintings in the other chapel.[1]

Whether the Jacobus or Avanzi of S. Giorgio be a Veronese or a Bolognese is of little interest. It is important on the other hand to determine to what school he belonged. This can only be done by comparison between the frescoes of Padua and others at Verona and Bologna. An opportunity will presently occur to prove that the Paduan frescoes of S. Giorgio and S. Felice are similar in character to others assigned to the same hands at Verona, and that they disclose the style of painters whose manner was inherited soon after by the later artists Stefano da Zevio and Pisanello. A record proves that Altichiero was *capo-maestro* at S. Felice, and there is no doubt that he was a Veronese painter. If his assistant Jacopo had been a Bolognese, he would probably have exhibited the manner of the painters of that country; but whatever part he may have taken in the decoration of the two Paduan chapels, he did not betray a spark of Bolognese character. It is therefore obvious that the Avanzi of Padua was not identical with Jacopo de' Avancii Bononiensis, whose Crucifixion in the Colonna gallery at Rome has been noticed; nor is it less clear, that, supposing the two Jacopo to have been Bolognese, neither of them can be admitted to have lost the style of his school so as to transform it into that of the Veronese artists. As for Jacobus Pauli, he is *a fortiori* out of the question.

Turning to the Library at Padua, where detached fragments are preserved of frescoes which, according to Morelli's notes to the "Anonimo," or rather according to Campagnola and Rizzo, whom he quotes,[2] were executed by Altichiero and Avanzi, no new light is thrown on a controversy that has occupied so many pens. Campagnola says that "Jacomo Davanzo" painted, on the left hand in the hall, the Captivity of Jugurtha and the Triumph of Marius. Altichiero and Ottaviano of Brescia, says Rizzo, confirmed in this by Michael Savonarola,[3] were the authors of these subjects, and of several portraits of Roman Emperors. Petrarch and Lombardo della Seta, add the "Anonimo," had also their likenesses there.[4] Unfortunately the

[1] [Sig. Venturi thinks that the votive fresco of the Soragna family before the Virgin and Child, all the scenes from the life of S. Catherine, all those from that of S. George with the exception of the "Martyrdom of the Wheel" and the "Overthrow of the Idols," the first three scenes from the story of S. Lucy, the Coronation and the Purification of the Virgin, are by Altichiero, and the others he gives to Avanzi.]

[2] ANONIMO, *ubi sup.*, p. 30.

[3] *Commentariolus*, *ubi sup.*, in MURATORI, *Script.*, vol. xxiv., p. 1175.

[4] ANONIMO, *ubi sup.*, p. 30.

formless fragments of these works preclude mediation amidst such conflicting opinions. On the other hand, a fresco in a niche above the tomb, in a chapel to the right of the choir at the Eremitani of Padua, is striking as recalling the manner of Altichiero and Avanzi. It represents the Coronation of the Virgin, with two kneeling captains in armour on each hand, introduced by their patron saints—the Angel and the Virgin Annunciate at the sides of the recess, all of which have the character of the best frescoes in S. Felice.[1] Wall paintings of some interest in this inquiry are still preserved in a porch leading into the lateral portal of the ex-church of S. Michele at Padua. One of them is an Adoration of the Magi, in which, according to tradition, the persons behind the Magi are members of the family of Carrara.[2] Above these scenes, an Ascension of the Saviour is reminiscent of the same subject by Giotto at the Scrovegni. Finally, above the portal, a Virgin and Angel Annunciate, with the quaint additions of a cat and a fowl, complete the number of frescoes in the locality. Remains in a court of the same building represent the Stoning of Stephen and a Virgin covering a multitude with her cloak. These are all paintings by one artist whose name may be revealed by the following inscription on a stone in the porch :

MIII.^{c}.LXXXXVII A DÌ OTTAVO DEL MESE SEPTEMBRIS . . . . .
. . . . . .
PINXIT QŨE GENUIT JACOBUS VERONA FIGURAS.

No doubt the composition of the frescoes is very much below that of the S. Giorgio paintings, yet some figures recall those in the chapel of Raimundino Lupi, and, more interesting still, are executed on the same technical principle. They are clearly by one who followed the school of the painters of S. Giorgio and S. Felice. We may suppose that the Jacopo Veronese, whose name is here inscribed, is Jacopo Avanzi who undertook the decoration of the church of S. Michele, but entrusted a part of the work to assistants. Their comparative inferiority would thus be accounted for. Or the same Jacopo Avanzi was really inferior to Altichiero, and shows his feebler talent alone in

[1] [Mr. Berenson gives a Madonna and Child (a fresco) in the sacristy of this church to Altichiero ; Venturi gives it, on the contrary, to Avanzi, and to Altichiero two figures of saints in the chapel to the left of the choir. In the Palazzo della Ragione, Venturi further gives to Altichiero a damaged fresco portrait of Petrarch seated among four doctors, and hesitates between the two painters in regard to a second portrait of the great poet in the Sala de' Giganti, which Mr. Berenson gives to Altichiero.]

[2] In the distance is the angel announcing to the shepherds, and the Flight into Egypt. Another represents the Descent of the Holy Spirit, a third the Funeral of the Virgin, containing, it is said, portraits of Boccaccio, Petrarch, and Pietro di Abano.

S. Michele, thus inducing the belief that he was a subordinate at S. Felice and S. Giorgio. At all events the paintings of S. Michele have a family likeness to those completed for the Lupi, and none to the works of Jacopo degli Avancii at Bologna.

In conclusion, it may be said that the painters of S. Felice, S. Giorgio and S. Michele are all of one school at various degrees of perfection, and that that school is of Verona, not of Bologna. The character of the painters of S. Felice and S. Giorgio is that of men who might have issued from the atelier of Giotto. Their masters are unknown, nor is it possible to suppose that they rose under the tuition of such men as Turone or his contemporaries whose works have been noticed at Verona. The student is therefore tempted to place more confidence than he otherwise would in the assertion that Giotto visited Verona. Yet it is not the less strange that the painters of Padua, at the close of a century in the first years of which Giotto produced such great works, should be Veronese and not native Paduans. Though Verona can no longer boast of the masterpieces which Vasari assigns to Altichiero and Avanzi, its edifices still contain frescoes which display their style, and in particular that of the former. Of this number is a votive Madonna above the tomb of Federico Cavalli in the chapel of that family at S. Anastasio. The Virgin, enthroned with the Infant, receives the prayers of three captains in armour presented to her by S. George and two other saints. The work is in the manner of Altichiero, more so than a fresco in the same chapel representing a miracle from the life of S. Gimignano. A wall painting of the same class decorates one of the rooms in the Palace on the "Piazza de' Signori," and represents the Virgin and Child between S. James and S. Apollonia and a saint in episcopals.

A votive fresco of the Virgin with a donor presented by patron saints, like those of the Lupi at S. Giorgio of Padua, adorns a space in the upper aisle to the right in S. Zenone—reminds the spectator of the poorer frescoes of Raimundino Lupi's chapel, and reveals a point of contact, as regards technical execution, with the frescoes of S. Michele of Padua. Yet this fresco bears the inscription :

PETRUS PAULUS DE CAPELLIS DE VERONA, MONACUS ABATIALIS ANNO MCCCXCVII.

A year earlier, one Martino completed the pictorial decoration of a pulpit in S. Fermo with frescoes of prophets and saints, handled with some talent, designed with care, and coloured in warm and well-fused tones. They disclose a painter of the mixed style of Altichiero and Stefano da Zevio, and were indeed assigned till quite lately to

the latter until the following words were discovered on the cornice of the pulpit:

OPUS MARTINI.

If this should really be an artist's name, it occurs for the first time in the history of Veronese art; and he was a contemporary of Altichiero and Jacopo. A fresco in the same manner may be noticed in a recess above the outside of the S. Fermo portal. It is thus obvious that Veronese edifices are decorated with paintings in the character of those which form the attraction of various Paduan churches and chapels, and that we possess the necessary means for distinguishing the Veronese school from that of Bologna. The peculiarity of the former is the impress of great Giottesque maxims more sharply and durably stamped upon them than on others in Italy; and its taste for colour, characteristic not only in Altichiero, but in Stefano da Zevio and Pisanello. This quality was indeed cultivated by the two last to the detriment of the severe laws of composition. At Padua, however, Veronese artists were not the only strangers who painted in the Giottesque manner at the close of the century.

Giusto Johannis, of the Menabuoi of Florence, is obviously a comrade of Agnolo Gaddi, of the school of Giovanni da Milano, and his name appears in the register of Florentine painters in 1387 as "Giusto di Giovanni, popolo S. Simone." He was made citizen of Padua in the lifetime of Francesco da Carrara,[1] and seemed fitted to claim some of the support extended to the Altichiero's and Avanzi's. One of his earliest works, in a bad state, lately in the hands of Dottore Fasi at Milan,[2] bears the inscription:

JUSTUS PINXIT. HOC OPUS FECIT FIERI DOÑA SOROR IXOTTA, FILIA ꝗDAM DÑI SIMONIS DE TERZAGO MCCCLXIII MẽSIS MARTII.[3]

An equally authentic example of the master is a triptych belonging to the Ottingen Wallerstein collection at Kensington, inscribed:

ANO DNI MCCCLXVII.[4]

and behind the panel, in the character of the time:

JUSTUS PINXIT IN . . . . . .[5]

[1] *Vide* the original record in BRANDOLESI, *ubi sup.*, p. 281, with other proofs of his existence at Padua in the ANONIMO, *ubi sup.*, p. 102. [2] Strada Ravello.

[3] The Virgin enthroned, with the Infant in her arms, has quite the character of Taddeo Gaddi's Madonna in the Museum of Berlin, an opinion easily maintainable as regards the grouping, less so as regards the face of the Virgin, which has been seriously damaged and repainted (the blue dress is repainted in part). The same style is impressed on two medallions of prophets in the spandrils of the niche. The Virgin's form is long and slender, the Infant interesting in His white tunic as He pulls at His mother's veil. A female at each side adores the majesty of the Virgin. [4] [Now in the National Gallery, No. 701.]

[5] Some read the final word as "Archa" or "Arqua." It might be "Aritiô" or

It is an altarpiece in excellent preservation whose composition and execution fully justify Giusto's position amongst the good Giottesques of Taddeo Gaddi's school, and whose gay, soft and well-fused colour has a peculiar charm. Unfortunately the frescoes assigned to him at Padua are not authenticated by his name. Vasari's authority must be relied on for the decorations of the Cappella Luca Belludi built for the Conti of Padua in 1382.[1] The frescoes have been so injured by Domenico Sandri's restoration in 1786, that little can be said with confidence, except that they have a Giottesque character corresponding to a certain extent with that of the authentic altar-pieces previously noticed. Yet the "Anonimo" gives them to Giovanni and Antonio of Padua.[2] Amongst the subjects, one is the Crucifixion of S. Philip, in which it is said that portraits of Berualdo dei Conti, Eccelino and Guido his sons, were introduced. Other episodes from the life of SS. Philip and James, from the legend of the Beato Luca Belludi, with half-figures of the descendants of Jesse in the spaces between the arches and cupola, complete the total decoration of the chapel. The least injured picture of the series is the Martyrdom of S. James killed by an executioner with a club. Without going into details, one may admit that the painter was of the Florentine school and possibly Giusto.

He was, if we credit Michael Savonarola, the author of the decorations of the Paduan Baptistery,[3] an edifice once completely painted inside and out. Erected, according to local writers, after 1378 by Fina Buzzacarina, wife of Francesco da Carrara,[4] it is adorned in the old style, with the Redeemer in glory in the cupola, in the midst of converging circles of angels singing and playing hymns in the presence of saints elect, scenes from the Old Testament, from the Revelation and from the life of S. John Baptist filling the lower courses. One of the subjects is votive, and represents the Virgin enthroned with the infant Saviour holding a bird, and adored by Fina Buzzacarina, kneeling under the protection of her patron saint. Other saints, in tunic and mantle or episcopals, stand by on each hand. Tasteful gay colour

Arezzo." The Virgin is crowned by the Saviour, between six saints, two playing angels, a cherub and seraph in adoration. Beneath this are SS. Paul, John the Baptist, Peter, Margaret, Barbara, and Catherine. On the left side the Angel Gabriel surmounts a Nativity; on the right is the Crucifixion. On the outer side of the wings, the Expulsion of Joachim and the angel comforting him, the meeting of Joachim and Anna, the Presentation in the Temple, and the Marriage of Joseph and Mary are represented. (Exhibited at Manchester under No. 288.)

[1] *Vide* GONZATI, *ubi sup.*; and VASARI, vol. vi., p. 94.

[2] ANONIMO, *ubi sup.*, p. 7.

[3] *Commentariolus, ubi sup.*, in MURATORI, *Script.*, vol. xxiv., p. 1169.

[4] BRANDOLESI, *ubi sup.*, p. 119.

of a rosy carnation shadowed in grey, round and regular forms in the heads of females, are characteristic of this piece, which is perhaps in better preservation than the rest. The Giottesque maxims are apparent enough in these frescoes, which recall those of Giovanni da Milano in the Rinuccini Chapel at S. Croce of Florence. They are apparently by Giusto, whose character is as distinctly impressed on them as it is on the pictures that have been described.[1] Giusto's style, however, is not only in the frescoes, but in an altarpiece decorating the chapel at the side of the baptistery, where the Virgin and Child is a centre to a series of smaller panels.[2] It is a picture of some merit, tastily coloured, but embrowned by age. The walls of the chapel in which this altarpiece is placed are also decorated with paintings by Giusto, amongst which a Virgin in the midst of the Apostles develops his peculiar phase of Giottesque art.[3]

Nothing certain, unhappily, is recorded of Giovanni and Antonio, whose names have been preserved by the "Anonimo;" yet it is not impossible that they may have been numbered amongst the artists who decorated the Paduan Salone, a vast hall whose sides are filled with paintings, by Zuan Miretto, an unknown artist, and by a Ferrarese.[4]

Of this edifice, which was begun in 1172 and finished in 1219, it is known that a fire destroyed the contents in 1420, when the roof was reduced to ashes. It was enlarged at that time by the removal of three partitions which divided the space, and re-adorned with paintings. Whether any of the older pictorial decorations were preserved it is difficult to say; but, as has been seen in these pages, there is no pretext for the assumption that any of Giotto's works should exist there now. The area of the Salone is rhomboidal, and doors open from the hall to the various offices dependent on it. Above these a course of frescoes in various compartments illustrates the business carried on in the offices to which the doors

[1] The names of Paduan artists, such as Giovanni and Antonio, were noticed by the "Anonimo" as being inscribed at his time above the door leading from the baptistery to the cloister.

[2] The Baptism of Christ, S. Francis receiving the Stigmata, and the Four Doctors of the Church in the upper courses, scenes from the Baptist's life, and twelve half-length saints divided on each side of a Pietà in the predella.

[3] A certain grace in action and gentleness of type, akin to those qualities in Giusto, are apparent in a life-size Virgin giving the breast to the infant Saviour in a niche to the right in the Arena of Padua. A rosy flesh tone, and careful execution, a round and youthfully shaped head, some stiffness in the attitude of the Infant, might point to Giusto, or one of his assistants, as the painter. The monument erected about 1380 to Bonzanello and Niccolò da Vigonza in the passage from S. Antonio to the cloisters, is graced by a fresco representing the Coronation of the Virgin between saints with the kneeling figures of the two noblemen above named; and the execution of the work resembles in some measure that of the frescoes in the baptistery, and in the chapel of the Beato Luca Belludi.

[4] Anonimo, *ubi sup.*, p. 28.

may lead. The lower decorations, in a triple course, illustrate the various Zodiacal signs and the exercises proper to the seasons which they symbolise. On the south wall, three spaces are filled by the Virgin, the Magdalen at the Redeemer's feet, and S. Paul the Hermit kneeling in prayer. Beneath these (left) is the Coronation of the Virgin, and S. Mark giving money in alms. Fifteen minor spaces represent the twelve apostles distributed amongst the Zodiacal signs, according to the time in which the Church celebrates their festivals. Eight figures of the winds and divers constellations add to the complicated interest of the whole. The remaining portions of the walls are divided into seven classes, six of which, in compartments, are decked with illustrations of the exercises peculiar to each month and its dominant planet. The mystery of man's redemption forms the seventh class placed in the sign of the Bull and Gemini, with figures allusive, or prefigurative, of the sacrifice of Christ, the Crucifixion and the effects of the sacrifice as explained in Revelation.

There is no truth in Brandolesi's assertion, that these numerous works were repainted by Giusto after the fire of 1420.[1] There is indeed sufficient proof that that painter was dead in September 1400,[2] not only in records but from the inscription on a funeral stone in the outer wall of the baptistery of Padua inscribed :

HIC JACET DOMENICUS ET DANIEL FRATRES ET FILII QUONDAM MAGISTRI JUSTI PICTORIS QUI FUIT DE FLORENTIA. MIGRAVIT AD DOMINUM DIE S. MICHAELIS MIIII.C.[3]

Of the chapel in the Eremitani of Padua, in which Giusto painted the Liberal Arts, the Virtues and Vices,[4] nothing remains, as the walls were thrown down in 1610. They were done in 1370 for M. Tebaldo de Coltellieri.[5]

Padua, however, was not celebrated alone for the works of the Altichieros, Avanzis and Giustos; it boasted an artist of its own, Guariento, who was the first to adorn the great Council Hall at Venice in 1365 with a Paradise, and incidents of the " War of Spoleti," admirable in the eyes of the public of that time, which was wont to visit the place in crowds on Ascension Day.[6] His pictures became less

[1] BRANDOLESI, *ubi sup.*, pp. 4–8. [Brandolesi is here misquoted; see CAVALCASELLE for a rectification, p. 190, *op. cit.*]

[2] Ibid., p. 7, where a record is quoted alluding to the heirs of Giusto.

[3] FÖRSTER, in *Kunstblatt*, No. 13, 1838.

[4] SCARDEONE, *Thes. Antiq.*, *ubi sup.*, vol. vi., p. 42; VASARI, vol. vi., p. 94.

[5] ANONIMO, *ubi sup.*, p. 22. [Drawings of these frescoes exist in a codex in the Galleria Nazionale at Rome (see VENTURI, in *Le Gallerie Nazionali Italiane*, an. iv., 1899, and in *l'Arte*, 1903, p. 79; also J. VON SCHLOSSER, in *Jahrbuch*, Heft v., Vienna, 1903, for a contrary opinion). CAVALCASELLE gives to Giusto a votive fresco of Christ, the Virgin, saints and angels, worshipped by the Signori of Vigonza, in the passage leading from the church of S. Antonio to the cloisters (*Storia della Pittura*, iv., p. 188).]

[6] *Commentariolus of Savonarola* in MURATORI, *ubi sup.*, vol. xxiv., p. 1170; and SANSOVINO, *Delle Fabbriche Pubbliche*, lib. viii., p. 124, in *Hist. di Venetia.*

valuable in the lapse of time, and Gentile da Fabriano, the Bellini and Titian in succession repainted the space which he had first adorned.[1] It was not an ill-advised taste that thus preferred the works of the great colourists to those of Guariento, if the latter were executed in the style conspicuous at Bassano in the Crucifixion commissioned of him by the friars of S. Francesco. This work still exists. It is now preserved in the Pinacoteca of Bassano, and represents the Saviour in benediction above the figure of the Crucified Redeemer, the Virgin and Evangelists at the extremities of the horizontal limb, and a little female in prayer below, under whom the following inscription may be read :

GUARIENTUS PINXIT.
EMULATRIX BONA MARIA BOVOLINORUM, HELENE INVENTRIX CRUCIS ET CLAVORUM. SANXIT HANC IPSAM PIETATE BASSANORUM, UT ORENT PRO EA CRISTUM DOMINUM DOMINORUM.

If any trace of Giottesque influence in this production can be admitted, it is in the attitude of the crucified Saviour, whose square body is fairly supported on the Cross ; but the arms are short, and the drawing of the legs defective. The type is an old one, yet not without softness of expression. Verde shadows, white lights, dark outlines, and absence of relief are further characteristic. A careful execution, tones not too harsh in contrast, allow the critic to place Guariento somewhat beyond the mere imitator of traditional forms. The Saviour in benediction has wide staring eyes, whilst the head of S. John with his open mouth and startling gaze resembles an antique tragic mask in the style of the Roman decline. A Virgin and Child, with a donor, in the same gallery, an Angel and Virgin Annunciate in one of the outer walls of the church of S. Francesco, are further examples assigned to Guariento.[2] His labours at Padua have suffered much from time and other causes. In the Eremitani,[3] he painted allegories of the planets, and in the choir small scenes in dead colour, with such subjects as Christ Crowned with Thorns, Christ Carrying His Cross, an Ecce Homo, S. John, the Limbo, and the Resurrection, all under architectural niches. A large Crucifixion is said still to decorate the wall above these, now covered by a modern picture of Fiumicelli. Scenes from the life of S. Augustine in colours decorate

[1] [Guariento's great fresco of Paradise was again brought to light in 1903, when Tintoretto's picture of the same subject was taken down for repairs. It is painted in monochrome. See A. MOSCHETTI, in *l'Arte*, an. vii., fasc. ix.–x.]

[2] [Other frescoes by Guariento in the convent of S. Francesco at Bassano have recently been brought to light by Dr. G. Gerola. See GINO FOGOLARI, in *l'Arte*, ii., 1905.]

[3] ANONIMO, *ubi sup.*, p. 22 ; BRANDOLESI, *ubi sup.*, p. 218.

the upper walls, and incidents in the borders comprise Samson and Delilah, Judith and Holofernes; but these have suffered from repainting in 1589, and cannot be criticised. The dead colour paintings are executed with a certain amount of fancy, but feebly and in the old style. The figures are short in stature and defective in proportion—large of head, yet fairly relieved, and drawn at least with care. Guariento is in fact a painter who inherited the manner of the Italians of the time preceding the revival of Cimabue and Giotto.

A fragment of frescoes once in the choir of the church of S. Agostino of Padua,[1] a Coronation of the Virgin, by Guariento, is preserved in a very injured state in the Eremitani and exhibits some of the feeling noticeable in the foregoing.[2]

To him likewise local historians have assigned the frescoes of the cappelletta in " Casa dell' Urbano Prefetto," part of which, saved from the ruin of that edifice, are in the Academy of Sciences at Padua [3] in a damaged state. The subjects are derived from the Old Testament.[4]

According to Brandolesi, Guariento flourished at Padua in 1316, and was buried in S. Bernardino.[5] The reason why he exhibited so little of Giotto's influence may have been his stay at Venice, where

[1] ANONIMO, *ubi sup.*, p. 31; BRANDOLESI, *ubi sup.*, p. 157.

[2] [In the choir of the Eremitani are other frescoes by Guariento—a touching *Ecce Homo*, a Last Judgment, scenes from the lives of SS. Augustine and Philip, and the Ages of Man. See VENTURI, *Storia dell' Arte*, iv., pp. 922–3. Schubring gives these works to Giusto. These works are described by CAVALCASELLE (*op. cit.*), who also gives to Guariento a second Crucifix in the Duomo at Bassano, and possibly a third in the Eremitani at Padua, as well as certain frescoes in the Sala de' Giganti in the latter city. A number of panels, representing Christ, the Virgin, Saints and Angels, formerly part of a ceiling in the Cappella de' Carraresi, are now in the Museo at Padova, and are not the least pleasing of Guariento's works. They are described at length by CAVALCASELLE in his *Storia*, iv., p. 211 *et seq.* In the above-mentioned Sala de' Giganti, Guariento also executed reproductions of the Twelve Cæsars evidently under the inspiration of Petrarch, as well as other paintings (see D'ESSLING and MÜNTZ, *Pétrarque*, Paris, 1902). As to the decoration of the Sala de' Giganti, see J. VON SCHLOSSER, in *Jahrbuch*, xvi., 1895.]

[3] ANONIMO, *ubi sup.*, p. 158.

[4] They represent the Eternal with Adam and Eve, Isaac about to be Sacrificed by Abraham, Judith and Holofernes, Joseph sold to the Egyptians: in all six pieces, of which the Judith is best preserved. Here is the same hand and style as at the Eremitani. A number of panels in the same Academy are scattered, and seem once to have formed an altarpiece probably by Guariento. Amongst these an Archangel Michael weighing the souls, a S. John Evangelist holding up his pen and leaning against a panel on which an angel with a book is placed, do not lack movement or character, but they have the same traditional types, the angel has the round head, the vehement action of the old time. In the same feeling, a Virgin with a great diadem enthroned and holding the Infant, deserves attention as being painted in a thin tempera with harsh contrasts of colours, verde shadows, rouged cheeks, and broad touches in light, yet executed with minuteness and care.

[5] BRANDOLESI, *ubi sup.*, pp. 241 and 282. Nothing remains of the works noticed by the author at the Colombini, p. 62.

oriental art was preserved till a very late period. As Giotto in the beginning of the century failed to create a school devoted to him, so at a later period the Giottesques whose works have been noticed left no influence behind them. The Salone alone, with its low class paintings, suffices to prove, that before the rise of Squarcione in the fifteenth century, Padua can claim no place in the list of cities that fostered schools of their own. Then indeed it became entitled to respect, and contributed powerfully to the development of those artists who resumed the study of the antique and smoothed the upward path for subsequent painters.

Before passing to Venice, a glance may be given to such remnants of art as illustrate the early time in the chief towns of Lombardy. An old example of painting at Milan[1] is to be found in the tomb of the abbot Guglielmus Cotta erected in 1267 in the monastery of S. Ambrogio,[2] and inscribed:

DOM. GŨLLM. COTTA, ABBAS SCT. AMBROXI. OBIIT MCCLXVII. XII ENTRANTE MENSE OCTOBRIS.[3]

The monument is near a door leading from the monastery to the church of S. Ambrogio through the subterranean "chiesetta of S. Satiro." On the slab of a quadrangular bier is a "Graffito" of the deceased, and in a recess of the wall into which the slab was let in is a wall painting which once represented a Virgin and Child to the right, with a bishop and friar in adoration,[4] all painted on a yellow ground speckled with white stars. In the sides above the recess, traces of an angel in flight at each side remain. Above a tabernacle resting on three arches, supported on pillars at the sides and on projecting coloured heads, contains vestiges of three painted figures, a bishop in benediction in the centre, between two saints. Medallions above the niches, four in number, contain figures of angels. This and other rude specimens of Milanese skill in the thirteenth century need only be recorded for the sake of reminding the reader that art existed then in Milan at the same low ebb as elsewhere.[5]

[1] In the church of S. Ambruogio at Milan a recent discovery has been made under whitewash of a Virgin, Child, and a saint on a pilaster, a work of the eleventh to twelfth century.

[2] See *antea*, for mosaics in S. Ambrogio and a Crucifix alleged to be by Fra Gabrio.

[3] G. L. CALVI, in his Lecture *Sullo Stato delle Belle Arte in Milano* (Milan, 1860), p, 5, misquotes the date, giving it as 1257.

[4] All but obliterated, but the nimbuses still visible in relief.

[5] Close by, a lunette near a door bears traces of an "Eternal," with the double-edged sword issuing from His mouth, rudely executed at a later period than the paintings of Abbot Cotta's tomb.

In an old tower contiguous to the Monastero Maggiore at Milan in niches, resting on painted pilasters, are painted figures of saints, Michael Archangel,

Michele de Ronco is another Milanese artist whose existence in 1360, 1373–7, is noted in Count Tassi's [1] work, and who laboured at Bergamo, but nothing remains in Bergamo or elsewhere to justify any remark as to his manner, and it is not possible to determine whether he was intended by Vasari when speaking of Michele da Milano, the pupil of Agnolo Gaddi,[2] or whether he alluded to Michelino who lived in the fifteenth century. Count Giorgio Giulini, in his "Memorie," [3] describes him as celebrated for painting animals, and mentions a picture by him representing some laughing peasants, which had been often copied; adding, however, that he was not very skilful in uniting his figures with the perspective of his edifices. The Count follows Lomazzo[4] in this. He is corroborated as to Michelino's capacity in painting animals by the "Anonimo," [5] who notes a book of coloured ones in the Casa Vendramin at Venice. He decorated the court and other parts of the Casa Borromeo at Milan, where his name was, of old, inscribed:

MICHELIN. P.

Unhappily the whole of these frescoes have been whitewashed, with

S. Benedict, Francis receiving the Stigmata, SS. Peter and Paul, a Crucifix, the Saviour with four nails, Martyrs behind barred windows. The style of architecture and mode of colouring reveal a work of the thirteenth century, in a rude and much damaged tempera.

Fragments of frescoes produced in the fourteenth century, now in the Academy of Fine Arts at Milan, reveal no very great progress in the lapse of centuries. They once formed part of the decorations on a tomb in the demolished church and monastery of the Servi erected to the memory of Theodoric of Coire, and bore the inscription: "HOC OPUS FECERUNT FIERI ENRICUS ET RAINARDUS P AĪA TEODORICI DE COIRA QUI OBIIT SUB ANNO 1382, SEPTEMBRIS. SYMON DE CORBETA FECIT."

These much damaged and originally feeble paintings represent the life-size Virgin in profile with the Infant, between S. Catherine of Alexandria and another female saint (right), and S. George introducing the kneeling figure of Theodoric in the garb of a knight. Other fragments in the "depot" of the Academy, a Virgin and Child enthroned between mutilated figures, much injured, part of a headless figure, and a S. Christopher, betrays the feeble hand of the same Symon de Corbeta, the least defective of his productions being the last mentioned. The reader may be spared the enumeration of other pieces alleged to be of great age but really of a later time. A Crucifixion with the Virgin and saints in the choir of the Duomo, a Virgin and Child much damaged and apparently of the rise of the fifteenth century are proofs that the rude manner of such painters as Symon de Corbeta was preserved to a later time. Of Giotto, as has been said, here is no trace, any more than of Stefano Fiorentino (VASARI, vol. ii., p. 17). ROSINI (*Storia, ubi sup.*, vol. ii., p. 202) claims attention for certain Giottesque remains in the Cistercian abbey of Chieravalle, outside Milan, and sees in them traces of the hand of Giovanni da Milano. But these—at least such remains as are now in the cupola of the church—are only productions less ugly than those of Symon de Corbeta. Others in the cemetery are formless remains. (For a full description see CAFFI, *Illustrazione di Chiaravalle* (Milan, 1843), pp. 48–9.)

[1] TASSI, *Vite*, &c. (Bergamo, 1793).
[2] VASARI, vol. ii., p. 156.
[3] Lib. xi., p. 434 (Milan, 1795).
[4] G. P. LOMAZZO, *Trattato della Pittura*, &c. (Milan, 1584), vol. vi., p. 359.
[5] ANONIMO, *ubi sup.*, p. 81.

the exception of a small space in a corner to the right as one enters the second court, enclosed by the walls of an outhouse, within which the curious spectator may, with the aid of a ladder, observe a fresco representing a party of pleasure in a boat, of life-size figures in round turbans, clearly and firmly drawn in a style not unlike, though better than, that of Antonio da Ferrara. About fifteen figures are crowded together—men with falcons—women in festive apparel, children, mariners with a white flag fast to a pole. The style and costume both reveal a painter of the early part of the fifteenth century, fairly able in rendering form, and in producing colour.

In a room to the right, in the first court of the same edifice, used for storing, figures in the same costumes and character as the foregoing are likewise to be seen. There is a dance of knights and dames, a party playing at ball, another playing at cards, not a little damaged, but composed of figures thinner than those in the second court, and perhaps painted a little earlier. Still the contours and clear soft profiles have much the same appearance in both places. It is an interesting series of fragments for the insight which it gives into the Milanese art of the fifteenth century, and for the costumes of the period; but there is no trace of Agnolo Gaddi's teaching.[1] Count Giulini assigns to Michelino a portrait of Giovan Maria Visconti, Duke of Milan, which would fix the period of his existence between 1402 and 1412.

In 1404, a Michelino da Besozzo or de' Molinari is found recorded as a glasspainter [2] in the Duomo of Milan, and fragments of his work are preserved which reveal in him no great talent. Possibly this Michelino is identical with the author of the frescoes in the Casa Borromeo.[3]

At Bergamo, if nothing remains of the time when Michele di Ronco is supposed to have lived, there are paintings of the fifteenth century detached from the demolished church of S. Giuseppe, now preserved in the Vescovado, but of little value.[4]

[1] No trace, except that Michelino is of the time immediately following Agnolo's, and there is a general character of a common period.

[2] See CALVI, *Notiz. Milan*, part i.

[3] The sacristy of the canons of the Milan Duomo contains, in a press plate, a picture of the Virgin and Child with three angels supporting a tapestry with the renewed or forged inscription "MCCCCXVIII. MICHAE DE BESOTIO." Another part of the picture represents the Presentation in the Temple. The work is that of a miniaturist, in character not unlike the frescoes in Casa Borromeo. Another artist, Leonardo di Bisuccio has been mentioned as executing works at Naples. [A picture probably by Michelino da Besozzo, representing the Coronation of the Virgin, has recently been acquired by the Berlin Gallery (see SCHUBRING in *Rassegna d'Arte*, an. viii., p. 180). Ascribed to him also is a Marriage of S. Catherine, signed "MICHELINUS," in the Gallery of Siena (No. 171). For more detailed notes regarding the early painters of Milan, and of Northern Italy in general, see CAVALCASELLE (*op. cit.*, vol. iv., chap. viii.).]

[4] We may revert to these.

In S. Michele of Pavia a fresco in the apsis represents the Coronation of the Virgin in a glory of angels, with a prelate in adoration in front. It is the rude production of a painter named Andreino da Edesia, author of other works that betray the hand of one living in the rise of the fifteenth century.[1]

Vestiges of paintings in the vaulted ceiling of the transept in the Duomo of Cremona display a common hand, and are curious only as regards costume. They are assigned to one Polidoro Casella, supposed to have lived in 1345.[2]

After the middle of the thirteenth century, when, as has been noted elsewhere, the baptistery of Parma was decorated with frescoes announcing an effort to improve on the degenerate art of the period, artists of a still mediocre character flourished in succession in that city. In the baptistery itself the lower walls are covered with rude productions, the least defective of which is a fragment of a figure of S. Lucy, to the right of the entrance, above which the curious may read the words :

ĒTOLIN [? BARTOLIN] DE PLACEN. F.[3]

Piacenza, of which Bartolin seems a native, boasts also of relics

[1] See for notices of Andreino di Edesia, and Bernardino Zenale di Treviglio, CES. CANTU., *Illustraz. del Lombardo-Veneto*, p. 173.

[2] The character of paintings of this period may be found in a colossal erect Virgin holding the Infant and adorned by a kneeling patron inscribed : " BENEDICTUS FODRIUS HANC EX VOTO ANNO SALUTIS MCCCLXX." The figure of the patron is repainted in the style of Boccaccino. The dress of the Virgin is renewed, the figure long, slender, of angular forms, falsely assigned to Giotto and possibly by Casella.

[3] A Crucifixion with saints, more modern, and painted at the close of the fourteenth or rise of the fifteenth century, reveals the slow progress of Parmesan art at that time. Setting aside the rude paintings of the latter period in the chapels of the Parma Duomo, the spectator may pause to notice the wall decorations of the sacristies. In that of the " Canonici " a ceiling with the Saviour in benediction, side walls with a partially renewed Nativity of the Virgin, prophets in the arch of the entrance, an Annunciation with a kneeling donor, and a much injured " Sposalizio " may repay examination. In that called " Del Consorzio," of old, Cappella S. Martino, second-rate productions are a Madonna adored by a bishop introduced by his patron saint, in the ceiling, on the side, S. John the Baptist with two angels above him, and in other spaces figures of prophets. If, as tradition vouches, the kneeling bishop be Monsignor Rusconi, whose episcopal reign at Parma lasted from 1380 to 1412, the date of these paintings may be fixed with some certainty, the chapel having been erected by his orders and being sacred to his remains. A Madonna on a pilaster in the choir of the Duomo is without any specific character.

Later works may be found in the ex-church of S. Francesco of Parma, one of which, in part obliterated, represents a kneeling patron in front of the Virgin and Child enthroned between SS. John the Baptist and Francis. An inscription reveals the following :

HAEC FIGURA FECIT FIERI MAGISTER DE MOCHIS DE COTIGNANA MURATOR 1448.

Of the same feeble class is a remnant of a Crucifixion, the only remaining production in an edifice of which the walls have recently been whitewashed.

dating as far back as the close of the fourteenth and rise of the fifteenth century. Such are much repainted figures of saints on the pilasters of the church of S. Antonio, a picture in eight compartments[1] illustrative of the life of S. Anthony, protector of Piacenza, in the sacristy of the same church; two predellas with half-length saints[2] in the Archivio Capitolare of S. Antonio, and frescoes or rather remnants of the same, in the right transept of the cathedral, representing the Virgin and Child adored by a bishop presented by a female saint and S. Lawrence, another female and S. John the Baptist, the whole assigned to the above-mentioned Bartolin.

Passing from Lombardy to the province of Friuli, the reader of these pages may remember the paintings of Colalto near Conegliano, which are a mixture of the Florentine with the manner of Guariento. Maniago was able to describe early in our century a number of works in Aquileia, Grado, Sesto and Concordia.[3] The façade of the Duomo of Gemona, he adds, was covered with scenes from the legend of S. Christopher, inscribed:

MCCCXXXI. MAGISTER NICOLAUS PINTOR ME FECIT. HOC OPUS SUB JOHNE CAMERARIO QUONDAM PETRI MERISONI.[4]

They were much damaged, but clearly by the earliest artist on record in those parts. But next in interest to these were the frescoes in the parish church of Venzone, celebrating the consecration of that building in 1338. We regret the loss of the wall paintings by Nicolaus at Gemona, a loss caused by the reconstruction of the church front. But the frescoes of Venzone are still in existence. This town is about five miles distant from Gemona, on the road to Tolmezzo. The church is of the fourteenth century, and the wall of the chapel to the left of the choir is covered with an apotheosis of the Beato Bertrand, patriarch of Aquileia, with ten bishops at his sides and angels waving censers above their heads.[5] Beneath them a group of nine or ten friars sing

[1] Of the close of the fourteenth century.
[2] Of the rise of the fifteenth century, and very rude.
[3] MANIAGO, *Storia delle Belle Arti Friulane* (Udine, 1823), p. 35.
[4] Ibid.; and SIRUTI, *Notizie di Gemona*, p. 119, *ap.* MANIAGO.
[5] The angels to the left are gone, to the right two waving censers and one holding a taper remain. Beneath the feet of these figures are inscriptions partly effaced and difficult to read, but preserved in a copy of the fresco now in the choir, as follows: "IN XSTI. NOMINE AMEN ANNIS SUE NATIS CURRENTIBUS 1338 INDICTONE VI DIE SDA AUGUSTI, AD LAUDEM ET GLORIAM DEI OMNIPOTENTIS EJUSQUE INTEMERATE GENETRICIS VIRGINIS MARIE NEC NON AD HONOREM B. ANDRE APOST. SUB CUJUS VCABULE ET NOMINE RMUS IN XSTO PATER ET BUS DUS BERTRANDUS DEI GRATIA S. AQUILEJEN: CNTE DIGNISSIMUS PATRIARCHA CONSECRAVIT HOC TEMPLUM UNA CUM RDO. PAT. B. PETRO ARCHIEPISCOPO, NAZARENO NEC NON B. B. EPISCOPES GUIDONE CONCORDIENSI: VITALE EMONENSI: JOANNE PARENTINO: ANDREA CAPROLANO: JOANNE SAVINENSI: MARCO DOMOCENSI:

at a desk, whilst the patron Bartolommeo Sclusano kneels on the right-hand foreground attended by three youths, four dames of his family sitting or kneeling on the left.[1]

The central group of singing monks is the best part of a work which is clearly of a Giottesque style; and the figures lack neither character, proportion, nor expression. The colour is of a light key. The rest of the fresco is redder in tone, and seems by another hand, but, though ruder, is executed on the same principles as the rest. If this be a production of Nicolaus whose façade at Gemona is taken down, that artist may be classed amongst the mediocre followers of the school of Giotto.

Lanzi may be consulted for other productions of this district, and for lists of artists whose works are not forthcoming.

Venice last claims attention. It may be said to have been, as regards art, a Byzantine colony; and admitting, with Zanetti,[2] that there were numerous painters there in 1290 who claimed to be native Venetians, it is not the less true that the old traditional forms and customs of early centuries were preserved in painting till the middle of the fifteenth century. Everything in Venice bore so completely an oriental character, not only in edifices and mosaics, but in the luxury and fondness for show of the inhabitants, that one may easily conceive its clinging long to that which had already been rejected by the rising taste of freer people in other parts of Italy. Besides, Venice, like Sicily, preserved her relations with the East, and thus kept alive the traditions of Byzantine art to the exclusion of the influence of Giotto and his followers. Her immobility affected Padua; and as late as 1350 we find mosaics such as those of the chapel of S. Isidore, in S. Mark at Venice, illustrating the life of the Baptist, as thoroughly oriental in character, in brilliancy of colour, richness of execution and classicism of composition as any of the older productions of the same art in previous times. Leaving to Zanetti and Lanzi the catalogue of early names without works,[3] which may be enlarged by a reference to Verci,[4] and which only proves that numerous painters existed at Venice in the thirteenth century, we may glance at the altarpiece or "Ancona" covering the silver plates of oriental carving in S. Marco, representing the

AUGUSTINO PELONENSI, ET PIETRO LESINENSI QUOS QUIDEM BUS BUS ARCHIEPŨM ET EPISCŎPOS AD IPSAM CONSACRATIONEM CELEBRANDAM PRUDĒS ET NOTABILIS VIR. BARTHOLOMEUS SCLUSANUS DĘ VENZONO (TUNC CAMERARIUS IPSIUS ECETĘ) PARITER CONGREGAVIT, ET SICUTI CREATORI ALTISSIMO PLACUIT ANTE PREDRĀM PRESULUM SEGREGATIONEM PRĒTUS BARTHOLOMEUS SUE VITĘ DIEM CLAUSIT EXTREMUS CUI FUNERI PRESUTIS."

[1] The name of each person represented is written beneath the figures, much abraded and difficult to read.

[2] *Della Pittura Veneziana*, 1771, p. 10.

[3] LANZI, vol. ii., p. 73; ZANETTI, p. 3.

[4] VERCI, *Notizie sopra la Pittura Bassanese* (Venezia, 1775), p. 9.

Dead Christ, with apostles and incidents from the life of S. Mark, inscribed:

MAGISTER PAULUS CUM LUCA ET JOHANNE FILIIS SUIS PINSERUNT MCCCXLV MS APL DIE XXII.

Yet this production of Venetian art is a mere date, and gives no clue to the artists' ability,[1] because of the complete repainting of the old surface. One may still see generally that the artists were followers of the Byzantine style. The name of Paulus, however, is not scarce in the annals of Venice. Morelli, in his notes to the "Anonimo,"[2] after remarking the disappearance of all traces of a painter named Jacopo di Barberino, of one Perenzolo who flourished before 1335, and of Marco, mentions, as a designer for arras, one Paolo, by whom a picture formerly in the sacristy of S. Francesco at Vicenza, bore the inscription:

MCCCXXXIII PAULUS DE VENETIIS PINXIT HOC OPUS.[3]

But another and earlier production from the same hand, a Virgin and Saints in the Pinacoteca of Vicenza, inscribed: "PAULUS DE VENETIIS MCCCXXIII," is peculiarly characteristic as showing that, with the unmistakable impress of old art on his works, Paulus had a certain taste in colour and drapery and some idea of character in depicting heads. As late as 1346 he produced an altarpiece for S. Nicolai at Venice, of which Zanetti has preserved a record.[4]

A follower of Paulus was Lorenzo, whose earliest altarpiece, undertaken at the request of a senator of the noble house of Lion for the high altar of the church of S. Antonio di Castello, is now in the Academy of Arts at Venice.[5] It bears the inscriptions:

MCCCLVII HÆC TABELLA FACTA FUIT ET HIC AFFISSA PER LAURĒCIUS PICTOREM ET CANDIACUM[6] SCULTOREM Ī TĒ RĒGIS VEN. VIRI DNI FRIS COTI D. ABBATIB. DE FLOT .[7]. . . . . AND FUN ($^{d.a.t.o.r.i.s.}$) MON ($^{a.s.}$) TI.

[1] We have two wills (dated 1324 and 1344) if not the works of Angelo Tedaldo, a painter inhabiting S. Cassiano in Venice. They are preserved in the Archivio Notarile of Venice.

[2] ANONIMO, *ubi sup.*, *notes*, p. 222.

[3] A part of the picture representing the Saviour in Flight towards Paradise, with the infant soul of the Virgin in His outstretched hands, betrays even in the engraving of ROSINI (*Stor.*, *ubi sup.*, vol. ii., p. 143) an unmistakable Byzantine style. [This picture is signed "MCCCXXXIII PAULUS DE VENECIIS PINXIT HOC OPUS." By Paolo is a Virgin and Child in the church of S. Maria de' Penitenti at Pieve di Sacco, of the year 1332.]

CAVALCASELLE (*op. cit.*, iv., 285), mentions another picture by Paolo, painted in company with his son Giovanni, and dated 1368, exhibited at the Exposition of Munich in 1869, and now in the gallery at Sigmaringen; and a second picture signed by the same artists, of the year 1358, representing an allegorical subject (the Fall of Paganism), No. 251 of the Gallery of Stuttgart.]

[4] ZANETTI, *ubi sup.*, p. 11. The price was twenty gold ducats.

[5] [Venice Cat., No. 10.]

[6] ZANETTI reads Zaninum and gives the date falsely as 1358, *ubi sup.*, p. 8.

[7] ZANETTI reads Flor. for Florentia, an error. See CICOGNA, *Iscrizione Veneziane* (Venezia, 1824), vol. i., p. 185.

HANC TIUS . . . . S. AGNE TRIUMPHÃT. .
ORBIS . . . . . DOMINICUS LION. EGO NUNC SUPPLEX ARTE PREPO . .
ITAM DONO TABELLAM.

The subject is the Annunciation, with a miniature figure of Domenico Lion at the Virgin's feet, the Saviour in benediction and figures of saints in the upper courses; and a record, preserved by Zanetti, states the cost of it to have been three hundred ducats of gold.

A better, indeed the best, picture of Lorenzo is an altarpiece in the Museo Correr at Venice, representing the Saviour enthroned in the midst of the apostles and giving the keys to S. Peter. Angels fly about the Redeemer's head. On the border, the following words may be read:

MCCCLXVIIII MENSE JANUARII. LAURENTIU PINXIT.

Here is a production executed with a certain power as regards colour, of excessively fused tones, and entirely varnished with a lustrous fluid containing no doubt a mixture of wax. The Saviour's mien might almost be called noble, but the forms and draperies are obviously reminiscent of the period preceding the Florentine revival.

Two pictures of 1371 by Lorenzo are preserved. One is a series of figures representing SS. Peter, Mark, John, James, Nicholas and Lawrence, with the following on the borders beneath the two first mentioned:

MCCCLXXI MENSE NOVEMB. LAURENT. PINXIT,

the second an Annunciation, formerly in the school of S. Giovanni Evangelista, inscribed:

MCCCLXXI LAURENT. PINSIT.

Both are in the Academy of Arts at Venice.[1]

The Campana collection now in Paris contains a picture one year later in date than the foregoing, with the subject of the Virgin enthroned, inscribed:

MCCCLXXII MENSE SEPTEMB. LAURENTIUS DE VENETIIS PINXIT.

The heads, however, are repainted.

It may be remembered that in a chapel of S. Jacopo Maggiore at Bologna a large cathedral altarpiece has been described whose upper panels bear the name of Jacobus Pauli.[2] All the figures of the lower course

[1] [Academy Venice, No. 5, Sala I. In the Academy at Venice is also a picture by Lorenzo of the year 1358, representing the Virgin and Child with angels (see VENTURI, *op. cit.*, v., p. 931). Two panels of Lorenzo, representing SS. Mark and John the Baptist, have recently been added to the Berlin Museum.]

[2] The lowest course of this antiquated picture contains SS. Martin, Anthony, and Michael, a niche gilt and without ornament, an angel, a saint, and S. George overcoming the Dragon; above this base, a row of niches with busts in relief at each side of three little subjects, surmounted by another row of saints, Peter, Paul, Nicholas, Gregory, and another.

are in the old style, with high projecting foreheads, and not without a certain antique sternness; the angel is long and slender, the S. George animated in movement. The picture is clearly Venetian, dark in tone, painted in sharp and mapped-out planes of full-bodied colour, verde in the shadows, red on the cheeks, and participating of the manner of Lorenzo and Stefano, who shall presently be mentioned. The latest notice of Lorenzo seems to be a record quoted by Cicogna which represents the painter as living in 1379 at Venice and contributing money to the prosecution of the Chioggian war.[1] His panels, with the exception perhaps of that in the Correr Museum, are all painted in a substantial, opaque, and hard tempera of sharp tones, dryly but carefully outlined; and his figures are generally defective in type and in the drawing of the extremities. Were the frescoes of Mezzaratta better preserved, it might be possible to determine in a positive manner whether the Lorenzo of Bologna is the same as the Lorenzo of Venice.[2] As the Mezzaratta frescoes now stand, no connection is apparent, and the painters are not identical. Yet Lanzi had had occasion to see "in the noble house of Ercolani at Bologna" a picture inscribed "MANU LAURENTII DE VENETIIS MCCCLXVIII."[3] A Coronation of the Virgin in the Brera of Milan[4] is attributed to Lorenzo, and displays his style, or more perhaps that of a contemporary, Stefano, or the Pievan di S. Agnese, whose pictures might be confounded with Lorenzo's. A Virgin holding a rose with the Infant in her arms on a curious heavily shaped throne, is a specimen of his skill in the Museo Correr, and bears the signature:

MCCCLXVIIII A DĪ XI AVOSTO STEF. PLEB. SC̃E AGNẼ P.

The style is Greek like that of Lorenzo, the hands defective, long and lean, the colour dark, the panel prepared in red, as may be seen where the varnish has dropped. A Coronation of the Virgin, the centre to an altarpiece of which the remaining parts are by another hand, is in the Academy at Venice, inscribed:

MCCCLXXXI STEFAN PLEBANUS SC̃TÆ AGNETIS PINXIT.[5]

The ablest Venetian artist of the fourteenth century is Niccolò

[1] CICOGNA, *ubi sup.*, vol. i., p. 185.

[2] [Regarding Giovanni da Bologna, the follower of Lorenzo Veneziano, see A. MOSCHETTI, in *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1903, and note *antea*.]

[3] LANZI, *ubi sup.*, vol. ii., p. 79. [4] [No. 166 of Cat.]

[5] In this manner in the ex-Campana Gallery, now in Paris, under the name of Ottaviano da Faenza is a triptych of the Virgin between SS. Anthony, Bartholomew, Francis, John Baptist. [CAVALCASELLE elsewhere (*op. cit.*, p. 301) describes this as a single panel, and transcribes the date "MCCCLIII M̄ OT̄ (mensis octobris)." Cavalcaselle gives to Stefano the panel of the Virgin and Child now to be seen in the centre of the polyptych by Antonio and Giovanni da Murano

Semitecolo, whose first picture, now in the Academy of Venice, a Coronation of the Virgin, dates as far back as 1351, being inscribed :

NICOLO SEMITECOLO MCCCLI,[1]

whose latest are of the fifteenth century, proving the length of the painter's career. His best efforts are those of 1367, at which date he executed an altarpiece, now divided, in the library of the chapter-house of the Duomo at Padua, representing the Virgin and Child, with the Trinity beneath it,[2] S. Sebastian before the judge, his martyrdom, execution, and deposition in the tomb ; beneath the judgment and execution are the words :

NICHOLETO SEMITECHOLO DA VENIEXIA IMPĒSE MCCCLXVII A DĪ XV DI DECĒBRE.[3]

This masterpiece of the early Venetian school need not be criticised with reference to composition or arrangement, being more remarkable for violence and quaintness of action than for order or symmetry. Life and passion are realised in the old forms, but with the advantage of a certain intelligence in the drawing of the nude. S. Sebastian, for instance, though unideal in conception, is not devoid of proportion, or feeling in expression ; but a vulgar realism may be traced in the details of his frame. A large torso is supported on slender but coarsely jointed limbs ; superabundant hair covers his head. The types and movement are the vehement ones of the old time, and some of the bowmen with large heads and staring eyes are curiously like Tartars in face. Occasional groups please in spite of defective forms. The skill of Semitecolo is in fact that of a man following old traditions and methods, and painting with colours less dull than that of most of his contemporaries. The warm yellowish carnation, shadowed as usual in verde and spotted with red in the cheeks, does not repel the eye by too great harshness of contrast, but pleases by additional fusion. Precise outlines define the forms with simple minuteness. A certain ease in

in the church of S. Zaccaria at Venice, which Venturi gives, on the other hand, to Lorenzo. Cavalcaselle finally ascribes tentatively to Stefano the panel of the Doge Francesco Dandolo before the Virgin and Child, once in the Frari, now in the sacristy of S. M. della Salute. Dandolo died in 1339, and the picture formerly stood over his tomb.]

[1] [Cavalcaselle himself later doubted the authenticity of this signature and date (see *Storia della Pittura*, iv., 307.)]

[2] The Eternal holds the Saviour with outstretched arms as if crucified, but without a cross. Both His and the Redeemer's face are serene, the latter open-eyed.

[3] In the Martyrdom, the Saint is bound erect to a stake fixed in a tressel with groups on each side and soldiers on the left shooting under encouragement from a priest. (The flesh tints in the executioners are repainted in oil.) In a distant lodge two crowned figures seem engaged in conversation with the martyr. S. Sebastian is afterwards killed by an executioner with clubs.

the drapery, and judgment in the mode of throwing it about the form, are qualities of the master; but it must be borne in mind that these are the best of Niccolò's works, and that the remaining examples of his manner are less perfect. The minor panels of the Coronation signed by the Pievan di S. Agnese in the Academy of Venice are much in Semitecolo's manner. A Virgin giving the breast to the Infant, with various saints in subordinate spaces, at the Museo Correr, is signed:

MCCCC. N. SEMITECOLO.

The inscription of an altarpiece in S. Maria de' Servi at Venice has been preserved by Sansovino[1] in the following words:

MCCCLXX. XX DECEMBRIO. NICOLO SEMITECOLO FECIT HOC OPUS.

Enough is known to justify the assertion that Semitecolo lived till 1400; and the certainty of this fact may help us to the solution of some open questions in the history of early Venetian art—that, for instance, which concerns the identity of Semitecolo and other painters of the name of Nichola. A Virgin enthroned in the Academy of Venice, bears the inscription:

MCCCLXXXXIIII. NICHOLAS.

Another Madonna in the midst of angels recently purchased for the Academy from the Manfrini collection, is inscribed with the following:

HOC OPUS FECIT FIERI DŃS ULCIA BELGARZONE CIVIS YADRIENSIS MCCCLXXXXIIII. NICHOLAS FILIUS NIGRI PETRI PICTORIS DE VENECIIS PINXIT HOC OPUS QUI MORATUR IN CHAPITE PONTIS PARADIXI.

This Madonna, distinguishable for a certain grace in the movement of the principal figure, is more like a work of Semitecolo than that of any other contemporary Venetian. The "Anonimo" notices a Crucifix in S. Agostino of Verruchio, inscribed:

MCCCCIIII. NICHOLAUS PARADIXI MILES DE VENECIIS PINXIT ET CHATARINUS SANCTI LUČE INAXIT [? INCIXIT].

On the whole, the paintings of Nicholas Paradisi, so called from his residence near the bridge of that name, are but little inferior to those of Nichola Semitecolo, and they give weight to the opinion of Zanotto and Cicogna,[2] that two names conceal the same painter.

Lanzi describes two altarpieces in Venice, signed severally "ANGELUS PINXIT E KATARINUS PINXIT." Nothing is known of the former. The latter's name appears as the carver of a picture by Nichola Paradixi

[1] SANSOVINO, *ubi sup.*, lib. iii., p. 59.
[2] Vol. iii., p. 89; and vol. iv., p. 675, of *Iscrizione, ubi sup.*

just noticed.[1] He also appears in a similar capacity in conjunction with one Bartolomeo, whose altarpiece, described by Cicogna [2] as in the church of Corpus Domini at Venice, represents scenes from the life of the Saviour, and is inscribed :

BARTOLOMEU MĪ PAUL PINXIT
CHATARINO FILIUS MAGISTRI ANDRĒE
INCIXIT HOC OPUS.

But that Chatarinus was also a painter is shown by his altarpiece in the hands of the Conte Orsi at Ancona,[3] on the border of which one reads :

CHATARI . . . NUS DE
VENECII PINXIT.[4]

This is a production important only for its inscription, being executed with little talent, and defective not merely in types which are ugly, but in colour which is harsh, dull and raw. The gazing eyes, the broad rude touch and hard outlines are equally repulsive ; and in his work Chatarinus reveals the germ of the style which became marked in the school of Crivelli.[5]

It has never been affirmed that the early Venetian school was great in composition. It *has* been said that it was from its origin a school of colour. Yet in the fourteenth and half the fifteenth centuries the Venetians were not only inferior colourists to the Florentines, but to the Sienese and Umbrians. That Gentile da Fabriano, an Umbrian, shed his influence over the art of Venice is admitted. He was on friendly terms with Jacopo Bellini, who had studied the Florentine masterpieces in the city that produced them. But Venice did not lead as a school of colour till the arrival of Antonello da Messina and the rise of the sons of Jacopo Bellini. She kept that lead under Giorgione and Titian, and if at first she clung to old and worn traditions long after they had been abandoned by other cities, she compensated

[1] [There are doubts as to whether Caterinus the carver and Caterinus the painter are identical (see LUDWIG, in *Jahrbuch* for 1903).]

[2] Ibid., vol. ii., p. 6 ; and vol. iii., *note* to p. 89.

[3] Contrada delle Stade, No. 67. Representing the Madonna, between SS. John the Baptist and Anthony the abbot, Christopher, and James, with a Crucifixion in the upper course between SS. Barbara, Bartholomew, and Lucy, Catherine, Chiara, and Mary Magdalen. A small figure of a donor kneels at the feet of the Virgin.

[4] The painter's name is divided by a shield, with the donor's arms.

[5] [By Caterinus is a signed Coronation in the Venice Academy of 1375 (see CAVALCASELLE). The same gallery possesses a second picture (No. 702), with the same subject, signed " CHATA PINXIT." In the Querini Stampalia Gallery is a Coronation of the Madonna of the year 1371, signed in conjunction by Catarinus and Donatus, " MCCCLXXII MĒ AUGUSTI, DONATVS ET CHATERINUS PINSIT " (see CAVALCASELLE, ibid.).]

for previous supineness by the splendour and number of her later painters.

As there are in Sicily but few remnants of art in the fourteenth century, and these are not of paramount interest, we shall note such examples as remain in a chapter devoted to Antonello da Messina and his predecessors.

CHAPTER IX

THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

BRUNELLESCHI, GHIBERTI, AND DONATELLO

THE close of the fourteenth century is marked, in the policy and literature of Italy, by a decline of general culture. The genius of the Italian tongue, brilliantly represented by Petrarch and Boccaccio, disappeared in the cloud of soulless writers who present to us less the spirit than the husk or shell of the past. The fifteenth century, however, witnessed the restoration of learning and the rekindling of a sacred fire, whose flame has never since been suffered to expire. Art partook of the same changes, and became tinged, in the fifteenth century, by the partiality evinced for ancient Greece and Rome. Brunelleschi restored to architecture, at least, the measures and proportions of the antique, and reinstated their rules and order. He incidentally studied and gave an impulse to sculpture. Ghiberti, too, devoted time and thought to the analysis of the models of the classic time;[1] but the man on whom those models were most indelibly impressed was Donatello.

It is foreign to the aim and purpose of these pages to tell the story of the lives of these great and interesting men. Yet their influence upon their contemporaries and successors was so great and so important that we are justified in glancing at the principal works which they left behind them, and in explaining the tendencies and peculiarities which they reveal. Brunelleschi appears to us, even at this distance of time, as an extraordinarily gifted man.[2] Born in the fourteenth century,[3] his father would have had him bred to the law or to medicine. But his genius lay in a different direction, and he entered the atelier of a goldsmith, where he studied all the branches of the arts and sciences usually taught there. Through the same course which brought

[1] He describes in his Commentary many then recent discoveries of antiques, and ALBERTINI (*Memoriale, ubi sup.*, p. 12) mentions several as existing in the Casa Ghiberti, one especially a marble vase, which Ghiberti had caused to be brought from Greece. Vasari, too, mentions certain torsos and "Anticaglie," as he calls them, of bronze and marble. VASARI, vol. iii., p. 120.

[2] [For a careful study of Brunelleschi, see C. VON FABRICZY'S erudite work, *Filippo Brunelleschi: Seine Leben und seine Werke* (Stuttgart, 1892).]

[3] Born 1377; died 1466.

Verrocchio and Leonardo to fame as painters, sculptors and engineers, Brunelleschi became the greatest engineering architect of his time; and, circumstances leading him to a special pursuit of one branch amongst the many which he had mastered, he gradually abandoned design and sculpture, the study of perspective and statuary, for the more lucrative one in which he distanced his numerous competitors. No reader of Vasari's delightful biographies will have forgotten Brunelleschi's candid remark upon a Christ Crucified which Donatello showed him. "You have crucified a rustic," he cried;[1] and to prove more fully what those words were intended to convey, Brunelleschi proceeded to carve in wood a similar figure which extorted from Donatello the admission that he was beaten at his own weapons. This work[2] is still in S. Maria Novella at Florence. It shows us that, though Brunelleschi was not imbued with the Christian ideal of type, though he failed in selection, which was the quality of Giotto and Angelico, he was still fully alive to the necessity of ennobling the features and form of the Saviour, and possessed a fibre of gentleness which might be sought in vain in Donatello. At the same time, he displayed a natural progress in rendering the play of flesh and muscles. His was clearly a higher nature than that of his friend, one not as yet redolent of the materialistic spirit in which the new century opened, one still enjoying a tinge of that religious feeling which lingered yet awhile in the breast of some choice artists. Before finally dropping the sculptor's tools, he was one of those who competed for the gates of S. Giovanni; and no competent judge, who compares the bronze relief, assigned to him at the Uffizi, with that attributed to Ghiberti, will fail to conclude that it was hard to decide which of the two possessed most talent. It must be candidly confessed, indeed, that, after carefully examining both works, the critic may be convinced that the relief of Brunelleschi is conceived and executed more in accordance with the true maxims of art, whilst that of Ghiberti is more calculated to please.[3]

Ghiberti, who enthusiastically urges the claim of the Tuscan school of painting to the perfection of the Greeks,[4] but who need not be taken as literally meaning all that he says in this respect, had clearly intended, at the outset of his career, to become a painter. Unwilling, perhaps, to compete with his father, who was a sculptor, he chose to forget the rules of plastic art. The competition for the gates of S. Giovanni

[1] VASARI, iii., pp. 198 and 246.

[2] [Brunelleschi's Crucifix is in the Cappella Gondi of S. M. N. It is quite hidden by the altar decorations.]

[3] Both represent Abraham's Sacrifice. ALBERTINI in *Memoriale, ubi sup.*, p. 11, notes Brunelleschi's relief as being the ornament of a marble altar in S. Lorenzo of Florence.

[4] GHIBERTI, *Com., ubi sup.*, p. xxii.

altered his resolve; and he went in for the prize with others, amongst whom was not Donatello, as we are now aware.[1] The manner in which he carried out the work of the first gate in company with Bartoluccio, his father, illustrates a remarkable tendency in the age, the introduction of a style exclusively pictorial in the execution of bas-relief, a new feature that was soon to find its concomitant in painting.[2] The prototype of Ghiberti in his first great enterprise is Giovanni Pisano, the general aspect of whose work—its unity, distribution, action, and festooned drapery—was obviously in the later artist's mind. Giovanni had already introduced into his sculptures a pictorial element unknown to Niccola.[3] This element was extended by Ghiberti in his first gate, whilst, in accordance with the great Giottesque maxims, he still made every part fairly if not completely subordinate to one great and severe law. Ghiberti thus showed to advantage, even when compared with Andrea; though trusting principally, as Giovanni Pisano had done, to action for effect.[4] The Evangelists and Doctors of the Church, on the lower courses, display indeed an energy of movement which proves that action was really superseding the gravity of statuary in general; and this feature in the art of Ghiberti was that which his assistant Donatello exaggerated in the pulpits of S. Lorenzo at Florence.[5] How the Florentines followed up this path till Michael Angelo produced the triumph of physical force over the ideal of form, in the Jeremiah of the Sixtine Chapel, is clear to every observer. It is to be noted, in the meanwhile, that the art which thus linked itself anew to the tradition of Giovanni Pisano had already swept aside much of the influence of Giotto. Indeed, what these bronzes of Ghiberti wanted was the great law of balance in distribution; and they illustrate the use of indirect means for affecting the spectator in the absence of the perfection resulting from the full application of essential maxims. Ghiberti, in fact, repeated, in his branch, the fault of Masaccio in painting; and a genius like that of Uccello, of Mantegna, or Piero della Francesca in the sister art, would have been required to keep sculpture within the due bounds

[1] VASARI, vol. iii., p. 103, notes the presence of Donatello amongst the competitors, and (p. 104) even describes the model which he submitted. No record justifies this statement, and we know that in 1401, the competing year, Donatello was but seventeen years old. See Donatello's income-tax papers in GAYE, vol. i., pp. 120–3.

[2] This phase of art in Ghiberti is ably developed in RUMOHR, *Forschungen*, vol. ii., p. 230 and following.

[3] See the dismembered pulpit of Pisa, of 1302, *antea*.

[4] This is apparent in the Birth of the Virgin, and in the Annunciation, of the first gate, in both of which reliefs Ghiberti's style recalls that of Giovanni Pisano.

[5] As, for instance, in the S. John Evangelist, in thought, with his chin in the hollow of his hand.

of positive scientific principles.[1] If we examine the numerous statues which Ghiberti executed before the completion of his first gate, we may note in the bronze figure of S. John Evangelist of Orsanmichele, rigidity and hardness allied to progress in the mode of rendering form ;[2] in that of S. Stephen,[3] the same peculiarities with a nobler mien, yet with an undue sacrifice of the figure to copious festooned drapery ; in that of S. Matthew, which Ghiberti claims to have produced, but for which Michelozzo, his assistant, received part payment, greater freedom of motion, better draperies and a more modern manner.[4]

In 1424, the first gate of S. Giovanni was completed ; and Ghiberti received the commission of the second, which remained in hand till 1452.[5] Its peculiar beauties and defects have been explained and commented by many, with indulgent favour by Rumohr,[6] with smaller approval by Sir Joshua Reynolds. It is not doubtful that the faults which characterised the first were repeated with interest in the second, and that Ghiberti finally substituted to the real laws of bas-relief a pictorial style which sought to increase the illusion of the spectator by the introduction of linear perspective.[7] We may admit the art with which the sculptor varied the planes on which his figures were placed ; we may be charmed by the beauty of isolated parts or episodes ; but the critical eye vainly seeks one picture in which the simple qualities required by the gravity of sculpture are fully maintained. The general features of this great work are crowding of figures, and their undue subordination to the distances and accessories, a reversal of the Giottesque principle which makes distances of minor importance ; an application of linear perspective to plastic art, unusual, and perhaps to be entirely condemned, but at the same time, great progress over past efforts in the definition of form and a perfection in the use and production of ornaments of fruit, garlands, and birds in their natural

[1] The Crucifixion and the Transfiguration may be considered as best sustaining the principles of bas-relief and the maxims of composition perfected by Giotto. In the Annunciation there is more action and less balance, and the same remarks may apply to the Nativity and the Adoration of the Magi.

[2] This figure was executed in 1414. See Ghiberti's journal of that date in BALDINUCCI, *ubi sup.*, vol. v., p. 40.

[3] VASARI, vol. iii., p. 110.

[4] GHIBERTI, *Com.* in VASARI, vol. i., p. xxxii. See for the payments due to Michelozzo Michelozzi, his tax paper, GAYE, *Carteggio*, vol. i., p. 117. He describes himself as Ghiberti's assistant ; and the statue was commissioned of Ghiberti. See the record of August 26, 1419, in BALDINUCCI, *ubi sup.*, vol. v., p. 44. In 1421 Ghiberti announces that the figure has failed in the casting, and consents to recast it at his own expense—record. Ibid., vol. v., p. 51. In 1422, he finally received 650 gold florins for the work. Ibid., vol. v., p. 52.

[5] It was finished in 1447, but only gilt in 1452.

[6] *Forschungen*, vol. ii., p. 230 and following.

[7] The same system was pursued in the reliefs of the monument of S. Zanobi at S. Maria del Fiore commissioned in 1439. See GAYE, *Carteggio*, vol. i., p. 543.

shape, inimitable and unsurpassed to this day. How far the latter quality may be detrimental by casting the figure subjects into the shade may be left to the individual judgment of the observer. Vasari, who always preferred modern to older art, naturally placed the second before the first of Ghiberti's gates. In this he has been followed by Rumohr. The true maxims of art were, however, better preserved in the first than in the second.

The same age which welcomed the gentle talent of Angelico, the manly genius of Masaccio, the polished art of Brunelleschi and Ghiberti, gave expansion to Donatello's rugged style.[1] A daring energy, a fiery temper, and a frank demeanour, united to an open disdain of the finesses of culture, were remarkable in him; and his life and works, if studied apart by a philosopher and a critic, would yield the same conclusions to both. His character and style are alike illustrated in that encounter with Brunelleschi, which ended in the triumph of the latter. "To you the power of delineating the Saviour, to me that of representing rustics," such was his final remark to his friendly rival.[2] But Donatello was by no means an ordinary man. The strong pulsation of his blood, the febrile activity of his hand might disable him from reflecting on the creation of ideal gentleness of type or selection of form. They could not but impart to everything he undertook a masculine energy equally original in stamp and powerful in its impression on the beholder. Donatello, indeed, was a man whose influence on contemporary art was beyond measure great, whose fame extended far outside the bounds of Italy, and who stands forth in history as the archetype on which Michael Angelo was modelled. Michael Angelo might truly admire the polish of Ghiberti, and declare that the gates of S. Giovanni were worthy of guarding the entrance to Paradise; but his own style was faithfully moulded on that of Donatello; and we recognise in two great Florentines of different ages the same characteristic features.

The complex of Donatello's numerous works reveals the extraordinary powers of one whose spirit and fire carried him beyond the limits of sober and select thought. He worked and created with a vehemence, properly called *furia* by the Italians, and suggesting comparison with the fiery war-steed, who, with swollen nostrils, strains at the curb and disdains the bit. His works are the true reflex of his nature. Yet his command of means was in no wise common; and it is to him more than to Ghiberti that we owe the style which Vasari usually calls "modern."[3] The study of the models of antiquity was

[1] Born 1386; died 1468.

[2] Vasari, vol. iii., p. 247.

[3] No doubt Ghiberti and Brunelleschi had their fair share in the creation

more marked in its influence on his productions than upon those of Ghiberti. One may still contemplate with surprise the classic style preserved in works embodying the subjects, and imitating the manner, of the Greek time ; [1] one admires the more distant but not less certain trace of that influence in works illustrative of Bible history. If, among the many statues of David which Donatello produced, we choose one which now adorns the collection of the Uffizi, we shall agree, with Vasari,[2] that the life and fleshiness in it are admirable and the more praiseworthy if the difficulties of bronze be considered. We shall contemplate with pleasure elastic motion rivalling that of a living man ; and we shall be justified in adding, that no creation of the revival, from the fourteenth century to the time of Michael Angelo, is more entitled to claim respect and admiration, because of the true development of the maxims and laws which are combined alike in it and in the Greek models. The youthful champion, trampling with his right foot on the helmeted head of Goliath, his right hand grasping a long straight sword, the left holding a stone and resting on the hip, stands, life-size, and all but naked before the spectator. On the head, whose profile is of classic line, is an ancient helm, which casts a broad shadow on the youthful forehead ; and copious locks luxuriate about the neck. An admirable unity marks the contours of the form, whose select parts reveal a true feeling for the beauties of Greek statuary. Donatello, in fact, displays the results of a deep study of the antique, combining in a single work the truth of nature with nobleness of shape and of mien, chasteness of form with breadth and ease of modelling. More happy in his mood than at other periods of his career, he seems to have curbed the natural impetuosity of his temper and to have allowed a cooler judgment to restrain the natural fire that burned within him. We may regret that he should not have constantly obeyed this restraint, and that he should have fallen so frequently into a less noble realism ; but it is due to him to greet with a just applause those works in which he gave proofs that he possessed the highest gifts that can grace a sculptor. His David has a perfect harmony of power, of character and of parts, and had posterity been deprived of all his works, except that, he would, on the strength of it, be called the best sculptor of his country. Amongst the figures which have been usually taken as a test of Donatello's power, the best known is perhaps the S. George of

of the modern style ; for one man cannot alone produce so great a change. But Donatello was the chief instrument in it.

[1] See the bronze patera in Casa Martelli at Florence.

[2] VASARI, vol. iii., p. 252. It had belonged to Cosimo de' Medici, and was sold by his sons Lorenzo and Julian for 150 florins in 1476. GAYE, *Carteggio*, vol. i., p. 572. [Now No. 56 in the Sala di Donatello in the Bargello.]

Orsanmichele. Firmly poised on his two legs and resting his hands on the shield that guards him, he suggests to the spectator a feeling of conscious firmness and security. A relief of S. George encountering the Prince of darkness adorns the pedestal of the niche originally occupied by the statue ; [1] and affords a perfect example of the modern art to which Vasari alludes. So vigorous is the action, so fleshy are the forms that they recall to mind the pencil studies of Leonardo da Vinci, whilst the polish of the marble and the gentleness of the kneeling female illustrate anew the sculptor's capacity when he controlled his habitual exuberance of spirit. Michael Angelo could not have treated more perfectly than Donatello has done the large planes of drapery which cover part of the armour of the statue. In this particular, indeed, we may recognise another favourable feature in a style sufficiently remarkable already. Providence has seldom gifted one mortal with a combination of qualities which may be found isolated in many ; and Donatello was not one of the most favoured in this respect. But whilst his manner reveals much that deserves moderate applause, it has clearly many qualities of value. He frequently sacrificed the perfection of the whole for the elaboration of parts ; but some of these parts were not unfrequently marked with the stamp of undoubted progress. His draperies are an evident proof that he possessed an innovating spirit. Whilst Ghiberti did nothing more than continue the abuse of superfluous festooned garments ; and often made a figure but a peg on which to hang a tunic ; whilst, in this, the great author of the gates of S. Giovanni failed to maintain the simple maxims of Giotto and Orcagna, Donatello, mindful of the laws of sculpture, sought ever to remind the spectator that, beneath the cloth, there moved and breathed a human body ; and he carried out this necessary law of statuary by defining the under forms and by a judicious use of girdles or belts, a method in which he was faithfully followed by Mantegna and Michael Angelo. He took into due account the action of the joints on the surface of the flesh, and introduced the necessary folds on the skin of the inner bends, whilst he rendered the tension of the other parts or their repose by large and massive planes, according to the rules which Leonardo da Vinci afterwards laid down in one of his treatises. Yet even these qualities in him were not unalloyed, and the critic is forced to admit that he fell into occasional conventionalism, lost sight of the necessary simplicity, and overcharged his draperies with useless detail. The greater genius of Michael Angelo was not indeed free from this reproach ; but if

[1] [The statue itself is now in the Bargello, the niche at Orsanmichele is occupied by a cast.]

conventional, and unselect, he avoided the too frequent error of his predecessor.

The powerful and stern figures of SS. Peter and Mark at Orsanmichele, of the Zuccone or Baldpate and other Evangelists on the west side of the Campanile of S. M. del Fiore at Florence, are all examples of the qualities that were combined in Donatello. It is true that the statues of the Campanile are not so cleverly adapted as they might be to the spaces which they were intended to fill. But the master was not often at fault in this respect; and Vasari gives a telling account of the manner in which, being entrusted with the execution of the S. Mark of Orsanmichele, and having finished it according to his judgment in the form best suited to the position it was to occupy, he discontented the syndics of the Linaiuoli by showing them the statue on the ground, and, a few days after, roused their admiration to the highest pitch, by discovering it unaltered in its niche.[1] Whether Donatello owed this scientific application of the law of optics to statuary to Brunelleschi, or to his own study of the antique, it was an eminent quality in him, and the art of creating form so as to appear natural when seen at certain distances and heights, has seldom been better applied than it is in the S. Mark of Orsanmichele.

These were not the sole difficulties of his practice which Donatello encountered and overcame. In the faces of the pulpit of Prato, on the round surface of which gay infants dance, he shows his mastery in the lowest relief; and thus appears to be, of all Italian artists, the ablest in this most difficult branch. It may be admitted that he went to the extreme of flatness; still, he is all but unique in the effort, and in the success which attends it. Were it worth while to add this example to foregoing ones, the student would only be strengthened in the conviction that Greek models yielded inexhaustible fruits to the genius and energy of Donatello. If we contemplate other works, we shall see that he derived advantage equally great from the study of animal nature. The statue of Gattamelata at Padua, not only displays the master's power in limning the human form, but reveals his ability in rendering that of the horse. Donatello, in fact, shares with Verrocchio the honour of having, in equestrian statues, made a nearer approach to the antique than any Italian sculptor of subsequent or previous times.[2] We have thus illustrated by a few remarkable

[1] VASARI, vol. iii., pp. 249–50.

[2] [It must be remembered that Donatello's Gattamelata was the first equestrian statue made in Italy since antiquity. There was no complete model in existence to guide him save the Marcus Aurelius at Rome. He doubtless knew, however, the magnificent head of a horse in marble now in the Etruscan Museum at Florence (*cf.* the bronze head of a horse almost certainly by Donatello in the Naples Museum), and the bronze horses of S. Mark at Venice.

examples the qualities of a great sculptor. Some of his defects have been incidentally touched upon. We must complete the impartial enumeration of others. Donatello was seldom select; and he frequently indulged in the slovenly fault of reproducing square and vulgar forms, in which the excess of life in the action of muscles or limbs was insufficient to make the spectator forget the ignoble nature of the being represented. Too frequently form, rustic in mould and in strength, revealed a sacrifice of idealism to details. A grand feature in the art revived by Giotto was its intense gravity of religious feeling. We have noted the gradual disappearance of that feature in the lapse of years, as the revival of letters introduced the study of extinct languages and of pagan philosophy. Many artists, however, continued to treat exclusively religious subjects; and of these Ghiberti was one. Donatello, on the contrary, reproduced actual imitations of the deities and emblems of antiquity; and he was so little imbued with the idea of the divinity of the Saviour, that he naturally failed when he took in hand such a subject as the Crucifixion. Brunelleschi justly reproached him when he declared that his Christ was a rustic. The figure exists to this day in S. Croce of Florence,[1] and is not only a realistic imitation of a low nature, but a reproduction of an imperfect form, of a bony and muscular nude with a large head and weak chest. But Donatello was not merely at fault when called upon, as on this occasion, to display perfect ideal of form and religious feeling. He was equally unsuccessful whenever he had to reproduce any one of the less fine or placid moods into which the human frame may be thrown. His Magdalen in the Baptistery of Florence is but a suffering and emaciated shell, unfeminine in every sense, and with hardly a trace of such original beauty as might be supposed to linger in a frame borne down by long anguish and penance. The extent to which Donatello could allow his cooler experience to desert him is shown in the exaggerated and grotesque groups forming the reliefs of the pulpits of S. Lorenzo at Florence.[2] Yet in the midst of this exaggeration one marks originality, fancy, and a vehemence of passion, which seem to foreshadow the efforts of Michael Angelo in his decline.

The influence of this statue may be traced even beyond the Italian schools of sculpture and painting.]

[1] In the Cappella Bardi.

[2] [These reliefs on the ambones of S. Lorenzo he only began when he was sixty-seven years old; nor did he finish them, so that in part at least they are the work of Bartoldo and Bellano, his pupils. Bandinelli tells us Donatello was half blind at the time. The authors might seem a little hard on Donatello, as though they had not understood his imperishable excellence of sincerity and strength.

For a careful study of Donatello, see SEMPER, *Donatello: Seine Zeit und seine Schule* (Vienna, 1875); for his work as architect, sculptor, and decorator,

In the handling of bronze, Donatello has been described as careless or inexperienced; yet Vasari's praise of the casting and chiselling in the Judith and Holofernes of the Loggia de' Lanzi at Florence is undeniably correct and just.

see MARCEL REYMOND, *La Sculpture Florentine* (Florence, 1897); VENTURI, *Storia dell' Arte*, vol. vi. (Milan, 1908); and BODE, *Florentine Sculpture of the Renaissance* (Methuen, 1908), pp. 12–44; and for an excellent æsthetic appreciation of his work, L. J. FREEMAN, *Italian Sculpture of the Renaissance*, and ARTHUR SYMONS, *Cities of Italy*, pp. 133–144. LORD BALCARRES, in his *Donatello* (Duckworth, 1903), has also written an excellent monograph on the master.]

CHAPTER X

MASOLINO

Two painters of the same name, but of different ages, were born in the neighbourhood of Florence and exercised their art in Italy in the first half of the fifteenth century. One was Tommaso di Cristoforo Fini, commonly called Masolino, the other Tommaso di S. Giovanni, better known as Masaccio. This coincidence of name in two painters who practised in the same city, and who both rose to a high rank amongst the artists of the Peninsula, was the cause of a pardonable confusion in the notices which were written respecting them in the sixteenth century. It is the object of the following sketch to replace the history of Masolino's life and works upon a securer foundation, and to give him the place to which he is entitled amongst the artists of his time. In attempting to perform this duty, many familiar theories will be destroyed, and facts sanctioned by the acquiescence of centuries will be denied; but the reader will remember that hitherto no pictures of undoubted authenticity have been assigned to Masolino, and that his name had not been found in any record. The student now enjoys the faculty of seeing and examining not merely the frescoes of the Brancacci Chapel at Florence, which Vasari assigns in part to him, but a genuine series of wall paintings, signed with his name, of which it is justifiable to affirm that they were executed about the year 1428. These paintings, commissioned by Cardinal Branda Castiglione, were painted in the church of Castiglione d' Olona,[1] were unknown to Vasari, and have but recently been recovered from whitewash. Damaged as they undoubtedly are, they afford a safe clue to Masolino's style. The time of their execution may be inferred from an inscription carved on the architrave of the chief portal, in the following lines abraded by time, but still legible:

NOSTER MILLENUS QUADRINGENTENUS ATOZ. VIGEN OCTAVUS. DÑI DEVO . . LAURENTIUS, CUM GRADIBUS SUMMIS. PATER IN XR̃O REVERENDUS DNS BRANDA, DOMINUS DE CASTILEONO.

CARDINEA SEDE RESIDET QUI PRESBITER IPSE PERFECIT AD LAUDES HOC TEMPLUM VIRGINIS ALMẼ. CUM QUÂ PRIMATES LAURENTIUS ET PROTHOMARTIR, STEF. EX DIGNÃ SUPERI IMPETRATE SALUTE.

[1] Between Saronno and Varese, and not far from Milan.

Between the first and second paragraphs of the inscription are the symbols of the Four Evangelists.

In the lunette above the architrave a sculptor of no mean powers, whose figures were executed with the ease and breadth characteristic of Florentine art, represented the Virgin enthroned, with the infant Saviour in the act of giving the blessing to Cardinal Branda, who kneels to the left supported by a pope and S. Lawrence. To the right, S. Ambrose and S. Stephen are placed in attendance; and on the marble at the side of the latter, the date MCCCCXXVIII is carved.

The church was dedicated to the Virgin, S. Lawrence, and S. Stephen, and the choir was decorated by Masolino with incidents from the lives of all three. It is all but certain that the frescoes were completed in 1428, as they adorn the space surrounding the high altar.

In the sides of the octagon which circumscribe the latter, Masolino represented, in a double course of frescoes, scenes from the lives of the Virgin, S. Stephen, and S. Lawrence.[1]

The ablest composer would doubtless have found some difficulty in fitting his subjects to the triangular spaces of the ceiling, but Masolino might still have done better, had he possessed the great maxims of Giottesque distribution. The most striking feature in the scenes from the life of the Virgin is a somewhat languid though not inelegant repose, combined with tenderness of expression, and simple grace of lines. One might fancy that the spirit of Angelico, without his depth of religious sentiment, lingered in the breast of Masolino. Assuredly both artists laboured, technically speaking, on the same principles; and hence they may be supposed to have been educated in a common school. As the Virgin bends forward with her arms meekly crossed upon her bosom to greet the angel, who modestly presents himself to her, she hears the message with a simple reverence. Her person, slender forms and soft profile are essentially youthful. Her expression is modest. A thin and graceful neck supports a head whose locks fall back behind the shoulders in tasteful abundance. In the face of Gabriel, the spectator may trace the soft expression and feminine features which characterise similar representations in the pictures of the Dominican of Fiesole. Doubtless the impression conveyed by this fresco would be more favourable were not the colours of the dresses

[1] Proceeding from left to right as one enters the choir. S. Lawrence distributing alms, led before the judges, baptizing his followers, martyred, and mourned by his friends; the Trinity and the Death of the Virgin, S. Stephen preaching to the multitude, before the judges, the preparation for his martyrdom, and his lapidation. In six triangular spaces into which the ceiling of the choir is divided he placed the Annunciation, the Coronation of the Virgin, the Sposalizio, the Adoration of the Magi, the Ascension of Mary, and the Nativity. The Saviour in the act of benediction is carved in a relief at the apex.

RAISING OF TABITHA

MASOLINO.

Anderson.

Carmine, Florence.

Anderson.

DETAIL OF RAISING OF TABITHA

MASOLINO

Carmine, Florence.

Anderson.

SS. PETER AND JOHN DISTRIBUTING ALMS

MASACCIO.

Carmine, Florence.

all but obliterated. Equal repose, a similar softness of action and tenderness of expression were bestowed on the Virgin, bending lowly to receive the crown from the Saviour at her side. In both figures, as well as in those of two angels heading a glory now in a great measure departed, religious feeling, repose, and slenderness of shape are recurring characteristics.[1] The architecture of the throne and dais are both elegant and appropriate to the space which the artist had to fill. Slender pillars supporting well-proportioned arches, also grace the next composition, in which the high priest unites Joseph and Mary in the presence of their friends. The youth breaking a bough, on the right, is as usual a characteristic feature, whilst, on the left, a female of elegant form, holding an infant, is worthy of particular attention. To the religious quiet and softness of expression noticed in the two foregoing frescoes, symmetry is here superadded, yet the composition is far distant from the severity of simplicity which the great Giottesques so eminently displayed. But little remains of the Adoration and Ascension.[2] The Nativity, however, has peculiar claims to the interest of the spectator. In presence of the Virgin, who kneels in the centre of the space before the recumbent Infant, and of S. Joseph, who is also in prayer to the left, Cardinal Branda is on his knees with joined hands; his head, covered with a white drapery, is noble in form and features.[3] A certain energy of spirit, recalling the Giottesque time, characterises the features of S. Joseph.[4] On a scroll in the angle to the left are the words: "MASOLINUS DE FLORENTIA PINXIT."[5] Masolino, however, did not merely paint the church, he also decorated the whole of the adjoining Baptistery of Castiglione with scenes from the Precursor's life.

[1] Here also the colours of dresses have in a great measure disappeared, and the Saviour's blue tunic is now white.

[2] In the first a kneeling king, a part of the Virgin, S. Joseph, and a fragment of the suite in the distance have been preserved. In the second, the principal figure, surrounded by angels, is hardly to be distinguished.

[3] Near him is another personage. The Virgin's head is in part gone.

[4] His yellow draperies are remarkable for breadth, and the composition is the best arranged of the series, the best adapted to the inconvenient space allotted to the painter.

[5] The absence of general harmony of colour is obvious from the fact that large portions have been damaged by whitewash and subsequent scraping; yet enough remains to satisfy the student as to the technical methods of the painter. Compared with the frescoes of the ceiling, those of the sides of the choir are rudely worked in, and the hand of apprentices may be traced. The composition of the Almsgiving by S. Lawrence and the Arraignment before the Judges is fair. The Martyrdom is almost gone, but certain figures on horseback forming part of the escort appear to have been drawn with boldness and in good action. On the left, the executioner feeds the fire. Soldiers and a lame beggar on the right foreground are all that remain of the fresco in which S. Lawrence performs the rite of baptism. A foreshortened view of the dead body of the saint in the thickness of the arch of the window, reveals in Masolino

Outside and above the entrance, the drawing, or rather the engraved outlines, of an Annunciation with the Eternal in a lunette still exist and have a certain charm. The head of the angel, indeed, and that of the Virgin recall to memory the type and sweet expression which mark the Annunciations of Angelico. The Baptistery is built in the form of a parallelogram, with a tribune of the same shape, but smaller dimensions, attached to it. Moving to the right as he enters the Baptistery, the spectator will notice on the entrance wall, traces of figures in a temple. On the next side is the Daughter of Herodias before Herod, with the usual attendant episodes; by the side of the arch leading into the tribune, the Execution of S. John. The rest of the Baptistery is denuded of fresco except in that part which faces the Dance of the Daughter of Herodias, where Zacharias may be seen writing the name of his new-born son. In the vaulting of the arch leading into the tribune are six saints, and in the key-stone, the date of 1435, painted of a smoke colour, and apparently modern. In the tribune, S. John, on the wall to the left, preaches to a multitude; in the lunette and sides of the end wall, he baptizes the Saviour, and is brought before Herod, whilst on the face to the right he appears in prison. The ceiling of the Baptistery, divided as usual by diagonals, contains the Four Evangelists, that of the tribune the Saviour in a glory of angels.

One of the most striking features in the fresco of the Daughter of Herodias is the daring with which Masolino courts the greatest difficulty of perspective. Whilst to the left Salome, followed by four men, makes her request to Herod, seated with his guests in a peristyle, Herodias to the right, receiving from her daughter the head of the Baptist, is seated at the opening of a colonnade the perspective of which is carried to an elevated horizon and forms a court. The arches rest on slender pillars and support the cornice and parapet of a terrace. The style of the architecture is the same as that which Angelico introduced into the Annunciation of S. Marco at Florence. It is Tuscan of the fifteenth century; but its proportions are small and out of keeping with the size of the figures; and the height of the horizon as

a close study and no mean powers in the rendering of nude form. S. Stephen preaches from a pulpit and is surrounded by a multitude, which, however, is all but obliterated. Where he appears in an open lodge surrounded by a crowd, the best-preserved figures are those on the left of two females sitting. Mere vestiges indicate the place about and beneath the rose window of the choir, where the Eternal and the Redeemer, with the Dove of the Holy Ghost between them represent the Trinity, and the Burial of the Virgin were once depicted. The subjects everywhere cover, not merely the surface of the wall of the building, but the thickness of the openings of the windows. The drawing which is now visible seems to have been bold and decisive.

In a chapel to the right some rude figures on pilasters, including effigies of SS. Roch and Sebastian, were painted in the same style as the walls of the choir; but these have been recently subjected to a renewed process of whitewash.

[On these works at Castiglione d' Olona, see AUGUST SCHMARZOW, *Masaccio Studien*, in four parts (Kassel, 1900), part i.; and P. TOESCA, *Masolino da Panicale* (Bergamo, 1908).]

well as the absence of a common centre of vision reveal the insufficient skill of one unacquainted with the science of perspective. The most casual glance will convince the student of the great inferiority exhibited here in comparison with the perspective in the frescoes of the Brancacci Chapel at Florence. We shall have occasion presently to enter more closely into a comparison of these two series of works. In the meanwhile a few words may explain the character of Masolino's figures. Herod, as has been remarked, sits with three guests at a table, Salome, contrary to practice and tradition, presents herself modestly and makes her request with reverence, her arms being crossed on her bosom.[1] At her side are four men, the foremost of whom, in profile, wears a cap of large projection. His features are evidently imitated from life. His attitude, like that of his companions, is composed. Indeed, a cold repose and a formal action characterise the whole group. Two slender girls, in affected attitudes of terror, stand with uplifted arms at each side of Herodias on the right, as she receives from her kneeling daughter the head of the Baptist. The thin elegant profile of Herodias is marred by a prodigious turban and diadem. There is a total want of fire and of energy in the whole scene, yet a certain order and quietness prevails; and the painter has evidently bestowed great care on the heads.[2] Neglecting the Decapitation and the figures in the vaulting of the arch leading into the tribune,[3] a glance may be given to the ceiling of the Baptistery, where a graceful angel kneeling by the figure of S. John, seems to inspire him as he writes.[4] The well-preserved figure of S. Luke, with pen in hand and in deep thought, is much in the character of Angelico.[5] No one who has seen the chapel at S. Clemente of Rome, decorated, it is said by Masaccio, with scenes from the life of S. Catherine, will fail to observe in them a character akin to that which marks the figures of this ceiling—figures in general of a tall and lean character, draped in somewhat paltry vestments with folds affecting festooned forms.[6]

Many heads of the audience round S. John the Baptist in the Desert are remarkable for the care with which youth, manhood, and old age

[1] To the right of the table.

[2] The Burial of S. John in an episode in the distance.

[3] The executioner is in complete armour. S. John, prostrate, awaits the blow, an angel hovering above. Amongst the figures in the vaulting is S. Jerome writing. His dress, like others in the chapel, is altered. Appropriate in attitude are the other doctors of the Church, and characteristic, a prophet with a scroll massively draped in a green mantle shot with white.

[4] The head of S. John is, however, damaged.

[5] S. Matthew writes pensively, with the Eagle at his side. S. Mark mends a pen, with the Lion by him. In the centre of the ceilings, the Lamb.

[6] The ceiling as a whole has been damaged. The blue background is gone, and the golden nimbuses are blackened.

are studied, yet the action is weak. In the Baptism of the Saviour, a deep stream, whose precipitous course is traced from a distance of hills, separates the Baptist, kneeling on the right and pouring water over the Saviour's head, from three ministering angels on the left bank. The soft features of the Redeemer, who stands up to His knees in the current, the fair proportion of His naked and not ignoble frame, are evidence of Masolino's careful study of nature ; but the type is still unchanged, and preserves its relationship with that of the fourteenth century. The angels which form the best group of the composition, again invite comparison with those of Angelico, whose purity and tenderness of expression are here to be found. S. John is a much damaged figure, but behind him, four proselytes, one of whom waits for his turn to be baptized, whilst two are stripping and a fourth resumes his clothes, show in Masolino such a diligent and careful study of the nude model as appears to have been unknown to, and above the powers of, Antonio Veneziano or any others from his time till the rise of Masaccio. The figure nearest the Baptist, half covered by a cloth, looks with apparent interest at the solemn rite performed in his sight. The second, seen from behind drawing his garment from over his shoulders, has much elasticity of movement. The third, standing on his left leg, pulls off a species of stocking from his right. The fourth, seated, draws on an under-garment. These are all isolated studies of naked form, foreshadowing the greater perfection in the same line of Masaccio, but betraying in Masolino realism and the absence of genius as a composer. Beneath these last figures the Baptist may be seen taken before Herod and Herodias, who are seated on a throne to the left. A soft and feminine expression marks the face of the latter.[1]

In every part of these frescoes Masolino displayed the progress of one who devoted himself to the mere study of the detail of form, who neglected the great maxims of composition and sacrificed everything to a study of nature. The general mass forgotten for the sake of detail, solitary figures unduly prominent, a general forgetfulness of the principles which guided the great Giottesques in the distribution of their figures and groups, an advance in the working out of the parts—such were the peculiarities of Masolino. Minute, precise and correct in the design and shadowing of form, he was not gifted with the talent of variety, and the sameness which strikes the beholder's eye betrays another weak point in the artist's organisation. As regards colour, a guarded opinion only can be given, owing to the damaged state of the frescoes both here and in the church of Castiglione ; but it would

[1] Close by on the right-hand wall of the tribune, an executioner closes the door of the Baptist's cell and John appears in prayer at the barred window.

appear from such portions as have escaped the general wreck, that a light clear rosy tone was prevalent throughout. The surface intended for the heads was rubbed down to a polished smoothness before a particle of colour was used. The shadows were then laid on in weak tints of greenish grey, touched over with fluid glazes, and united to the rosy yellow lights by a careful stippling which sought the direction of the curve to be represented. Some retouching with full body colour brought out the highest lights. The system resembles that which might be used in painting a miniature on vellum, the surface of which, with but slight tinting, should serve for the lights, whilst transparent shadows receiving brilliancy from the white underground, might be considered sufficient to produce the effect of rotundity. Masolino employed exactly the same system as the painter of the frescoes of S. Clemente at Rome, as Angelico used in his numerous works—a system which, having the advantage of rapidity, enables us to understand the speed with which the Dominican laboured, and diminishes our surprise at the vast number of his works. It was a system pursued to a certain extent in oil by John van Eyck, as may be seen in his S. Barbara at Antwerp, by Rubens, by Fra Bartolommeo, and in some of his pictures by Raphael. But, whilst it enabled Masolino to paint rapidly, it deprived him of some considerable advantages. It explains his want of power, the flatness of his paintings, and the absence of mass in light or shadow. His careful drawing and study of form were nullified by lack of contrasts and chiaroscuro.[1] The general key of harmonies resulting from the system was feeble, and did nothing to retrieve the coldness of character and action peculiar to the figures and groups. The draperies, though easy in fold, were far from massive; and there are traces, in certain female dresses, of profuse embroideries, executed in relief with a mixture of wax and other substances coloured up with subsequent tinting. Thus Masolino gave the example in the purely Florentine school of surcharging dresses with borders, and showed himself the willing slave of Lombard fashion in the middle of the fifteenth century. Fra Filippo Lippi and Benozzo Gozzoli inherited this defect, which Angelico and Masaccio sedulously avoided. Nor was this a solitary failing in Masolino. He was equally careless of the traditional garb of time-honoured scriptural figures; and his personages are dressed in vast caps and turbans,

[1] Though some of the darker colours of dresses in the figures at Castiglione have been repainted with a smoke colour of an offensive tone, some greens and reds which have been preserved are obviously laid on in water-colour. The green mantle of the prophet in the vaulting of the arch leading into the tribune is a sufficient example, the white ground serving for lights, a superficial green for the shadows. The yellows in other figures are treated in a similar manner, and in some cases shot tissues with red shadows and green lights were introduced.

coats and tight-fitting clothes, spoiling by their overweight or inelegant cut, the effect of the finely studied heads, the delicate hands and feet, which he so carefully imitated from nature. In this study he had surpassed, and was more true to nature than, his predecessors, including Antonio Veneziano ; but as in composition he knew not the laws of appropriate distribution, and forgot the great maxims of the Giottesques, so in single figures the head frequently did not correspond with the proportions of the frame, the figure with the group into which it was introduced, the group with others in its vicinity, the whole with the architecture. Masolino in fact wanted the principle of unity, and had art continued in the track which he followed, it would speedily have sunk to a low standard. But Masaccio, a man of higher genius, appeared, and again replaced it upon a grand and secure basis.

We have not, as has been remarked, authentic examples of Starnina to compare either with the works of Antonio Veneziano or with those of Masolino ; but the frescoes of Castiglione as well as those of Masaccio at the Brancacci Chapel in Florence, and the series of Angelico's works, suffice to show that Antonio Veneziano was the master from whom their manner was originally derived. Nothing in the chronology of Antonio, Starnina, Masolino, Angelico and Masaccio is contrary to the belief that the painter of the Castiglione frescoes might be the disciple of one who, like Starnina, learnt the art from Antonio. That belief arises from, and is confirmed by, the study of the works of all but Starnina. Whoever may have been Masolino's master, that master must of necessity have been a disciple of Antonio, whose technical methods he inherited. Starnina was Antonio's pupil and Masolino's master, if we credit Vasari, and everything combines to give his assertion the stamp of truth.

Assuming that Masolino executed the frescoes of the church of Castiglione d' Olona about 1428, which is the time when, according to the inscription above the portal, the edifice was completed—considering at the same time the date of 1435, which now exists in the Baptistery, it might be supposed that seven years were spent in the decoration of the two buildings, or that they were painted at a considerable interval of time. But the date of 1435, which is not engraved, but painted on the keystone of the arch between the baptistery and tribune, is suspicious ; and it may be remarked that all the inscriptions which originally declared the subjects on the walls are so damaged as to be illegible. The date of 1435 may therefore be an error, and it is safer in every respect to assume that the whole of the decorations of church and baptistery were executed about 1428.[1]

[1] [It was MR. BERENSON, in *The Study and Criticism of Italian Art* (Bell,

Having now a secure basis to proceed upon, and being acquainted with a certain series of Masolino's works, the student may turn to the Brancacci Chapel and satisfy himself at once that the frescoes which adorn it were painted before those of Castiglione, and by a different hand.[1] The series in S. Clemente at Rome has, it is clear, a certain resemblance of character and technical execution with the paintings of Castiglione, but is so far different from those of the Carmine that many have doubted whether they were not of an earlier time than that of Masaccio. Still it cannot be denied that the frescoes of S. Clemente are executed in a method and character which may be found developed in the Brancacci Chapel. The inference, however, cannot be that Masolino painted any one of the frescoes at present in that chapel. Everything, on the contrary, tends to prove that he did not paint them. If we take the statements of Vasari as to what Masolino actually did, we find that he is supposed to have painted the Four Evangelists in the ceiling, which have disappeared under whitewash, Christ taking Andrew and Peter from their Nets, and the Denial of Peter, subjects which do not now exist in the chapel. S. Peter's Sermon for the conversion of the nations, the Tempestuous

1902), vol. ii., p. 77 *et seq.*, who discovered other works of Masolino in the Palazzo Castiglione at Castiglione d' Olona: a frieze which runs round a hall there, and which seems to show that all four walls were frescoed. All but one have, however, been whitewashed. The fresco which remains to us, however, shows us an astonishment: a vast landscape, "a sort of Panorama of the Alps, with a broad torrent rushing swiftly down to the plain." Mr. Berenson asks us to compare this landscape with that in the Baptism in the Baptistery. The medallion heads of the frieze are "unmistakably Masolino's." This fine landscape is carefully described and illustrated in an article by G. CAGNOLA, in the *Rassegna d'Arte* of May, 1904, pp. 75, 76.]

[1] [The frescoes in the Brancacci Chapel are still the subject of controversy. It was Thausing, I think, who first combated the view that Masolino had left nothing in the chapel. See *Zeit., f. Bd.* xi., p. 225; and *cf.* SEIDLITZ in *idem.*, xiii., p. 151. Among others Mr. Berenson differs entirely from the authors. See BERENSON, *The Study and Criticism of Italian Art* (Bell, 1902), vol. ii., p. 79 *et seq.* He takes Vasari to be right here, and very succinctly explains how he thinks the authors fell into error. They followed Vasari (see *infra*) when he ascribed the S. Clemente frescoes to Masaccio; and could not understand how the same painter could be the author of these and the undoubted works of Masaccio in Florence. "To bridge the gulf," says Mr. Berenson, "they were forced to throw across it Masolino's Brancacci frescoes." See *infra*, p. 268. Mr. Berenson is now by no means alone in his opinion. The majority, except the Germans, seem to be with him in thinking that more than one of Masolino's works, the Adam and Eve and the Raising of Tabitha, and the Preaching of S. Peter, are to be found in the Brancacci Chapel. Nothing could be better than Mr. Berenson's careful distinction between the styles of Masolino and Masaccio, *op. cit.*, pp. 81–82; and *Rassegna d'Arte* (Milano), an. viii., No. 5 pp. 84, 85. But see also F. MASON PERKINS, in *Rassegna d'Arte* (Milan), an. vii., No. 12, p. 187; and P. TOESCA, *op. cit.*; and for the contrary opinion in favour of Masaccio, SCHMARZOW, *op. cit.*, part iii. (*Masolino oder Masaccio: Die Streitfrage in der Capp. Brancacci*; also *Der Cicerone*, 8 Auflage, B. iii., pp. 633, 634.]

Wreck of the Apostles,[1] the Cure of Petronilla, and S. John with S. Peter curing the Lame at the gate of the Temple, are the remaining subjects which he assigns to Masolino. We shall see with what right. In the meantime, it is well to repeat that Vasari was unacquainted with the frescoes of Castiglione, and that he only alludes to very few of Masolino's works, including those of the Casa Orsini on Monte Giordano at Rome, which do not exist, and of which he does not say that he saw them, and a S. Peter at the Carmine which perished in 1675. It may be remarked at the same time that all who wrote before and after Vasari, including Albertini,[2] Borghini, Thomas Patch, Lastri, Lanzi, Agincourt, Rumohr, Gaye, Tanzini, Rosini and the Annotators of Vasari, not to mention countless others, laboured under a similar disadvantage, and revolved in the same vicious circle.[3] The utmost that criticism attempted after accepting the tradition that Masolino painted at the Brancacci, was to define the variation between his style and that of Masaccio, a task of no small difficulty where all was probably executed by the latter. The frescoes of the Brancacci display the same principle of execution, the same technic of colour, the same maxims and laws in every part, be it assigned to Masolino or to Masaccio. With as much reason as one might have affirmed that the Dispute of the Sacrament at Rome was not by the same hand as the Liberation of S. Peter, because Raphael, in the latter, had matured and bestowed more breadth and grandeur on his style, those parts of the Brancacci Chapel which were first finished by Masaccio were compared with those which received at a later time all the advantages of his previous experience and training. Qualities were more developed in some than in others, in proportion as Masaccio gained experience and confidence in the strength of his genius. If there be any difference between the Resurrection of Tabitha and the Cure of the Cripple at the Temple Gate, which all critics assign to Masolino, and that of the Tribute Money which all agree to be by Masaccio, the same variety may be traced between the Tribute Money and the Resurrec-

[1] This subject is also one which does not exist in the chapel. Yet BORGHIN, *Riposo* (Milan, 1807), vol. ii., p. 84, pretends to have seen it there.

[2] *Memoriale di molte Statue et Pitture sono nella inclyta cipta di Florentia, impresso nel* 1510, *ubi sup.*, p. 16.

[3] [The other view is that Vasari was right when he followed here the Florentine tradition with regard to the work in Florence of a Florentine painter, wrong when he followed the Roman tradition about a work in Rome by a Florentine master. At Rome it was natural that the lesser painter should be forgotten and his work given to the great master nearest to him. All this apart from the evidence of our eyes. Morelli, Richter, Wickhoff, and apparently Bode, all agree that Masolino painted more than one fresco in the Brancacci Chapel.]

tion of the boy,[1] which are both conceded to Masaccio.[2] Compare Adam and Eve beneath the Tree of Knowledge, given to Masolino, with Adam and Eve expelled from Paradise, attributed to Masaccio, the nude of the latter is but a development of the style displayed in the nude of the former. Compare again the nude of the Expulsion with that of the Baptism, also an undoubted work by Masaccio; the latter is as great an improvement on the Expulsion as the Expulsion was an improvement on that of Adam and Eve under the Tree of Knowledge. The study of naked form in these three frescoes was developed with each successive spring which Masaccio, a young and ardent genius of twenty-five, undoubtedly took. Like Raphael at Rome, he began timidly and ended triumphantly. His was indeed a wonderful development of genius. He possessed, as may be shown more fully hereafter, qualities that might have adorned a painter of the sixteenth century.

The church of the Carmine was completed and consecrated in 1422,[3] and a fresco in dead colour of the Consecration was painted by Masaccio in the cloisters, shortly after he had commenced his labours in the Cappella Brancacci. Though it is asserted that Antonio de' Brancacci gave Masaccio the commission for the latter,[4] history does not confirm the statement. Two branches of the Brancacci family resided in Florence—one possessed of wealth in the Quartiere di S. Spirito, the other poor, inhabiting the Quartiere di S. Maria Novella. To the first belonged Antonio di Pietro del Piuvichese. But Antonio had ceased to exist before Masaccio was born, and departed this life about the year 1391.[5] To the second belonged also one Antonio di Buonfigluolo, who was a contemporary of Masaccio. But as this Antonio was of the poor branch of the family, to whom the patronage of the Brancacci Chapel does not and never did belong, Dr. Passerini believes that Vasari was in error as to the name of the founder of the Brancacci Chapel, who is really Felice Michele di Piuvichese Brancacci, of the Quartiere di S. Spirito, a Florentine who, from 1418 to 1434, was successively envoy to Leonardo Malaspina in Lunigiana, to the Soldan

[1] Exclusive, of course, of that piece which Filippino painted.

[2] [Having distinguished the style of Masolino from that of Masaccio, Mr. Berenson adds, "I cannot readily conceive how a properly-trained eye can fail to note how widely the Raising of Tabitha . . . departs from Masaccio's Tribute Money on the opposite wall." Mr. Perkins also considers Masolino's work in the Brancacci chapel "not less characteristic" of the master than is that at Castiglione d' Olona. Morelli tells us, however, "No one will deny who is at all acquainted with the study of Italian art, that to discriminate between the works of master and pupil is not always so easy as it may appear; to distinguish, for instance, a work by Masolino from one by Masaccio."]

[3] Richa, *Chiese, ubi sup.*, vol. x., p. 18. [4] Vasari, vol iii., p. 159.

[5] See the proofs in *annot.* to Vasari, vol. iii., p. 160.

of Babylon, to Pope Eugenius and to the Bolognesi, and in 1458 was found guilty of rebellion after the conspiracy of Girolamo Macchiavelli.[1] Masaccio therefore painted in the chapel, and probably for Felice di Piuvichese after 1422; but, according to Vasari, he undertook a work which Masolino had left unfinished at his death. The baselessness of this assertion is obvious from the fact that Masaccio died about 1429 and that Masolino survived him.[2]

Vasari in a short narration thus deals with Masolino.

Born at Panicale di Valdelsa, he joined Lorenzo di Bartoluccio Ghiberti, and being in his youth an excellent goldsmith, proved himself the best chiseller and cleaner that Lorenzo employed. At the age of nineteen he learnt the art of painting from Gherardo Starnina, and then visited Rome, where he painted the hall of the Casa Orsina Vecchia on the Monte Giordano. Finding the air unsuited to his health, he returned to Florence, and at the Carmine, by the side of the Cappella del Crocifisso, he executed a figure of S. Peter, so much admired by artists that he was commissioned to decorate the Brancacci Chapel. Death supervened before Masolino could complete the series. He died at the age of thirty-seven, his "works being of about the year 1440."

The real facts are these. Tommaso, usually called Masolino, was the son of Cristoforo Fini of the quarter of S. Croce at Florence. He was born in 1383.[3] That he was not a pupil of Lorenzo Ghiberti is evident from his works, as well as because there was but two years' difference in their respective ages. But Vasari probably owes this error to the knowledge that one Maso, a goldsmith, lived and laboured in the early part of the fifteenth century; and he confounded again two different persons of the same name. Maso di Cristoforo Braccii, "Aurifex," was born in 1383, the year of Masolino's birth—was free of the Arte della Seta in 1409, and died in 1430, leaving behind a wife and four little children. He is proved by records to have been employed by Ghiberti in 1407, on the bronze gate of S. Giovanni at Florence.[4]

[1] See *notes of Passerini* in VASARI, vol. iii., p. 160.

[2] See the proofs *postea*.

[3] See the record to that effect, *note* 4, p. 229.

[4] *Vide* BALDINUCCI, *ubi sup.*, vol. v., p. 66. The following from the Archiv. centrale di Stato, Archiv. delle Arti, Libro delle matricole dell' Arte della Seta from 1328 to 1433, Carta 187, is published in the *Giornale Storico degli Archivi Toscani* for 1860: "Thomasius filius olim Xtofani Braccii aurifex, populi S. Jacobi ultra Arnum de Flẽorentia, quia juravit pro magistro secundum formam statutorum et ordinum dicte artis, die xxx mensis Augusti anni Domini MCCCCVIII. et quia solvit dicte arti pro suo introitu ad artem flor. sex auri. Ideo matriculatus fuit in presenti matricula die xxx mens^{is} Sept^{is} dicti anni MCCCCVIII." That Maso had a wife and children, which is not known of Masolino, is proved in the "Portata al Catasto" of 1427. Quartiere S. Spirito Gonf. Nicchio, No. 1658, vol. xix: "Tommaso di Cristoforo ha 46 anni; Margareta sua moglie 25; ha quattro figliuoli, tutti piccolini." In 1430, No. 608 is the

The master to whom Masolino owed his artistic education was probably Starnina, as has been shown. He qualified for and was admitted into the Guild of the "Medici and Speziali" at Florence in 1423, being then settled in the quarter of S. Felicità;[1] and shortly after he entered the service of Philippo Scolari, Obergespann of Temeswar in Hungary. History has seldom recorded a more startling example of the height to which fortune may bring a penniless youth than that of Philippo, better known in the annals of his country under the name of Pippo Spano.[2] Pippo belonged to a Ghibelline family of Florence, which, though reduced to poverty, had survived in exile the persecution of a century and a half. Educated by his mother at Tizzano for the mercantile profession, he accepted service under some Florentine merchants trading habitually with Germany. At Treves, he attracted by chance the attention of the archbishop, before whom he had the good fortune to solve an arithmetical problem with the speed and certainty of one used to accounts. After staying some time in a subordinate capacity at Treves, he was taken to Buda, where he entered the service of Sigismund, King of Hungary; and, rising rapidly in the favour of that prince, he soon acquired wealth, possessions and a noble wife. During Sigismund's difficulties with his rebellious barons, Pippo abandoned the desk for the sword, distinguished himself as a captain and a statesman, became Obergespann of Temeswar, led a campaign into Italy, routed the Turks in more than one encounter, and died full of honours in 1427. The most exaggerated accounts are given by historians of the fifteenth century, of his wealth and of the wonders which he created. He erected churches and edifices of the most sumptuous kind in his adopted country, and employed, it is clear, the best artists that could be found in Florence.[3] It has not been possible to ascertain what Masolino did for him during the time which he spent in Hungary; but it is on record that he had earned and was to receive from the heirs of Pippo Spano no less than 360 florins of the common Florentine currency.[4] The trade of Hungary

"portata" of the heirs of Tommaso di Cristoforo, orafo. [For all that is known regarding Masolino's life, as well as for a detailed examination of his works, consult the above-mentioned monograph of Toesca, *Masolino da Panicale* (Bergamo, 1908).]

[1] As follows, *Vide Archiv., ubi sup.:* "Tommasius, filius Cristofori Fini, pictor popul. S. Felicitatis de Florentia." All the records relative to Masolino and Masaccio have been recently discovered by the indefatigable industry of Carlo Milanesi.

[2] Spano is evidently the Italian contraction of the word "Gespann."

[3] See for particulars of Pippo Spano (in *Archivio Storico Ital., ubi sup.*, ser. i., vol. iv., vite 1), a life by an anonymous contemporary, another by Jacopo di Messer Poggio, with the notes of C. Canestrini and F. L. Polidori.

[4] The following documents (published in *Giornale Storico, ubi sup.*, third quarter, 1860, pp. 16, 17, 18) refer to Masolino: "Portata al Catasto, quartiere

in the Middle Ages was in the hands of the Florentines and Genoese. Many of the wealthiest families of Tuscany had branches in the chief cities, and the exchanges were made by way of Ragusa on the Adriatic, or by the Danube through the Straits and Black Sea. The communications were for the time comparatively rapid and secure; and Masolino returned to Italy very shortly after the death of Pippo. But instead of settling again at Florence, he accepted from Cardinal Branda Castiglione the commission to paint the choir of the church which that prelate had just brought to completion at Castiglione d' Olona. Thus if Masolino painted at all in the Brancacci Chapel, he must have done so previous to 1427, and therefore previous to the time when the Castiglione frescoes were completed. But any one who can compare the two series of paintings will doubt the possibility of this. The characteristic features of Masolino's style at Castiglione are not to be found in the Brancacci,[1] and it may well be affirmed that none of the paintings now in the Brancacci are by him. He may have been Masaccio's master, as Vasari affirms. The age of the two painters, Masolino's manner, which Masaccio inherited only to improve it, would confirm that theory. It is possible that he may have painted the Evangelists of the ceiling which have perished.[2] He may even have commenced the distribution of space and subjects in the side walls and, for some reason, he may have thrown up the commission; but he was certainly not prevented by death, for in 1427 he journeyed into Hungary and in 1428 he executed frescoes at Castiglione.

The paintings at the Brancacci, in so far as they are not by Filippino, only show that the same style and principles of labour were in Masaccio

S. Croce, Gonfalone Bue, by Cristoforo di Fino 1427": Tommaso mio figliuolo sta in Ungheria; dicesi dovere avere certa quantità di danari da le rede di Messer Filippo Scholari. Non e chiarito il che; e pero non vi si da. Sono fiorini 360 di moneta comune ch' erano iscritti in Simone Milanesi, e Simone e Tommaso Corsi." Cristoforo Fini in the same document states that his son Tommaso is forty-three years of age. Cristoforo himself is an "imbiancatore."

[1] [This, as we have already seen, has been flatly denied by some modern critics of authority.]

[2] The ceiling and lunettes as well as the vaulting of the arch leading into the Brancacci Chapel are now completely modernised. They were no doubt originally adorned with paintings, as indeed RICHA, *ubi sup.*, vol. x., p. 40, states, at least in so far as the ceiling is concerned. ALBERTINI, *Memoriale, ubi sup.*, p. 16, says further: "the Cappella Brancacci is half by Masaccio, half by Masolino, except," &c. It is possible that the part now no longer in existence may have been "the half" by Masolino.

[The following frescoes have been given to Masolino in the Brancacci Chapel; the Preaching of S. Peter, the Healing of Tabitha, and the Fall of Adam and Eve (Berenson). He may have painted other works: the Calling of SS. Peter and Andrew, and the Denial of S. Peter, and the Shipwreck of the Apostles, beside the Evangelists in the vault: all of these were apparently destroyed in the fire of 1771.]

as in Masolino. But there is a wide difference between the two in the development and manifestation of their art.

It may be inquired again whether the converse of Vasari's facts might have been possible, and whether Masolino might not have finished what Masaccio left incomplete. Masaccio at his death was twenty-five years of age; Masolino was, in 1427, forty-five. Could Masolino at that date have changed his artistic nature, so as to transform a style like that of Castiglione into that of Masaccio himself? The answer is not that this is impossible, but that it is highly improbable. In a lunette of the convent of S. Severo at Perugia, Raphael painted a fresco in 1505 or 1507. Beneath it is a painting by Perugino of 1521. No one will confound the two works together. Perugino and Raphael remain true to themselves, and such very probably was the case as regards Masolino and Masaccio.

Finally it may not be unimportant to remark that, if Masolino had reappeared at Florence after his stay in Lombardy, his name would again have been found in the records of Florence. Yet the search of those who have already discovered so much respecting him, has in this respect been totally unsuccessful.

Having thus endeavoured to show that the paintings now in the Brancacci Chapel cannot be by Masolino, it may be interesting to follow such traces as remain of him and of his manner in Lombardy.

There are vestiges of a painting representing the Benevolence of S. Martin in a part of the ex-Palazzo Branda at Castiglione, said to have been once the Cardinal's private chapel, and these vestiges are like those of Masolino.[1]

At Milan, in the palace of the Marquis Trivulzio, is a small Coronation of the Virgin of the school of Masolino. It is not of much interest, and was lately in the Rinuccini Gallery.

A S. Francis receiving the Stigmata in the Gallery at Modena,[2] assigned to Masolino, is so rude in execution and so different in style from the master's originals, that but for its existence in a public collection it need not be noticed.

The Virgin and Child assigned to Masolino in the Liverpool Gallery[3] is not by him.

A much damaged Annunciation in the Gallery of Munich bears the

[1] On the wall of No. 13, in the High Street of Castiglione, is an Annunciation which discloses a common painter taught from the models of the same master. The same influence may be traced in a wall painting on the front of a house in the Piazza S. Scolastica at Castiglione, representing the Virgin and Child between a bishop and S. Scolastica with a palm and a dragon. An inscription which may have been that of the painter is now illegible. Above the door of the same building, which seems to have been a mint, are three medallion portraits with the date of 1504, showing that for nearly eighty years, the example of Masolino left unmistakable traces in a single town of an unimportant class. [2] No. 27. [3] No. 11.

name of Masolino,[1] but is more probably an early production of Fra Filippo Lippi in the spirit of Masolino.[2]

According to Vasari,[3] one of Masolino's disciples was Paolo Schiavo, who in a Virgin and Child, executed at Florence on the "Canto de' Gori," foreshortened his figures, so that the feet appeared from below to stand on the cornice, and who strove much to follow the manner of Masolino. The manner of Masolino as understood by Vasari is that of Masaccio; and his remarks regarding foreshortening might indicate that Paolo Schiavo was a pupil of the latter rather than of the former. A Madonna between S. John the Baptist and another saint[4] still decorates the corner described by Vasari which now goes by the common appellation of Cantonelle;[5] but none of the figures are entire. They are seen to the knee only, a modern cornice possibly covering the lower extremities; and the painting itself is so damaged as to disclose little respecting its age or the style of the artist. Of Schiavo we must therefore be content to remain in ignorance.[6]

[1] Cab., No. 563.

[2] [Mr. Berenson attributes to Masolino, beside the frescoes in S. Clemente in Rome (see *infra*, under Masaccio) and the works already mentioned:—a Madonna and Angels in the Museum at Munich (No. 1019); Madonna and Our Lord in Glory in the Gallery of Naples (No. 25); and the Founding of S. Maria Maggiore (No. 34) in the same Gallery: a Madonna dated 1423, No. 164 in the Kunsthalle, Bremen; a Christ in Glory (No. 4) in the Gallery at Strassburg; an Annunciation in the possession of Lord Wemyss at Gosford House, Haddington, Scotland; a fresco of Madonna and Angels, a lunette in the S. Stefano at Empoli, a Pietà in the Baptistery at Empoli, and a fragment of a ruined fresco representing a deacon (S. Lorenzo) in S. Jacopo e S. Lucia at S. Miniato al Tedesco, and a S. Cristoforo in S. Francesco of the same city. These last two works he accepts with some doubt, which is not shared by Mr. F. Mason Perkins, who attributes to Masolino a fresco of the Madonna and Child between two angels —a beautiful, though damaged, work, formerly ascribed to Lo Spagna— in the fourth chapel on the right in S. Fortunato of Todi. See *Un Dipinto sconosciuto di Masolino da Panicale* in *Rassegna d'Arte*, an. vii. (Milano, 1907), fasc. xii., p. 184. Dr. Sirèn ascribes to Masolino a panel of the Crucifixion (Press R, No. II.), in the Christian Museum of the Vatican (*cf. l'Arte*, an. ix. fasc. v.), describing it as a characteristic work of the master. Berenson (*Florentine Painters*) and Perkins (*Rassegna d'Arte*, August, 1906, p. 122), give this painting to Don Lorenzo Monaco. Sirèn further speaks of a second panel in the same collection (Press P, No. V.) as a possible work of Masolino. Perkins, however, considers this a picture of the school of Fra Angelico—possibly a free copy of a work of the Frate by some one of his followers. Schmarzow gives both the above pictures to Masaccio, and maintains that they formed part, together with the two panels of the Assumption of the Virgin and the Foundation of S. Maria Maggiore, in the Museo at Naples (Nos. 28 and 34; see *note* above), of an altarpiece originally painted for the above-mentioned church. If that were really the case, they would be, as Dr. Sirèn rightly points out, not by Masaccio but by Masolino, as the pictures in Naples are quite evidently by the latter master.]

[3] Vasari, vol. iii., p. 137.

[4] The Infant on the Virgin's arm carries a book, and the saint on the Virgin's right reads.

[5] For Canto di Nelli.

[6] [By a close follower of Masolino, according to Mr. Perkins, is a symbolical picture of the Passion of Christ, formerly in the collection of the Rev. Dr. Nevin at Rome, and now, if we are not mistaken, in that of Lord Grimthorpe.]

CHAPTER XI

MASACCIO

A NOBLE array of talents of the first order illustrated Florence in the fifteenth century. Their spirited rivalry in a field which, like the lists of chivalry, had been more than once expressly opened to all comers, yielded results of unparalleled importance. Art was enriched with new and great advantages, and gained something even from the faults of its votaries. Lorenzo Ghiberti, by introducing into the sculpture of reliefs the purely pictorial element of perspective and of distance,[1] did as much practically for the development of general truth as Paolo Uccello by the study of pure science. His example might have proved to Donatello that there were other roads to fame than that of naturalism. Brunelleschi [2] revealed to an incredulous and self-sufficient public that an artist's time might with advantage be devoted to the exclusive study of architecture. To him and to Paolo Uccello linear perspective was indebted for some great improvements.

Masaccio, whilst he introduced into painting the plastic boldness of Donatello, deserves the credit of having successfully carried out, not merely the laws which Uccello and Brunelleschi were beginning to codify and base upon mathematical rules, but that other perspective which deals with atmosphere, which places objects on their planes by force of relief and rounding, and by the increase or decrease of the density of the medium in which the figures stand. But, whilst doing so, he grasped at the same time the maxims which Giotto had laid down, and remembered that progress in art is summed up in the experience of the past as well as in the emulation of the present. The artistic eye of Vasari once attributed to him a picture which hung in the studio of Uccello, and was intended to remind the spectator how much the greatness of contemporary art owed to bygone times. Giotto, Brunelleschi, Donatello, Paolo himself, and Giovanni Manetti were grouped together,[3] the first as the guide and prime cause of the grandeur

[1] See RUMOHR'S excellent remarks on this point, *Forschungen*, vol. ii., p. 232. See also Sir Joshua Reynolds' objections in Lectures.

[2] Born 1377. *Vide* GAYE, *Carteggio*, vol. i., p. 114.

[3] A picture with portraits of these persons is in the Louvre under the name of Uccello, and is said to be that mentioned by Vasari, No. [1272] of Catalogue, but see *postea*.

of Italian art, the second as the genius of architecture, the third as presiding over sculpture, the fourth as the creator of perspective, the last as the mathematician who had applied the laws of Euclid to the improvement of design. The absence of Masaccio from the group might have been explained by supposing that modesty forbade him to introduce his own person amongst the contemporaries to whom he had been no unworthy competitor. But Vasari was induced, after a time, to correct his opinion as to the authorship of this work, which had wandered in the sixteenth century into the study of Giuliano da S. Gallo; and he afterwards assigned it to Paolo Uccello himself.[1] Paolo might forget or ignore the genius of a youth, who struggled for fame in poverty and debt, but Brunelleschi, to whom Masaccio owed some of his acquirements in perspective, exhibited towards him the interest of a friend, and at his death lamented his untimely loss.[2]

Masaccio was the son of a notary, Ser Giovanni di Simone Guidi, of the family of the Scheggia, which had its possessions, if not its residence, in Castel S. Giovanni di Val d'Arno.[3] He was born in 1402, and according to a tradition which in the sixteenth century still assigned to him certain infantine productions in his native place, he displayed from childhood an inclination for the study of design. In 1421, at the precocious age of nineteen, he was enrolled in the Guild of the Speziali at Florence.[4] His apprenticeship had no doubt already closed at that time, and if it should hereafter be confirmed by records, as it is supposed from a conformity of technical processes and feeling, that he studied under Masolino,[5] it will appear that he entered the Guild of the Speziali before his master. A year after Masolino was enrolled in that corporation, Masaccio was balloted into the Guild of Painters.[6] Vasari, after a notice of several frescoes executed in Florence, the greater part of which have perished, described Masaccio's journey to Rome and a commission from Cardinal S. Clemente to him

[1] In his first edition Vasari gives the authorship to Masaccio, in the last to Uccello. See VASARI, *ubi sup.*, vol. iii., p. 97.

[2] VASARI, vol. iii., pp. 197 and 163. Leon Battista Alberti also knew and admired the talents of Masaccio. See *Elementi*, vulgarised by Cosimo Bartoli. The passage is in VASARI, *Comment. on L. B. Alberti*, vol. iv., p. 64.

[3] BALDINUCCI, *ubi sup.*, vol. v., p. 291; VASARI, vol. iii., p. 154. [In the oratorio of Montemarciano, on the opposite side of the Arno, a few miles distant from S. Giovanni, is a fresco of the Virgin and Child between S. Michael Archangel and S. John the Baptist, now generally ascribed to Masaccio, and which seems to be one of his earliest works.]

[4] So in Baldinucci. But some have read 1423. *Vide* BALDINUCCI, *ubi sup.*, vol. v., p. 293.

[5] "Masolino da Panicale stato sua maestro." VASARI, vol. iii., p. 159.

[6] He is registered there in 1424 as "Maso di Ser Giovanni di Chastello S. Giovanni."

to paint a chapel[1] in the church which bears his name. There he completed a Crucifixion and scenes from the lives of the Cardinal's patron saint and S. Catherine, a work which may be considered as one of his most youthful efforts.[2]

On the wall facing the entrance, the Saviour may be seen in the centre, crucified between the two thieves. The Magdalen grasps the foot of the Cross. Soldiers in armour and on horseback are scattered in a line across the picture in various attitudes as they wind along a serpentine path about the Cross. On the foreground to the left, four persons are grouped, and converse as they look at the execution. One of them, evidently Judas with a purse, has a menacing expression. In the same line, and nearer the centre of the foreground, the Virgin in a swoon is held erect by the three Maries,[3] S. John Evangelist standing by.

Disunited in composition and betraying the absence of those severe laws of distribution which prevailed in the fourteenth century, this scene displays, in spite of extensive damage and restoring, beauty in the groups, study of the foreshortening of form, and some realism. The figure of the Saviour, in an attitude which still reminds the spectator of the Giottesque time, is fairly proportioned, and shows a certain mastery of the nude. The pendent and lissom body of the penitent thief, with the legs crossed over each other, though imperfectly foreshortened, is still remarkable for research of anatomy, and for a boldness only equalled or surpassed at that period in the works of Masaccio himself.

The four scenes about the window of the wall to the right are devoted to the life of some unknown saint.[4]

[1] The first chapel to the right as you enter the church of S. Clemente at Rome is that assigned by Vasari to Masaccio. VASARI, vol. iii., p. 158.

[2] [For a full discussion of the authorship of these frescoes see SCHMARZOW, *op. cit.*, part iv. (*Masaccio oder Masolino: Die Streitfrage in S. Clemente zu Rom*). Mr. Berenson, as we have seen, gives the Lives of S. Clement and S. Catherine of Alexandria to Masolino, and will not allow that Masaccio is to be seen in S. Clemente; in this he follows Morelli. See also WICKOFF, *Die Fresken in der Cappella der Ceil. Katherina in S. Clemente zu Rom* in *Zeitschift für bildende Kunst*, xxiv., fasc. xii. MR. BERENSON'S article, however, in the *Rasseyna d'Arte*, an. viii. (Milano), No. 5, pp. 81–85, should set the whole question at rest. It defines surely once for all what Masaccio's achievement really was.]

[3] This damaged group reveals a fixed intention, carried out with such power that Perugino did not disdain to copy it.

[4] His birth, his appearance in the midst of a crowd of soldiers and pointed out by a child, one of his miracles during an inundation, and his death. In one of these, an aged person lies in bed and accompanies his speech with a gesture of the right arm; whilst at the side of the couch, a priest in red with his head resting on his right arm, is seated on the ground, recalling to the student's memory a similar figure in the dream of the Archbishop of Assisi represented by Giotto in the Bardi Chapel at S. Croce. Most writers describe these scenes as taken from the life of S. Catherine, others as from that of S. Clemente. They are not to be traced, however, in the legends of those saints.

[The scenes to the right appear to be episodes from the life of S. Clemente, those to the left of S. Catherine of Alexandria.]

The opposite wall illustrates the legend of S. Catherine of Alexandria, her defeat of the doctors before Maxentius, her rejection of the pagan idol, her conversion of the Queen from the window of her cell, the vanity of her torture by the wheel, the decapitation of the Queen, and her own. In the first of these episodes, S. Catherine, standing in the centre of a hall, at whose sides eight doctors are seated, propounds and enforces her arguments by the action of one hand on the other. Her reasoning seems chiefly directed to one on the fore-seat to the left, who looks up, whilst his arms are crossed on a book resting on his knee. Maxentius sits on a throne at the bottom of the room in an attitude of majestic repose, and his face is affected by surprise.

In this, the finest composition of the series, and that which has suffered the least damage, the grandeur and simplicity, the spirit and gravity which strike the beholder in the Brancacci Chapel are revealed. The equilibrium and harmony of the distribution, the proportions of the figures, not only in themselves, but with reference to the architecture, are an advance upon the art of Masolino as it appears in Castiglione d' Olona. The simplest attitude, action and expression may be remarked in S. Catherine, and her earnestness appears convincing to the doctors, in whom varied emotion is betrayed and delineated by play of limb of frame and of features.

The sequel of the Dispute is told in a picture on the wall, where the converted philosophers are burning, martyrs to the new faith which they have confessed.

Above the Dispute, S. Catherine points at, and derides, the idol on a pillar in the temple before a crowd led by one whose forms have the fine character of those in the Brancacci Chapel. Her own shape and outline are fine, and that of a youth in the left foreground, who firmly treads on the floor of the temple, pleases by its nobleness. Nothing can be more graceful, natural, or tender than the action of the Queen, seated before the prison window, and of S. Catherine leaning out of it, nothing more earnest than the expression of the head, more fresh and beautiful than the profiles, which surpass anything of the same kind in the figures of Masolino at Castiglione. Outside to the right, an executioner of slender shape, in an affected attitude, restores his sword to the scabbard after the Queen's execution, whilst the soul is taken by an angel to heaven. Beneath and by the side of the Dispute, S. Catherine stands unhurt between the two revolving wheels which break at the touch of an angel, and bruise the heads of the executioners. Her figure, damaged by time and repair, still possesses some of the purity and simple youthfulness which are so agreeable in the works of Angelico, and recalls the manner of Fra Giovanni. The last scene to the right is that in which S. Catherine, kneeling with joined hands, awaits the executioner's blow in the presence of a guard whose frames are concealed to the shoulders by large shields. A fine type of head, coloured in a bright rosy flesh tone, characterises the saint. In the distant landscape, angels perform the

rite of burial; and in the centre heaven, an angel carries the maiden soul to Paradise.

The Evangelists and the Doctors of the Church in the ceiling are in a bad state. They have long slender forms and draperies similar to those on the ceilings of Masolino in the Baptistery at Castiglione. Half-busts of Apostles and Saints in the vaulting of the entrance arch are damaged like the rest. Outside and above the arch, the Virgin receives the visit of the Announcing Angel, and to the left, S. Christopher carries the Saviour across the stream.[1]

The general appearance of the paintings in the chapel reveals the genius of a youth in the rise of his career, wavering in the midst of those contradictions and imperfections which naturally mark a first effort. By the side of fine and well-conceived figures stand others of an affected character, of slender or otherwise feeble frame. Indecision is mingled with energy, fire, and passion, the result of an imperfect mastery over self, and of a certain hesitation as regards the course to pursue. Compared with Masolino's works at Castiglione these exhibit a less complete study and rendering of form, a less natural delineation of the human features. They have some of the character of Masolino, and reveal his comrade or pupil, youthful, promising, but as yet below the level of even the earliest frescoes of the Brancacci Chapel. As regards technical execution, no more appropriate remark can be made than that it is the same pursued by the successive artists who trace their educational descent from Antonio Veneziano to Masolino.[2] Some heads may be said to exhibit intelligence of form, but the shadows are generally more powerful than those of Masolino. The general tone, however, in so far as one can judge from a greatly repainted series, is rosy, light, and perhaps a little feeble. Greater simplicity in the draperies and less festooning place the painter in contrast with Masolino. A truer harmony between the architecture and the figures, particularly in the fresco of the Dispute, some perspective, a certain sense of atmosphere, as in the mode of detaching the form of S. Catherine from that of Maxentius behind her, disclose the dawn of Masaccio's greatness. It is evident from these frescoes that his powers were yet undeveloped, but that he had already studied with favourable results perspective and the nude. The latter, indeed, appears to have been forced powerfully on his attention, perhaps by Masolino, who obviously attached much importance to it; and the admirers of his

[1] This is all much damaged. In the key of the arch is a scutcheon surmounted by a cardinal's hat.

[2] The ground at S. Clemente is prepared smooth and light, exactly as it was by Masolino. The first painting was a slight water-colour verging to grey in shadow, a yellowish tone in light, the former strengthened with warm fluid glazes, the passages stippled, and the high lights laid thickly on.

genius, who contemplate the flesh forms of the Baptism and of our first parents expelled from Paradise at the Brancacci, may regret the loss of a life-size study of male and female nude which has disappeared from the Casa Palla Rucellai at Florence.[1]

Besides the frescoes of the chapel of S. Clemente, Masaccio produced at Rome several pictures, one of which represented Martin V. and the Emperor Sigismund and the Virgin Mary between four saints. Examining this piece one day with Vasari, Michael Angelo descanted upon its beauties and observed very truly that the Pope and Emperor, Martin and Sigismund, lived in the time of Masaccio. This and other facts might afford a clue to the time when the latter visited Rome. Vasari pretends that, not finding himself quite according to his wish in Florence, he went there to learn, and with the determination to excel; and adds that he left Rome on the news that Cosimo de' Medici, his patron, had returned from exile.[2] Martin V. was elected by the College of Cardinals in Nov. 1417. That very year was remarkable at Florence for the reappearance of the plague, and the consequent migration of many families.[3] Anxiety might induce Masaccio then to visit Rome. His departure from thence must have occurred previous to 1421, when he joined the Guild of the Speziali at Florence. It was therefore not the return from exile of Cosimo de' Medici, which occurred in 1434, but possibly the return to power of Giovanni di Bicci de' Medici (1420), which induced him to revisit his native state. Certain it is, that he twice painted the portrait of Giovanni di Bicci, in the fresco of the Consecration of the Carmine and in a picture which Vasari had seen in the Casa Simon Corsi.[4]

Amongst the acts which have made Giovanni famous, is one which originated in 1427, and caused much ill blood in the community. He created the office of the Catasto, invented income-tax schedules, and thus brought together an invaluable store of information as to the lives and property of every individual in the state. Even Masaccio was obliged to make a return of his income and property, and from this document, which shows that he possessed nothing but debts, history has gained not only the date of his birth, but the exact condition in which he lived, and the place where he kept his shop. His mother had lost her first husband, and was now the widow of a second called Tedesco di Castel S. Giovanni. Her prospects in life were not brilliant; of her dowry 100 florins still remained due. Mona d'Andreuccio di Castel S. Giovanni owed her forty florins, and the executors of her

[1] VASARI, vol. iii., p. 157. [2] VASARI, vol. iii., p. 158.

[3] In September 1417 numbers of Florentine families took refuge from the plague in S. Gimignano. *Annals*, in PECORI, *ubi sup.*, p. 207.

[4] VASARI, vol. iii., p. 160.

second husband sixty florins, as well as the rent of a vineyard in Castel S. Giovanni. Beyond these sums in expectancy she possessed not a farthing. On the other hand, Masaccio, who lived with his brother Giovanni, born in 1407, and his mother, born in 1382, though he earned six soldi per diem, owed one hundred and two livres four soldi to Niccolò di Ser Lapo, a painter, six florins to one Piero Battiloro, and had various articles of property in pledge at the pawnshops of the "Lion" and the "Cow."[1] His assistant Andrea di Giusto received but irregular pay, and claimed in 1427, for salary in arrear, six florins. The family lived in a house of the quarter S. Croce, for which they paid ten florins a year, and Tommaso kept one of the shops annexed to the old Badia, built, it is said, by Arnolfo near the Palazzo del Podestà, for which he paid two florins a year.[2] The condition of Masaccio was more favourable according to his own account than the reality. Niccolò di Ser Lapo, in his schedule of the year 1427, declares that Tommaso di Ser Giovanni owes him 200 livres, and, in a later declaration of 1430, that sixty-eight livres were still due which he had no hope of ever receiving, as Tommaso had gone to Rome, had died there, and his brother Giovanni pretended that he was not the heir.[3]

Yet Masaccio did not allow the unfavourable condition of his daily existence to affect his mind or spirits; and were we not assured by Vasari, "that he loved solitude and the confinement of his room, and cared as little for himself as for the world in general,"[4] the peculiar character of his artistic creations would have suggested that he lived for his art solely, and that a fire burnt within him, incompatible with aught but the pursuit of those great problems of perfection in art which he had apparently determined to search to their innermost depth, and which, in truth, were through him as nearly solved as was possible for a genius of the fifteenth century. According to the admission of the Aretine biographer, the frescoes of the Brancacci Chapel were not all executed at one time, and Masaccio interrupted his labours on one occasion at least when he consented to perpetuate the memory of the consecration of the Carmine by a fresco representing that event. It will be remembered that that ceremony took place on the 19th of April 1422. The probability is therefore that the date of the Brancacci

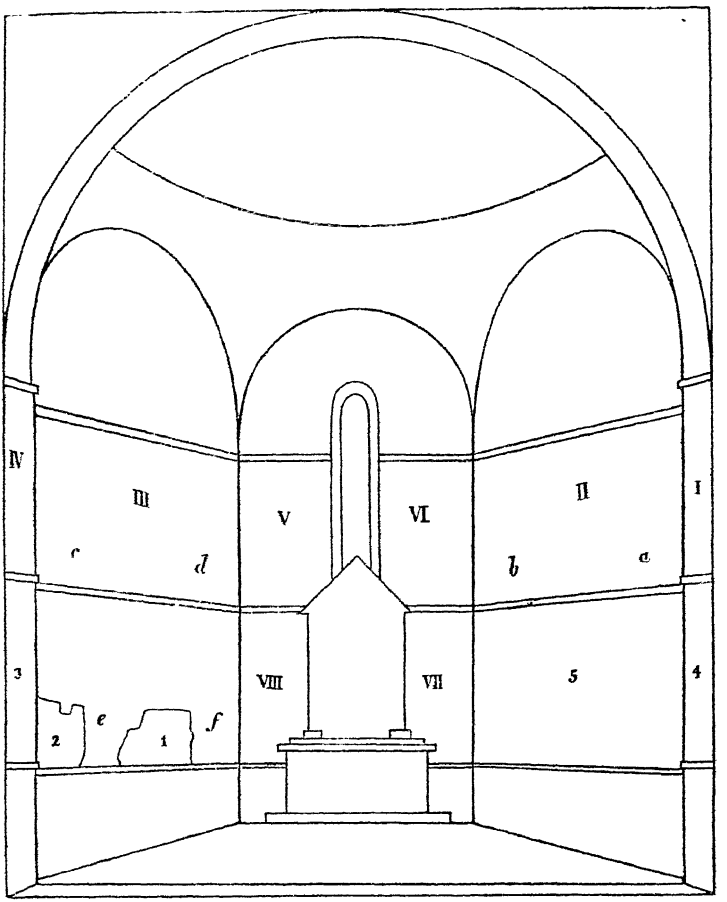
[1] To understand the painful condition of persons obliged to pawn at Florence in the fifteenth century, read the records of Oderigo di Credi, *Archiv. Storico, ubi sup.*, vol. iv., where Oderigo himself declares that for 20 livres, borrowed for six months at the Presto del Ponte alla Carraia, on a coat, lined with green taffety, he pays 4 liv. 13 sol. or above 50 per cent. interest per annum.

[2] See the original "Denunzie" in GAYE, *Carteggio*, vol. i., p. 115.

[3] See the "Denunzie" of Niccolò di Ser Lapo, for 1427 and 1430 in *Gior. Stor. d. Archiv. Tosc.*, third quarter 1860.

[4] VASARI, vol. iii., p. 154.

frescoes is to be found in an interval extending from 1423 to 1428, at which time Masaccio ceased to exist. The reader will bear in mind the reasons which favour the opinion that Masolino did not paint any



PERSPECTIVE OF BRANCACCI CHAPEL AT THE CARMINE OF FLORENCE

of the frescoes at present in the chapel.[1] This being premised, it would appear that after Masaccio had painted a figure of S. Paul in the bell-room, in order to prove his ability,[2] he adorned the chapel with the following series of subjects numbered according to their sequence in the above plan.

[1] [On this question see *supra*, p. 225, *note* 1; and p. 235, end of *note* 2.]
[2] A figure which has since perished.

I. On the right pilaster of the entrance, Adam and Eve under the Tree of Knowledge, hitherto assigned to Masolino.[1]

II. Upper course of the wall to the right of the entrance, comprising: (*a*) S. Peter healing Tabitha; (*b*) S. Peter curing the Cripple at the gate of the Temple, assigned by Vasari to Masolino.[2]

III. The upper course of the wall to the left: (*c*) the Saviour orders S. Peter to seek the tribute in the mouth of a fish; (*d*) S. Peter's payment of the Tribute.[3]

IV. On the pilaster to the left of entrance: the Expulsion from Paradise.[4]

V. Upper course of end wall, left of altar: S. Peter's Sermon, assigned by Vasari to Masolino.[5]

VI. Upper course of end wall, right of altar: S. Peter Administering the Rite of Baptism.[6]

VII. Immediately below the foregoing: S. Peter Distributing Alms to the Poor.[7]

VIII. S. Peter and S. John Curing the Sick.[8]

IX. (*e*) The Resurrection of the Child, (*f*) and S. Peter in Cathedra partly executed by Filippino Lippi.[9]

The fresco of Adam and Eve under the Tree of Knowledge was probably the first of the foregoing series executed in the Brancacci Chapel. The figures at once challenge comparison with the nudes of Castiglione d' Olona by Masolino; and though it may be admitted that a freer and bolder action mark the opposite fresco of the Expulsion, yet no one will deny, that there is greater resemblance between it and the Temptation, than between the Temptation and the figures of Masolino. In this first effort of the Brancacci Chapel, Masaccio reveals the study of classic statuary. He gives to Adam and Eve fair proportions,

[1] Not noticed by Vasari, but assigned by GAYE to Masolino, *Carteggio*, vol. ii., p. 472. [Berenson agrees with Gaye.]

[2] VASARI, vol. iii., p. 136; and GAYE, *Carteggio*, vol. ii., p. 472. [Berenson and others assign the Healing of Tabitha to Masolino.]

[3] Given by Vasari to Masaccio, vol. iii., p. 161, but strangely enough by Agincourt to Masolino. [Certainly by Masaccio.]

[4] Not noticed by Vasari, but properly assigned to Masaccio by GAYE, *Carteggio*, vol. ii., p. 471.

[5] VASARI, vol. iii., p. 136. Also by Gaye assigned to Masolino, *Carteggio*, vol. ii., p. 472, but obviously by Masaccio. WAAGEN, *Treasures* (8vo, Lond., 1854), vol. ii., p. 387, does not hesitate in the opinion that it is by Masaccio. The latest annotators of Vasari give the fresco to Masolino, *vide* vol. iii., p. 190. [Berenson and others also assign it to Masolino.]

[6] Given by Vasari to Masaccio, *Lives*, vol. iii., p. 161.

[7] Given by Vasari to Masaccio, ibid.

[8] Given by Vasari to Masaccio, ibid.

[9] VASARI, vol. iii., p. 161. Thomas Patch, Agincourt, Hugford in the *Etruria Pittrice*, Lasinio, Rosini assign to Masaccio the S. Paul before the proconsul. But it is as RUMOHR, on sufficient grounds, *Forschungen*, vol. ii., p. 250, and the style prove, by Filippino. GAYE, *Carteggio*, vol. ii., p. 469, very confidently asserts this against ROSINI, whose defence, *Storia della Pittura Ital.*, vol. ii., p. 281, is inconclusive and baseless. [Certainly by Filippino Lippi.]

Francesco Bocchi was the first to assign all the frescoes of the Brancacci to Masaccio. *Vide* BOCCHI in *Richa*, vol. x., p. 38.

a long, but not unnatural figure; yet the lines are not so modulated as to produce supreme elegance; and the heads seem small in contrast with the frames. The style in which the figures are drawn, the forms of the nude, are not essentially different from those which mark later productions of the series.

Nothing can be finer than the group of men and women by the sick-bed in which Tabitha revives at the bidding of S. Peter. Life and energy mark the group of the Cripple and Apostles at the gate of the Temple and that of the youths walking behind in converse. No doubt, the latter are reminiscent of the art of Masolino, whether they be considered with reference to the manner in which they move, the character of the draperies, or the soft rotundity of outline in the faces. But Masaccio recalls Masolino, as Raphael in certain works reminds us of Perugino. Those very parts which revive in the beholder's memory the figures of Masolino are rendered in a manner which cannot be found at Castiglione; and, whilst it may be granted that they do not altogether exhibit the nobleness and grandeur of others in the chapel, they still harmonise with the remainder of the series, and show more unity and better laws of proportion than were possessed by Masolino. None of the frescoes of Castiglione can boast of a background of houses, a square in such a severe style of architecture, with such subordination of the buildings to the persons before them. Could Masolino have done this, who almost at the same period or later used architecture as a symbol, who painted houses and arcades into which none of the human beings he represents could enter? Here at last the eye meets something which is the semblance of the reality, a new and hitherto unknown progress in art. Architecture, which at the time of Giotto and up to the dawn of the fifteenth century, had been but a subordinate part of ornamentation, was pardonably neglected because second to composition and the development of subject and form. It gained more importance and a more reasonable shape every day after the death of Giotto. Giottino and Antonio Veneziano improved it, but its proper form and place were discovered by Masaccio. Is it necessary to point out that these were acquirements quite beyond those of Masolino? Masaccio alone could have executed this fresco of the Healing of Tabitha and its perspective distances; and to him, as a painter, Ghirlandaio, who also inherited the laws of chiaroscuro and relief, owed that perfection which reveals itself in the Miracle of the Child of the Spini family, so admirably depicted in the Sassetti Chapel of S. Trinità at Florence. To him, in part, and to Ghirlandaio, we owe what Vasari called the modern art that culminated in Raphael.

A masterpiece of composition, and in this respect grand above all

others in the chapel, is the fresco of the Tribute, where Christ, at the demand of the tribute-taker who stands before him, orders Peter to seek it in the mouth of the fish. The disciples stand by in front of a house, and the country of Capernaum is a hilly landscape interspersed with trees and bushes.[1] By the sea-shore to the left, Peter has cast his cloak on the ground and draws the piece from the fish's jaws, whilst to the right, by the porch of the house, he pays it to "him that receives tribute-money."[2] Masaccio here reveals in the fullest measure his grasp of the maxims which Giotto had immutably declared. But, whilst he thus worthily closes a great period, he opens a new one. One hand unites him to Giotto; the other is extended to Raphael. The distribution of the subjects is made exactly on the principle which guided the first of Florentine artists in the Resurrection of S. John Evangelist at S. Croce. No more grand or majestic air was ever simulated by a painter than that given to the youthful Redeemer, whose elastic movement as He addresses Peter is nature itself. What character, readiness of action, and intelligence of expression; what firmness of tread and gravity of form; what massive breadth of drapery can be imparted in the best and most varied manner to a series of figures, is here demonstrated. Nor are these the proportions or frames of humble mortals so much as of men conscious of a mission. The mind of the painter seems to have been abstracted, at the time of production, from all sublunary concerns, like that of Michael Angelo, who forgot the world, its cares and its pleasures, when, with one hand, he wielded the chisel, and with the other the hammer. The same spirit and feeling which, in spite of the mutation of time, are to be found in the Apostles and Prophets of the Baptistery of Ravenna and in those of Giotto, are visible in those of Masaccio and reappear afterwards in Raphael. They have all a common principle; because, though the sublime and beautiful may vary as regards the mode in which they are produced, in the essentials they are ever alike. In S. Peter, who stoops for the money in the mouth of the fish, a less noble but still forcible action is noticeable, but the attitude and movement of the tribute-taker, who looks at Peter as he prepares to obey the command, is as masterly and natural as is the expression of his face, which seems to indicate perfect confidence in the superhuman power of the Saviour. One might indeed conceive, as one looks at the shape and motion of this figure, that it issues from a bas-relief by Ghiberti, or that Donatello inspired those all but plastic forms. As the biographer truly says, Masaccio "trod in the steps of Filippo and

[1] This distance, painted as usual in tempera and not in buon fresco, has suffered.

[2] Matthew, chap. xvii., 24.

Donato."[1] Like all great artists, like Giotto and Orcagna, like Raphael and Michael Angelo, Masaccio studied the three sister-arts of sculpture, architecture, and painting, taking the first for his guide as regards form and relief by light and shade, the second to assist the production of effect by due proportion of edifices. The figure of the tribute-taker, further, represents intelligence of the perspective of form allied to bold talent for design, and in its motion embodies the laws laid down by Leonardo da Vinci in the sixteenth century. It indicates a double action, that which is in course of execution and its consequence. It is the bond of union between that part of the composition in which Peter starts to obey the divine command, and the other part in which that command is carried out.

Amongst the apostles on the extreme right of the central group is one with a square head, full locks and a pointed beard, powerfully built, draped in the grand and massive folds of a red mantle which displays to full advantage a muscular frame. This apostle is aged about thirty; his features have the individuality of a portrait; and we have here evidently the likeness of Masaccio himself such as Vasari engraved it, although in the transcript the draughtsman seems to have aged him a little. In expression and weight the figure may be said to exhibit the power and vigour dwelling in the face and frame of one capable of executing the grand works of the Brancacci Chapel.

In the Expulsion again, Masaccio foreshadowed the art of the sixteenth century, and gave such an impulse to that of his time that Raphael found little to change in the spirit and conception of the subject, when he represented it in the Logge of the Vatican. In both frescoes Adam is exactly the same, Eve slightly altered at Rome by the reversal of the position of the arms, and therefore producing better lines of composition. Grief and shame, admirably expressed in the faces—a most natural play of limb and excellent definition of naked form, in accordance with the laws of relief, charm the eye; and it is evident that Raphael was so strongly impressed with the beauty of the group, and satisfied with its propriety, that, as far as the figure of Adam is concerned, he could not find one better or fitter. The angel in the Brancacci indicates, from a cloud above the group, the exit from Paradise, and wields the sword in his right hand, whilst that of Raphael drives Adam out by laying a hand on his shoulder. But Masaccio here again divined all the great rules obeyed in the sixteenth century, exhibiting knowledge of the laws of motion, foreshortening the body, and bathing it in atmosphere, so that it appears to fly. The form of the heavenly messenger, which in its grace and beauty of

[1] VASARI, vol. iii., p. 155.

contour had been left imperfect by Giotto as regards detail, which had been improved and foreshortened by the intuitive sagacity of Orcagna, was brought nearly to perfection by Masaccio, who introduced into it beauty and nobleness of shape, and, to a given amount of perspective which enabled him to improve the truth of the lines, added as much atmosphere as might satisfy the most fastidious eye. It is true he lost some of the severe gravity of the fourteenth century, but he foreshadowed the grace and elegance of modern art, the perfection of plastic form and linear perspective attained by Ghirlandaio, and the supremely fine conceptions of that perfect master in every branch, Raphael.

The Sermon of S. Peter combines, more than any other fresco in the Brancacci, the grandeur of style which marks the group of philosophers in the School of Athens at Rome, and the high principle which presided over the creation of the Vision of Ezekiel in the Pitti Gallery at Florence. S. Peter in profile, preaching with his right arm aloft, is as fine and characteristic as the crowd of listeners sitting and standing in front of him. The combination of thought and age on a face of a noble cast is wonderfully rendered in the open wrinkled brow of the nearest spectator close to a female in the foreground, who contrasts with him by the soft character of her regular features. Varied movement and attitudes in the rest of the congregation, as well as varied forms of head, a powerful naturalism and imitation of truth similar to that in the figures of the crowd who surround the Baptist in the desert at Castiglione, recall to the spectator's memory the creations of Masolino. Yet the superiority of Masaccio in every essential, his power in the expression of the passions, may be admitted at once by those who have studied at the Brancacci and in the Lombard Baptistery. Again, if the listeners are reminiscent of Masolino, the figure of S. Peter is equally so of Raphael. Whilst to complete the proof that we have here to deal with Masaccio and with no other, one may advantageously compare the Sermon of Peter with the Conception in the Academy of Arts at Florence.[1]

Many of the figures, and particularly that of the shivering proselyte in the Baptism, who stands in the right foreground with arms crossed, have suffered from the eruption of salt from the lime of the intonaco. But the nudes are fine. S. Peter, in profile and grave in features,

[1] The distance in this fresco of the Brancacci is a massive and simple landscape of hills.

[The Conception (No. 70) in the Academy of Florence, is an early work by Masaccio. Mr. Berenson and others follow Vasari, as we have seen, and give this fresco of the Sermon of S. Peter as well as the Healing of Tabitha and the Fall of Adam and Eve to Masolino.]

pours water over the naked form of one kneeling in front of him. Muscular developments are more strongly defined here than elsewhere ; and, in this respect, the fresco is the culminating point of the art which found its first expression in the Temptation, its second in the Expulsion. The difference between the nudes of the Temptation and those of the Expulsion is greater than that between those of the Expulsion and Baptism ; still they have the same character, the same stature, and they only show how the artist progressed in his studies and labour. None resemble the nudes of Masolino. Here, as Vasari remarks, is indeed modern art, and a grand easy style.[1]

Passing onwards to the next fresco, we see S. Peter advancing, with S. John accompanied by a crowd and giving alms, a scene full of truth. Grand in another sense, and remarkable for beautiful freedom of action, is a youthful female with a child in her arms and stretching out her hand to receive alms. Her features, which are of noble lines, have lost their freshness in poverty and privation. Her dress is drabbled, and a white cloth covers her head.[2] To the left is the crowd of beggars, one of whom lies inanimate in the centre of the picture and at Peter's feet.[3]

Earnestness and truth are combined in the fresco of S. Peter and S. John curing the infirm with their shadows.[4] The former in the centre seems to move forward, accompanied by the latter and followed by the poor and sick, in attitude of prayer or expressing hope and faith in their countenances. Peter is grave and dignified, the Apostle, as Giotto knew so well how to paint him. A cripple on the ground rests his hands on crutches, and looks up with anxious desire for restoration to a happier condition. A realistic form and expression, the marks of suffering and pain are inevitable and appropriate ; and Masaccio reproduces nature in its ailments, and poverty in its repulsive features, without marring the general effect of his picture.[5] S. Peter has the gravity and thought which the first Florentine painter knew how to render, and which Masaccio develops almost to the level of the standard upheld by the greatest of Italian artists.[6]

[1] The distance again is a landscape of hills, as in the great Florentines, spacious and of simple lines.

[2] The lower half of this dress has been repainted.

[3] This figure has also been damaged. According to Tanzini, it is that of Ananias, and the alms of Peter are given from the money which has been taken from him.

[4] Contrast this idea with that of the high caste Hindoo, who assumes that the shadow of the Pariah, projected over him, makes him unclean.

[5] This is the quality of a great genius. It was in Giotto as in Raphael.

[6] In the background to the left is a man corresponding exactly to Vasari's portrait of Masolino. He wears a red barret, is dressed in a mantle, and appears to have reached the age of thirty-five or forty. The portrait of Masolino given by Vasari is older than that which he reprints of Masaccio.

The last fresco upon which Masaccio laboured in the Brancacci, is devoted to S. Peter in Cathedra, and the Resuscitation of a Youth, supposed by Father Tanzini to be Eutychus,[1] who fell asleep during a sermon preached by S. Paul, and, dropping from a window sill, lost his life. The subject, according to Vasari, is the "Resurrection of the Son of the King by S. Peter and S. Paul,"[2] but seems to have been taken from the forty-fourth chapter of the Golden Legend, entitled "De Cathedra Sancti Petri."

S. Peter, says this authority, sits on the regal throne, because he was the prince of all kings; on the sacerdotal throne, because he was the pastor of all the clergy; on the magisterial throne, because he was the teacher of all Christians. The throne of S. Peter is festively celebrated by the Church for four reasons, the first of which is this: When Peter preached at Antioch, Theophilus, prince of that city, asked him why he subverted the reason of the people. Peter continued to preach, and Theophilus caused him to be imprisoned without food or water. Paul, hearing of his confinement, introduced himself to the prince as a workman in carving and painting, abode with him, and succeeded in secretly visiting Peter in prison. Food and wine revived the spirits of the prisoner, and Paul interceded with Theophilus, saying that Peter, who could cure the infirm and restore the dead to life, might be more useful as a free man than in chains. Theophilus replied that he did not believe in Peter's miraculous power; for one who could revive the dead could liberate himself. "Tell him, however," he added, "to restore to me my son who has been dead fourteen years, and I shall then give him life and liberty." "Thou hast promised much," said Peter to Paul, "yet is it very easy of accomplishment." And Peter, being led out of prison, prayed for the boy, who at once returned to life. Then Theophilus and all the people of Antioch believed; and they built a glorious church in the midst of which they reared a splendid throne. Upon this they seated S. Peter.

In the fresco of the Brancacci, Theophilus sits in the opening of a porch to the left in a court whose screen is adorned with vases of flowers. With sceptre in hand, and numbers of spectators sitting and standing about him, he looks on, whilst Peter restores to life the naked boy before him,[3] a decorous and attentive multitude contemplating the miracle. To the right, the throne has been erected; and S. Peter sits on it, adored by three kneeling figures in front and others standing to his right and left.[4] The central group of this fresco, including the naked boy and the nine spectators behind and to the right, half of the arm and foot of S. Peter, and all but the head of a figure kneeling in

[1] Acts of the Apostles, chap. xx., 9. The miracle here occurs at Troas. In the Golden Legend it takes place at Rome.

[2] VASARI, vol. iii., p. 161.

[3] At the child's feet a white winding sheet, two death's heads and bones.

[4] A piece of the foreground is here damaged.

wonder at the miracle, is by Filippino Lippi.[1] His style is easily recognised in these parts as well as in a group of five standing on the extreme left of the fresco, although one of the heads, that of the fourth from the picture's side, shows much of Masaccio's style in the muscular flexibility of the aged features.[2]

Whilst Masaccio thus exhausted all the knowledge he possessed in a scene which required truth of action and individuality of features, he surpassed himself in the production of colour. Nature itself seems reflected on the eye of the spectator as he sees a number of heads on the same plane preserving their proper relative position and surrounded by atmosphere produced on those principles which found their perfection in the works of Correggio. The first years of the fifteenth century thus witnessed the successful production of that harmony of colour, relief, and sense of distance which entitled the painters of the so-called golden age to the admiration of the world.[3] The rest of the chapel was completed by Filippino Lippi.

That Masaccio left the work unfinished is evident, as one of the frescoes was in part entrusted to a later artist. That the date of Masaccio's last production is 1428 is certain, since records prove that he left Florence and died at Rome about 1429.[4] That Masolino did not paint there in 1427 is shown by this, that he was then in Hungary. That he did not before that time paint any of the present frescoes is apparent, since in 1428 he executed works at Castiglione which reveal a weaker style. The student may inquire whether he might not have worked at the Brancacci after Masaccio; but this is contrary to tradition and experience.[5]

All that remains to be noticed respecting these frescoes, is that they were painted on surfaces of excessive smoothness, with incomparable speed, as may be judged from the size and small numbers of the joints, and according to technical methods easy to define. Masaccio used transparent colours, through which the white intonaco is visible, particularly in the pictures of the upper courses. In the lower series his facility is more apparent than elsewhere, the flesh lights having more body, the shadows being more powerfully glazed, and the execution

[1] These parts are marked in the plan with arabic numbers.

[2] This figure, with a head in profile, wears a black cap and shows part of a white garment at the neck.

[3] Pity, that such a splendid example of Masaccio's art should be obscured by the injudicious removal of the architectural ornaments that once enclosed it, and that, instead of the painted pilasters which framed it, the ceiling and sides should be whitewashed. The Brancacci Chapel is illustrated in the series of the Arundel Society's publications.

[4] [We have documents now that prove Masaccio died in Rome in 1428. *Cf.* SCHMARZOW, *op. cit.*]

[5] [*Cf. supra*, p. 225, *note* 1.]

generally more careful. Being nearer the spectator, they are less massively and broadly treated as regards the distribution of light and shade, more finished in the detail than the upper, and this for the obvious reason that those parts which are nearer the eye require greater minuteness. The whole was evidently prepared in spacious masses on the white ground. Colours of a fluid texture were swept over the surface with great speed and dexterity. The broad shadows were glazed with warm and transparent tones and fused through the semitones into equally broad lights. The flesh tints thus gained a bright though soft and golden tinge, and relief was obtained by the perfect juxtaposition of tints rather than by careful minuteness of stippling. Strong harmonious colour and atmosphere supplied the deficiencies which still existed in linear perspective, added to the severe grandeur of the composition, and gave to figures which trod the ground firmly and boldly an additional charm. The cast of Masaccio's drapery corresponds with the grandeur of the figures and the beauty of their colour. Whilst the play of light and shade in them is correct and massive, the folds are simple and easy. Their colours are in the proper keys for securing harmony, substantial and showing stuff, subordinate to each other, and full of that uniting vapour which is so admirable in Titian, Andrea del Sarto, and Correggio.

As a colourist in fresco, Masaccio maintained the superiority of his countrymen. Whilst he rivalled Giotto in soft lightness and transparency of massive tones, he advanced far beyond him in the combination of strong lights and shadows. Harmonious and powerful colour is to painting what harmonious lines are to composition. Colour first arrests the student's attention and leads him insensibly to admire the arrangement and distribution of the lines. Both qualities are necessary to the complete satisfaction of the beholder; and both were possessed by the Florentines, who thus possessed at once the laws of composition and the language by which its beauties are conveyed to the senses. In Masaccio, who improved upon Antonio Veneziano and Masolino, we have the full development of these powers, which to a less extent existed in Giotto and Orcagna. At a later time, Andrea del Sarto showed in the frescoes of the SS. Annunziata and the Cenacolo outside Florence, that he had brought colouring in fresco to perfect vigour, transparency, and harmony. The utmost that could be attained in giving air and relief together was achieved by Correggio, who followed the same process in his fresco as that employed by Masaccio at the Brancacci. He sketched out his figures with the same breadth of modelling on a white ground, he increased the vigour of his tints by glazing the shadows with warm colours and laying on the high lights

with broad touches; and he covered the whole with the golden tone which produces so much charm. Yet if the paintings of Masaccio are at so high a standard as to place him above the level of his contemporaries and demonstrate the abundance of life and strength in his artistic organisation, it cannot be denied that in certain respects he might have read pernicious lessons to his followers, who might have forgotten to respect severe scientific laws in the attempt to imitate his boldness. Masaccio's art, had it been continued by others where he left it, might have lost all control, as the art of Michael Angelo's followers overstepped all sensible bounds. As regards design, independently of other branches of the craft, Masaccio was as bold as he was great in the production of every part. The movement of his figures was as ready as it was significant;[1] but, like Giotto, he neglected the detail of outline in the feet or articulations of the human figure. The intention was always apparent, but the plastic definition was often absent. Masaccio had not the perfect intelligence of the detail of form. He possessed all the perspective knowledge of his time, but the science was still imperfect, and though he used it such as it was, and intuitively added much that had not been scientifically ascertained, it was not his destiny so far to surpass his age, as to embody all the art of a later period. It was fortunate in the meantime that men of inferior genius like Paolo Uccello lived by his side, whose love of science led them to give up everything to the study of mathematical problems. Following in that path, Andrea Mantegna and Piero della Francesca achieved all that mortal genius could accomplish. The art was kept by men of this stamp within the bounds which Masaccio might have swept away or cleared by a spring. As it was, he almost went beyond the limits of sound principles. He seduces by atmosphere and colour, whilst his lines do not resist the test of the compass and rule. Paolo Uccello and Mantegna do not put the same spell on the feelings of those who contemplate their works. They have no atmosphere and no colour. They form the obverse of the medal as compared with Masaccio; but they also contributed their great and undeniable share to the perfection of later years. The former indeed so prepared the ground that Ghirlandaio was enabled at once to grasp the laws of perspective and apply them on grand and general principles.[2] As a colourist inferior to Masaccio, Ghirlandaio helped Fra Bartolommeo and Raphael to give rotundity and perfect linear perspective to the human frame. A

[1] Choose as an example the Saviour ordering Peter to take the tribute from the mouth of the fish. The hand has a Giottesque contour in intention and the detail is wanting.

[2] That he diligently studied Masaccio is asserted by VASARI, vol. iii., p. 162.

sculptor in painting, he chiselled out form, and gave it classic perfection.[1] The qualities which were those of modern art in Masaccio, and which made him worthy of so high a place in the fifteenth century, were more inherent in the genius of the man than a natural consequence of the state of the pictorial knowledge of his time. But we may be justified in saying that art from Giotto to Masaccio developed itself within the limits of the truth, breathing the same elements, having equal depth and force, the same laws and the same imperfections.

Amongst the commissions undertaken and finished whilst the Brancacci frescoes were still on hand, one was in the Carmine, and represented the Consecration of that monastery. It was painted, says the biographer, in terra verde above the door leading from the cloister into the inner parts of the building, and reproduced the procession exactly as it went forth,[2] comprising Brunelleschi, Donatello, Masolino, Antonio (? Michele) Brancacci, Niccolò da Uzzano, Giovanni di Bicci de' Medici, Bartolommeo Valori and Lorenzo Ridolfi.[3] The gate, the hall porter with the keys in his hand, the perspective of the procession with the diminishing proportion of the figures, the care with which the stature of the various persons delineated was distinguished, had pleased the fastidious eye of Vasari. Unfortunately for succeeding generations, the picture was whitewashed. Since then a fresco, apparently by Masaccio, has been recently recovered in the cloister. But the piece, thus restored to public view, is executed not in terra verde, but in colours. It represents part of a procession.

On the right stands a monk in profile holding aloft a cross in front of an altar. Behind, and to the spectator's left of that figure, two friars face each other in converse, and, further on in the same direction, are vestiges of a group comprising one in a red cap and yellow mantle. Above these vestiges is the outline of a block of houses in good perspective, in front of which a monk, of obese character with a laughing face, seems to have just confessed a younger brother friar. To the left of this, again, is a headless figure. Concealed behind an elevation of the ground, in rear of the confessing group, are half-figures of two friars, one of whom in profile looks on, whilst a second gesticulates and points with both hands downward. In the distance a church and a landscape of hills are massively depicted in tempera.

This is a fine relic, untouched by restorers, and replete with the

[1] See for an example his Appearance of the Angel to Zachariah, at S. Maria Novella in Florence, which is only surpassed by Raphael.

[2] VASARI, vol. iii., p. 159.

[3] The Annotators of VASARI, vol. iii., *note* 2 to p. 160, say that Lorenzo Ridolfi, a Venetian, was in Florence but twice, namely as ambassador in 1402 and 1425. Yet if he was present at the consecration, which took place in 1422, they must be in error, or else Masaccio, painting in 1425, may have introduced him into the procession although he had not been there.

qualities which have already been fully described as characteristic of Masaccio. It illustrates the broad manner in which he laid in his masses, and presents to the eye fluid shadows, simple and easy draperies, perfectly decorous action and fine architecture. This work alone might be a sufficient key to the mode in which Masaccio proceeded.[1]

Vasari describes Fra Filippo Lippi as having painted in terra verde a fresco of a pope confirming the rules of the Carmelites near the Consecration by Masaccio in the cloister of the Carmine.[2] Fra Filippo, however, can hardly be the author of this painting, which is too much in accordance with the great style of Masaccio, and besides, is not in terra verde. One of the finest remnants of Masaccio, however, has been recovered in the present century. It represents the Trinity, and was executed by him within the screen of the great nave of S. Maria Novella at Florence over an Adoration of the Magi finished at an earlier period.[3] Vasari, after he had given Masaccio appropriate commendation for the talent displayed in this capital piece, was not generous enough to refuse a commission for covering it over with a picture of his own,[4] and it was only brought to light again recently. Placed in the hands of restorers immediately afterwards, it was sawed away from the wall, and carried to an empty space on the side of the church to the right of the entrance, where it may now be seen so changed that it can hardly be recognised as a work of the master.[5]

In front of a flight of steps leading up into an arched passage, whose vault is ornamented with a panelling in good perspective, the Eternal appears, supporting on His hands a Crucifix, upon which the Redeemer hangs with both feet superposed, and peaceful in death. The Dove hovers over the Saviour's head. The Virgin and S. John Evangelist stand at each side in front of the steps, the former closing her veil with her right hand and indicating the Saviour, the latter looking up and wringing his hands. In front of these again kneel the donors, a man of middle age in profile and a female in a similar position.

Vasari exhausts the usual sentences of panegyric in a notice of the beauties that distinguished the perspective distance of an Annunciation by Masaccio in S. Niccolò di là d'Arno.[6] He is almost equally enthusi-

[1] [This fragment is not accepted by most modern critics as by Masaccio, and is generally given to his school.]

[2] VASARI, vol. iv., p. 116.

[3] In the fourteenth century, as appears from a remnant of the Angel Announcing to the Shepherds, to the right of the pilaster supporting the architrave beneath which the perspective arch opens.

[4] VASARI, vol. iii., p. 156.

[5] The fresco was fairly preserved with the exception of some parts in the painted architecture on the foreground occupied by the portraits, and the blue dress of the Eternal. The remarks in the text apply to its condition when first discovered. Its present aspect is that of a wall darkened with a coat of grease.

[6] Which has perished. VASARI, vol. iii., p. 156.

astic in describing the perspective of the arch in the Trinity at S. Maria Novella, where it is clear that the painter, taking a high centre of vision, exhibited a knowledge of the science almost equal to that of the sixteenth century. The damaged figure of the Eternal, with its blue dress, originally painted in tempera and now almost colourless, is remarkable for a head of muscular development and of regular plastic forms. His feet, resting on the steps, are foreshortened with consummate art. The Redeemer's narrow head, crowned with thorns, bends slightly, and is somewhat small for the frame. Its type is Giottesque. Copious hair and a long straight beard encircle features impressed with realistic marks of pain, and the muscles of the face are developed in the plastic style of those which distinguish Donatello and Ghiberti's sculpture. The forms, in their natural appearance, disclose the effort to imitate nature rather than present an ideal of the Saviour; and thus, whilst Masaccio pursued the reality, he lost the noble harmony of outline and proportion, the sacred type which Giotto preserved.[1] Striving to add what the great Florentine neglected, he lost the quality for which the latter was remarkable. So in Giotto the idea prevailed over form. In Masaccio form prevailed over the idea, and that is the grand difference between the artists who mark the birth of two great periods.

Powerful and energetic forms are combined in the figure and face of the Virgin, who is represented as a matron of fifty with the remains of fine features clouded by suffering, but tinged with no softness or tenderness. A depth of sentiment almost akin to that of Raphael marks, on the other hand, the upraised head of the youthful S. John, whose movement and expression reveal intense calmness of passion. The kneeling patron to the left, in a red cap and mantle, prays in quiet repose, and, like the female opposite to him, seems to have reached the age of fifty. The face of the latter is masculine and healthy, and her features strongly marked.[2] As in the nude of the Saviour, the anatomical study conspicuous in the frame is not carried out in the extremities, and these only keep their place by the natural truth of their movement, so in the portraits of the donors a bold neglect is allied to a realism equal to that of Michael Angelo. In the face of the female, a fulness of life, a striking boldness of outline and of glance prevail, which recall the best efforts of Donatello.[3]

[1] See the remarks *infra* on the Crucified Saviour of Giotto and the Crucified Peter in the sacristy of S. Pietro at Rome.

[2] An under-cap painted in black is partly covered by the blue drapery of a mantle veiling the head.

[3] As usual Masaccio painted on a surface of the utmost smoothness; and having carried his design upon it, he prepared the whole of a light transparent and fluid grey verging on green, using for this purpose a flat and broad tool. He modelled the masses of shadow as a sculptor would his preparatory clay,

Technically Masaccio introduced into painting the same tools almost as the sculptor. His drawing was here more than usually rapid; for it seems to have been traced with the speed of lightning on the wall, appearing to be rather an instant creation of the will than the deliberate work of the hand. He concentrated his attention principally on the development of the movement of the figure, and hence, no doubt, was led like Giotto to neglect the more minute detail that was of little use for significance. Having given the general movement, he searched out the forms of the head, in order that it might be imbued with life, character and expression. The care with which he chose the instruments of his trade is a proof that his skill as a manipulator did not disdain every facility that might minister to success. By these means, by relief in modelling the form determined by the drawing, with the life created by the just value of tints, and with the transparency caused by never totally concealing the underground, he produced the works which we admire.

A less perfect and probably earlier example of Masaccio's manner than those hitherto noticed is the Conception painted originally for the church of S. Ambrogio, and now in the Academy of Arts at Florence.[1] In arrangement exactly similar to one by Agnolo Gaddi outside Prato, its colour is altered to a sad red tone in the flesh, and it is generally flat from the superabundance of varnish laid on in past times or from restoring, but it recalls the style of the Temptation, of the Healing of Tabitha, or of the least advanced portions of the Sermon of S. Peter at the Brancacci Chapel. It is therefore a picture reminiscent of the manner of Masolino, being composed of figures, of regular forms, but of soft features, and marked by draperies in a slight degree festooned. The nude of the infant Saviour, the angels, are not as finely drawn as the figures in the frescoes at the Brancacci usually assigned to Masolino. The proportions and outlines of the long and slender forms are

seconding the rounding of the various flesh forms and planes by the direction of the sweep given to his brush, and making use of the white ground for the light. He then covered the whole of the parts in light with a warm transparent glaze, and thus produced the local flesh tone, beneath which the ground never altogether disappeared. A few touches of body-colour served to bring out the highest lights. The shadows were strengthened with warm yellowish, transparent glazes, the tinge of lips and cheeks with a ruddy flush of colour. Stippling he seldom or never used except in small and very secondary parts. An instance of the rapidity and ease of hand which he possessed may be shown by the following example. The hair of S. John's and the Redeemer's head was broken in with great breadth and with brushes of various size, in sweeps following the form previously determined on. A few lines defined the direction of the locks as in the S. John. In the Saviour a flat brush, parted so as to give a quadruple stroke, was used to define the waves.

"La Trinità è per mano di Tho. Masacci," says ALBERTINI, *Mem., ubi sup.*, p. 13.

[1] VASARI, vol. iii., p. 155. [The altarpiece is now catalogued under No. 70.]

yet distinctly those of Masaccio; and this altarpiece alone suffices to illustrate the remarks which have already been made as to the authorship of the Brancacci frescoes. The gallery of the Uffizi boasts of two pictures by Masaccio. One is supposed to be his own portrait in full front, wearing a cap, life size, and youthful.[1] It is not like the alleged portrait at the Brancacci, and has not so much the character of a work by Masaccio as of one by Filippino Lippi. It is painted with much skill and ease, and with slight colour on a tile. The second picture of the Uffizi[2] is also on tile, and represents an aged man, at three-quarters, with a brown barret and dress. The size is that of nature. Though a fine portrait, it has not the breadth and ease of hand of Masaccio, and is possibly by Sandro Botticelli.[3]

An inexplicable mystery overhangs the last days of Masaccio. His disappearance from Florence gave rise to whispered rumours of poison,[4] which still vibrated in the atmosphere of the sixteenth century; yet the truth was, nobody knew what had become of him. He had left the finest fresco of the Brancacci Chapel incomplete, and abandoned Florence, his mother and brother. They had to answer for debts which he had been unable to pay. His creditor Niccolò di Ser Lapo still claimed sixty-eight lire. The office of the Catasto again presented its income-tax paper; but in vain. That paper still exists filled up in part from Masaccio's form of 1427, but sent back with the words in a strange hand, "Dicesi è morto in Roma."[5] Niccolò di Ser Lapo, in his return for 1430, adds that Masaccio still owes him money, "but he died in Rome, and I don't know whether I shall ever get any part of my debt, as his brother says he is not the heir."[6] The following relates to pictures either absent or not genuine:

Of Masaccio's remaining works noticed by Vasari at Florence none have been preserved.[7]

[1] [This is a portrait of Filippino Lippi by himself, now in the Gallery of Portraits of Painters in the Uffizi, No. 286.]

[2] [No. 1167. This painting, also, is ascribed by Mr. Berenson and others to Filippino. The *Cicerone*, however, gives it to Masaccio.]

[3] In the Corsini Gallery (36) a half-length portrait of a man, full face, with a ring in his hand, in red cap and dress, is assigned to Masaccio, but is by Botticelli. In the Torrigiani Gallery at Florence an injured portrait, said to be of Masaccio himself, three-fourths in a red cap and black dress, life-size bust, is ascribed to Masaccio, but displays the character of Filippino in the frescoes of the Brancacci. If this be the portrait noted by CINELLI (*vide Com.* to VASARI, vol. v., p. 259), it has no likeness to that of the Uffizi. [It is the bust of a youth by Filippino.]

[4] VASARI, vol. iii., p. 165.

[5] *Vide Gior. Stor. d. Arch. Tosc., ubi sup.*, third quarter 1860.

[6] Ibid. "Rede di Tommaso di Ser Giovanni dipintore den dare lire sessanta otto. Questo Tommaso morì a Roma non so se mai n'arò alcuna cosa, poichè dice il fratello non essere rede."

[7] The student will seek in vain for his picture of Christ Casting out a Devil,

A life-size Virgin enthroned, with the infant Saviour in the act of benediction, hangs in the chapel to the right of the choir in the church of S. Giovanni, Masaccio's native place, and is shown as one of the productions of his youth. It is, however, a feeble work by one of his imitators.

A male portrait of a member of the Panichi family at Florence is exhibited under Masaccio's name in the Gallery of Modena,[1] but is clearly not by the master. Common and poor likewise are the so-called Masaccios at Munich. A portrait of a man[2] is by a third-rate Sienese of the fifteenth century. A Miracle of S. Anthony of Padua[3] is by a weak imitator of Pesellino. Masaccio's own portrait, half-figure in a red cap, is not like that of the Carmine, and is a bad picture by one who studied the works of Ghirlandaio.[4] Faith and Devotion[5] has more a German than an Italian character.

S. Bernard in the Berlin Gallery[6] is not in the style of Masaccio, but is by some weak Florentine painter of his time. A good portrait in the National Gallery called that of Masaccio himself,[7] in a red cap and brownish dress, has the character of Botticelli and Filippino Lippi. The execution and a certain peculiarity of colour and air might lead the student to prefer Botticelli.

At Manchester, a female portrait in possession of W. D. Lowe, Esq., of Locke Park, Derbyshire (No. 66) was assigned to Masaccio, but displays the style of Sebastian Mainardi. No. 67 in the same hands a portrait (male) has the same character, but is more in the manner of D. Ghirlandaio.

In this class we note a head at Oxford University, assigned to Masaccio, and two profiles, not in the style of the Florentine school.

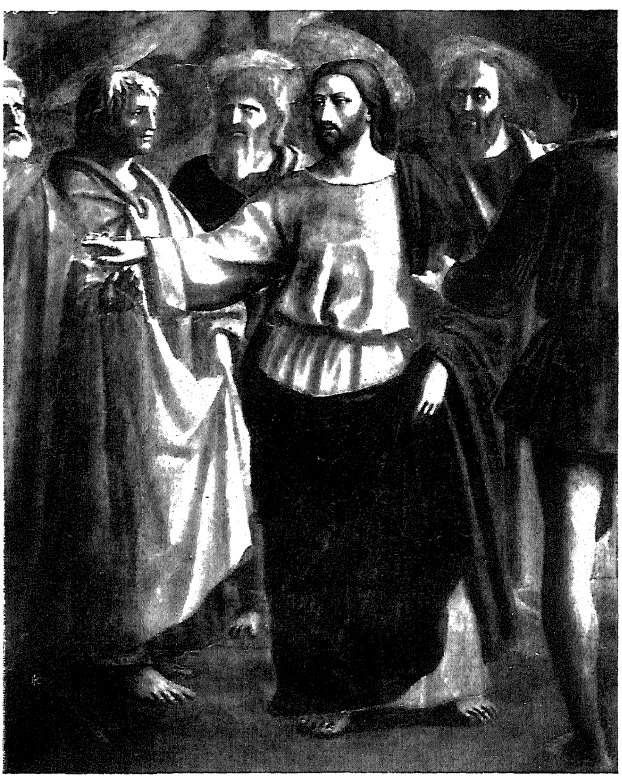
once in the house of Ridolfo Ghirlandaio (VASARI, vol. iii., p. 155), of S. Ivo of Britain, once on a pilaster of the Badia (ibid., p. 156), of the Nativity between SS. Catherine and Julian, with scenes from the lives of these saints in the predella, formerly in S. Maria Maggiore (ibid., pp. 157 and 90). None of the pictures in the Carmine of Pisa are in existence (ibid., p. 157), but a S. Paul, with the sword and book, is preserved in the Academy of Pisa, whose character is as it were that of Masaccio in miniature (the figure is seen to the knees), yet on the whole the work seems more like that of a pupil. [This panel has long been recognised by authoritative critics as a genuine work of the master. Mr. Berenson considers it a part of the altarpiece painted by Masaccio for the Carmine; which the same critic has identified with the great Madonna and Child, with angels, in the collection of the Rev. A. F. Sutton, at Brant Broughton, Newark, and, until its re-discovery by Mr. Berenson, ascribed to Gentile da Fabriano. In an article in the *Rassegna d'Arte* of May, 1908, MR. BERENSON gives an ample description of this important picture, as well as his reasons for considering it to be the original and long-lost altarpiece painted by Masaccio for the church of the Carmine at Pisa in 1426. The two predella pieces, representing the Adoration of the Kings (No. 58A) and the Martyrdom of S. Peter and the Baptist (58B), in the Gallery of Berlin, have always been considered as having once formed part of this same altarpiece; but Mr. Berenson also connects with it the four figures of Saints formerly in the collection of Mr. Charles Butler, and now in the Berlin Gallery; the Crucifixion recently acquired by the Museum of Naples; and the S. Andrew (a companion to the S. Paul at Pisa) in the collection of Count Lanskoronski at Vienna. Mr. Berenson's article is accompanied by a fine reproduction of the picture at Brant Broughton.]

[1] No. 26 of Cat. [2] Cabinets, No. 542. [3] Cabinets, No. 538.
[4] Cabinets, No. 558. [5] Cabinet XIX. [6] No. 1066.
[7] [No. 626, bust seen in front.]

Anderson.

THE TRIBUTE MONEY

MASACCIO. Carmine. Florence.



Anderson.

DETAIL OF ABOVE

MASACCIO. Carmine. Florence.

Alinari.

THE ANNUNCIATION

FRA ANGELICO.

Church of S. Domenico, Cortona.

The Liverpool Gallery has also two pictures, a S. Lorenzo and an Adoration of the Magi, falsely assigned to the master. Other works without a claim to his name abound in various galleries, and may be passed over.

It is enough to have traced from Giotto to Masaccio a direct line of art, in which the progress made by successive painters is marked, each in his littleness adding a stone to the great edifice which was brought to completion in the sixteenth century. Three great names rise out of the crowd and overlook it. Giotto, Orcagna and Masaccio preserved art at the height requisite for its further progress. Ghirlandaio, who followed them, combined all that his predecessors wanted, and, after him, Fra Bartolommeo, Raphael and Michael Angelo, Correggio, Titian and Leonardo da Vinci closed the greatest of all periods in pictorial history.

Masaccio's brother Giovanni survived him a long time. After years spent at Florence in a struggle for daily bread, he appeared at last in the income-tax office (1467), and described himself as married. In 1470 he adds: "Giovanni, aged sixty-three, is infirm. Mona Tita, my wife, is aged forty. Tommaso, my son, who left me seventeen years ago, is, if alive, thirty-two years of age; Antonio Francesco, aged twenty-eight, lives with me, likewise his wife, La Nanina, aged twenty. With me also are La Tancia, my daughter, aged sixteen, Benedetto, my son, aged thirteen, Leonardo, my son, aged ten, La Francischa, my daughter, aged six, Lalesandra, my daughter, aged four."

A return for 1480 exists, but in one of 1498, Giovanni's wife describes herself as *Mona Titta donna fu di Giovanni*.[1]

Giovanni left no name as an artist. Masaccio's ill-paid assistant, Andrea di Giusto, is recorded as the painter of an altarpiece at S. Lucia of Florence in 1436. His son Giusto di Andrea di Giusto laboured as a painter with Neri di Bicci and Benozzo Gozzoli.[2]

[1] GAYE, *Carteggio*, vol. i., p. 115.
[2] *Vide* GAYE, *Carteggio*, *ubi sup.*, vol. i., pp. 211, 212.

[I append a list of Masolino's and Masaccio's known works :—

Masolino—

(1) BREMEN.	*Kunsthalle* (164). Madonna, 1423 (Berenson).
(2) CASTIGLIONE D' OLONA.	*Church.* Frescoes from Life of Virgin.
(3)	*Baptistery.* Frescoes from Life of Baptist, 1428.
(4)	*Palazzo Castiglione.* Frescoes, Landscape, and Friezes (Berenson and Cagnola).
(5) EMPOLI.	*Baptistery.* Fresco of Pietà.
(6)	Fresco of Madonna and Child.
(7) FLORENCE.	*Carmine.* Frescoes: Preaching of S. Peter; Healing of Tabitha; The Fall.
(8) MUNICH.	*Gallery* (No. 1019). Madonna and Angels (Berenson).

(9) NAPLES.	*Gallery.* "Scuola Toscana" (25): Madonna and Christ in Glory.
(10)	"Scuola Toscana" (34): Founding of S. Maria Maggiore.
(11) ROME.	*S. Clemente.* Frescoes: Crucifixion, Scenes from Lives of SS. Clement and Catherine.
(12) S. MINIATO DE' TESDESCHI.	*SS. Jacopo e Lucia.* A Deacon (fresco). (Berenson and Perkins.)
(13)	*S. Francesco.* St. Christopher (fresco). (Berenson and Perkins.)
(14) TODI.	*S. Fortunato.* Madonna, Child, and Angels (fresco). (Perkins.)
(15) SCOTLAND.	*Gosford House* (*Lord Wemyss' Coll.*). Annunciation (Berenson).
(16) STRASSBURG.	*Gallery* (4). Christ in Glory (Berenson).
(17) ROME.	*Christian Museum* (Press XII.). Funeral of the Virgin.
(18)	(Room II.). Crucifixion.
Masaccio—	
(1) BERLIN.	*Gallery.* No. 58A: Adoration of Magi.
(2)	No. 58B: Martyrdom of SS. Peter and John Baptist.
(3)	No. 58C: Birth-plate.
(4)	Four Saints (formerly in Butler Coll.).
(5) BRANT BROUGHTON (NEWARK).	*Rev. A. F. Sutton.* Madonna, Child, and Angels.
(6) FLORENCE.	*Academy.* No. 73 ?: Madonna, Christ, and S. Anne.
(7)	*Carmine.* Frescoes: Expulsion from Eden; Tribute Money; SS. Peter and John Healing the Sick; S. Peter Baptizing; SS. Peter and John Distributing Alms; in fresco the Raising of King's Son; the middle group and part of S. Peter, and scene to right, S. Peter Enthroned, and four Heads in group to left.
(8) MONTEMARCIANO.	*Oratorio.* Fresco: Virgin, Child, and Saints.
(9) NAPLES.	*Gallery.* Crucifixion.
(10) PISA.	*Museo.* S. Paul.
(11) VIENNA.	*Count Lanskoronski.* S. Andrew.

Mr. Berenson also ascribes to Masaccio a portrait of a Young Man in the *Coll. of Mrs. J. L. Gardner*, of BOSTON, U.S.A.; and a panel of the Circumcision, no longer to be found in any known collection (see *Rassegna d'Arte*, an. viii., fasc. viii., p. 86).]

CHAPTER XII

FRATE GIOVANNI DA FIESOLE OR FRA ANGELICO

VICCHIO, a village nestling under the walls of a castle in the province of Mugello,[1] witnessed the birth of two brothers, who in the same year (1407) were admitted novices into the convent of S. Domenico of Fiesole. One of them was christened Guido.[2] Both were the sons of one Peter, respecting whom all other particulars are unknown, and they had doubtless been sent, like most youths, to find sustenance and choose an occupation in the capital. The period when this occurred is not certain; but Guido entered the world in 1387,[3] and, being twenty years of age when he joined the Dominican Order, may be supposed to have already struck the path which he was to follow in after life. In religion he took the name of Giovanni, and is so called in the following passage of the chronicle of S. Domenico of Fiesole:—

"1407. Brother Joannes Petri de Mugello of Vicchio, who excelled as a painter, and adorned many tables and walls in divers places, accepts the habit of a clerk in this convent . . . and in the following year professed."[4]

A passage to the same effect, immediately after the foregoing, records the admission of Guido's brother into the order as "Frater Benedictus,"[5] and justifies the belief that he was not, as Vasari asserts, the elder, but the younger of the two.[6]

It has been doubted whether, previous to entering the order at Fiesole, Guido, or as he may hereafter be more fitly called, Fra Giovanni,

[1] Marchese upbraids the great Montalembert for saying that Fra Giovanni was born in Mugello, a small village near Florence (vol. i., p. 201). See MONTALEMBERT, *Du Vandalisme et du Catholicisme dans l'Art.* Vicchio is between Dicomano and Borgo S. Lorenzo, not far from Vespignano.

[2] VASARI, vol. iv., p. 25. See also a record in BALDINUCCI, *ubi sup.*, vol. v., p. 160. Vasari says in error that Guido was born at Fiesole, vol. iv., p. 25.

[3] VASARI, vol. iv., p. 39; G. M. BROCCHI, *Descriz. della Provincia del Mugello* (Flor., 1748), p. 14, says, Fra Giovanni was born in 1390. *Vide* MARCHESE, *ubi sup.*, vol. i., p. 201.

[4] *Cronica Conv. S. Dominici de Fesulis*, fol. 97 *a tergo*, in MARCHESE (*ubi sup.*, vol. i., p. 207). To Father Marchese the thanks of scholars and lovers of art are due for the care with which he has gathered all facts referring to the lives of Dominican artists.

[5] MARCHESE, *ubi sup.*

[6] VASARI, vol. iv., p. 26.

had learnt the rudiments of his art. Vasari seemed to be of opinion that he began in the monkish school of miniature,[1] like Benedetto, adding nevertheless that he might with the utmost convenience have chosen the career of a layman, and have earned whatever he pleased in a profession which as a youth he practised with consummate skill.[2] It must be remembered that Fiesole is close to Florence ; that youths were apprenticed in their tenderest years, and, above all, that Fra Giovanni, from the first, revealed his connection with the school of Masolino. His earliest works are, however, to be found at Cortona, not in Florence or at Fiesole. But this only corroborates, does not contradict, other facts known respecting the convent of S. Domenico of Fiesole.

That edifice was founded in 1406 by the Beato Giovanni di Domenico Bacchini, with the avowed intention of restoring the strictest observance of cloister life at a time when it had lost much of its rigidity.[3] There, in 1407, a year after the foundation, the two sons of Peter of Vicchio presented themselves to the superior, Father Marco di Venezia, and were admitted into the order.[4] But the convent was unfinished. It contained but fourteen monks and had as yet no novitiate, so that Fra Giovanni and Fra Benedetto were sent to Cartona under the care of the master of the novices, the Beato Lorenzo di Ripafratta.[5] In 1408, the two clerks made profession, though it is not said where. If they pronounced their vows at Cortona, they may have remained there for upwards of ten years.[6] If they came to Fiesole they must have shared the vicissitudes of those who had their abode there. A schism broke out in 1409, and the brethren of S. Domenico of Fiesole became involved in a struggle with the Archbishop of Florence. Rather than acknowledge Pope Alexander V.,[7] who had been elected by the Council of Pisa (1409), they abandoned their convent and fled to Foligno, where

[1] Ibid., vol. iv., p. 25. This opinion is shared by MARCHESE, vol. i., p. 203 ; LANZI, *ubi sup.*, vol. i., p. 77 ; and ROSINI, vol. ii., part ii., p. 254. But Marchese admits that no miniatures of Fra Giovanni exist (vol. i., p. 159).

[2] According to Vasari also, the first works of Fra Giovanni were in the Certosa at Florence, where he painted in the choir an altarpiece of the Virgin and Child between SS. Lawrence, Mary Magdalen, Zanobi and Benedict, with a predella containing scenes from the lives of those saints. This picture and two others in the transept, the Coronation of the Virgin, and a Madonna between two saints, are not known to exist. VASARI, vol. iv., pp. 25, 26.

[3] RICHA, *Chiese, ubi sup.*, vol. vii., p. 118 ; MARCHESE, vol. i., p. 206. The founders of the convent of Fiesole came from Cortona.

[4] Ibid. [5] Ibid., p. 207.

[6] Marchese thinks they came to Fiesole, but does not say whether before or after the vows (vol. i., p. 207). He admits the possibility, however, that they may have remained at Cortona (*note* to vol. i., p. 209).

[7] Fra Tommaso di Fermo, the general of the Dominicans, had sworn obedience to Alexander V., but the friars of Fiesole would not follow his example. MARCHESE, *ubi sup.*, vol. i., p. 208.

they found a refuge and received support from Colino de' Trinci, who owned the town, and from the Bishop Federico de' Franzi.[1] Here they spent five years in lodgings, and were at last driven out by the plague in 1414.[2] They retired then to Cortona, where the united communities resided till 1418.[3] It is obvious that during their novitiate neither Fra Giovanni nor Fra Benedetto had leisure to cultivate painting, and that, if they followed the wanderings of the Fesulan friars, they must have encountered serious difficulties in the pursuit of art—difficulties of no common order for learners, if it be assumed that the two brothers were learners after their vows. It might, however, be natural to expect two things at Foligno, if Fra Giovanni had been there—first, that his master or masters should have left some trace of his or their labours; next, that some works of Giovanni himself should exist there. In reply to the first question, it may be said that miniaturists need not of necessity leave traces of their works. The sequel may show whether it was possible for Giovanni to have been taught by miniaturists. As for the second question, it is speedily answered. Not a single work by Fra Giovanni, either on panel or on the wall, is to be found in Foligno or its neighbourhood. The influence of his school is evident in the neighbouring place of Montefalco, where Benozzo Gozzoli left a great example of his powers; and in the works of Pietro Antonio da Foligno better known as Mezzastris, who left a name at the close of the fifteenth century by following Benozzo's manner.[4] But all this is independent of Giovanni's early career; and it may be safer to assume that his first years of monastic life were spent at Cortona.[5] Here miniaturists may have existed, although as before remarked, Fra Giovanni could have learnt but little from them; but, otherwise, no painters and no school capable of giving instruction. Everything therefore tends to confirm the belief that Fra Giovanni was already an artist when he joined the Dominicans. His works at Cortona, which are numerous, and were still more so, have the freshness of youth, in so far as can be judged from the masterpieces

[1] RICHA, *Chiese*, &c., vol. vii., p. 119. MARCHESE, vol. i., p. 209, calls the Bishop of Foligno, Frezzi. He was a Dominican.

[2] MARCHESE, vol. i., p. 218. [3] Ibid., p. 225.

[4] S. Thomas receiving the Girdle from the Virgin (not, as Marchese supposes, an Annunciation), a picture from S. Francesco of Montefalco, now in the Museum of S. Giovanni Laterano at Rome, was long assigned to Angelico, but is now admitted to be by Benozzo Gozzoli.

[5] Yet PADRE MARCHESE insists (vol. i., p. 212) that Fra Giovanni painted at Foligno. He can only mention as of that time an altarpiece in S. Domenico of Perugia, see *postea*, and says he cannot state that Angelico painted anything for the convent at Foligno, or for others of Umbria. Vol. i., p. 217.

[Mr. Langton Douglas, who has discovered that S. Antonino, with certain of the younger friars, went to Cortona instead of to Foligno and remained there, thinks that Fra Angelico would be among these younger brethren. See LANGTON DOUGLAS, *Fra Angelico* (Bell, 1900), pp. 27, 28.]

of one who preserved freshness to the last; and but one fresco remains there which appears to have been executed at a late period. This is in a lunette outside the portal of the church of S. Domenico, where the painter represented the Virgin and Child between S. Dominic and S. Peter in adoration, with the Four Evangelists in the vaulting.[1] It appears from a bull of Eugenius IV., dated the 13th of February 1438, that the church of S. Domenico of Cortona was then in course of construction. Fra Giovanni therefore must have painted the lunette in question long after the return of the community to Fiesole. The only absence of the artist from that place, or from Florence, was made when he proceeded to Rome,[2] and it may be assumed that this particular fresco, which is rapidly executed and might have taken Giovanni a day, was painted as he journeyed to that capital. All other works at Cortona obviously bear the stamp of an earlier time.

In considering these, and, indeed, all the works of the master, it is apparent that a fixed and immutable principle guided him from the first to the last years of his life. An unwonted religious ardour, an intensity of feeling hitherto unknown, possessed him. His character has been sketched with such rare felicity in this respect by Vasari, that the picture deserves repetition.

"The life of this really angelic father was devoted to the service of God, the benefit of the world and duty towards his neighbour. Virtue so great and remarkable should not and could not descend on any one of a life less holy than that of Fra Giovanni; for those who labour at things ecclesiastical and holy must needs be ecclesiastics and saints. . . . . He was of simple and pious manners; and it is an example of his goodness that, when Pope Nicholas V. asked him to breakfast, he had scruples against tasting meat without the prior's permission, forgetting the authority of the pontiff in such matters. He shunned the worldly in all things, and, during his pure and simple life, was such a friend to the poor that I think his soul must now be in heaven. He painted incessantly; but never would lay his hand to any subject not saintly. He might have had wealth, but he scorned it, and used to say that true riches are to be found in contentment. He might have ruled over many, but would not, saying that obedience was easier and less liable to error. He might have enjoyed dignities amongst his brethren and beyond. He disdained them, affirming that he sought for none other than might be consistent with a successful avoidance of hell, and the attainment of Paradise. And, in truth, what dignity can compare with that which all religious, nay, all men in general, are bound to seek, and which consists in God and a virtuous life? Humane and sober, he lived chastely, avoiding the snares of the world, and he was wont to say that the pursuit of

[1] This fresco is almost ruined by exposure.

[2] It is satisfactorily shown (*vide* Marchese), that from 1418 to 1436 Fra Giovanni remained at Fiesole, that in 1436 he came to S. Marco at Florence.

art required rest and a life of holy thoughts; that he who illustrates the acts of Christ should be with Christ. He was never known to indulge in anger with his brethren, a great and in my opinion all but unattainable quality; and he never admonished but with a smile. With incredible kindness he would tell those who sought his works that, if they settled with the prior, he should not fail. In fact, this father, whom no one can too much praise, was in all his dealings and arguments modest and humble, and in his works easy and pious. The saints whom he depicted had more of the air and semblance of saints than any produced by others. He never retouched or altered anything he had once finished, but left it as it had turned out, the will of God being that it should be so. Some go so far as to say, that Fra Giovanni never would have touched a brush, had he not first humbled himself in prayer. He never represented the Crucified Saviour without having his cheeks bathed in tears; and hence one may judge from the features and attitudes of his figures the perfection of his grand and sincere belief in the Christian faith." [1]

The art of Fra Giovanni or, as he may now be called, Angelico, was inspired and inborn, and he adapted to his religious feeling the means best suited to its expression. But there is a material and practical part in the frame of every painter whether priest or layman; and this, in Angelico, was not derived essentially from the technic of a mere miniaturist. Exquisite care and finish were invariably lavished on his work, and this is a feature usual in miniaturists; but it was one of the least talents which he possessed, and an accessory by the side of greater qualities. His language in art, being the best suited to the development of religious feeling, was beyond measure simple, and in this he verges on the defects of the miniaturist; but, though he neglected many of the mechanical advantages of his profession, his execution was never out of harmony with the grandeur of his composition. In his peculiar path he was an extraordinary genius, and great in one way as Masaccio was in another. Without denying that he pursued, like most beginners of his time, the study of miniature, one may affirm that he was not an exclusive follower of that art in his youth. Between him and Lorenzo Monaco there was that connection which might arise from a community of thought and of condition. Religious sentiment, and what modern critics call the mystic, was common to Lorenzo and to Traini, more marked in Angelico. Two monks like the Camaldolese and the Dominican might work in common and exhibit the same bent of mind without necessarily standing in the relation of master and pupil to each other. Greater, indeed, and far

[1] VASARI, vol. iv., pp. 37–9. MARCHESE, vol. i., p. 199, wonders where Vasari found all the facts he narrates respecting the Angelico, and concludes that he had them from Fra Eustachio, a miniature painter of S. Marco at Florence, who is known to have assisted the Aretine in the notices for his first edition.

more likely to exist was that relation between Angelico and Masolino. The latter, at Castiglione, displayed the same spirit as that of Angelico, not merely in composition, but in tenderness and a birdlike softness and slenderness of form; not merely in light and liquid colour, but in technical methods of execution. In both one may trace the mode of painting on smooth surfaces with faint shadows and fluid tints. In both the architecture was light and pretty, but defective in perspective and out of proportion with the figures. The draperies were cast in the same form, though improved to grandeur and breadth by Angelico. The same type and mould were given to the angels; and those of the Baptism of Castiglione rival in calm religious expression and features, in slenderness and graceful bend, in feminine softness, those of the Dominican. To sum up, there was a common system of distribution, form, thought and expression, in Masolino and in Angelico, similar defects in similar methods; though in Angelico superior genius and talent were remarkable. The dates of their births show that they were all but contemporaries. If Masolino issued from the school which arose under Antonio Veneziano, Angelico did the same. If Masolino is the pupil of Starnina, Angelico may not only have learnt something from the former, but from the latter also.[1] But Angelico did not confine himself to the study of a master; he observed and meditated the examples of the past. We may consider a man of his stamp, born to live the life of a virtuous monk, and making everything subordinate to the religious fire which fed his soul, to have had a mind open not merely to impressions conveyed by precept, but to impressions arising from the study of great models produced in bygone times. As such the frescoes of Orcagna in the Strozzi Chapel at Florence may be considered to have exercised an influence on his mind greater than those of Giotto himself.[2] The works of Orcagna are, indeed, of that soft, elegant and yet grave, style which might win approval from Angelico, and one may trace in the development of his genius the forms, types and character of the earlier Florentine. As the bee hovers over

[1] BALDINUCCI, indeed, affirms (vol. v., p. 158) that Fra Giovanni's painting in fresco clearly shows him to be a pupil of Gherardo Starnina. Baldinucci might have seen some frescoes of the latter, which is not given to any one in the present century.

[2] Padre Domenico da Corella, prior S. Maria Novella in 1483, wrote a poem in heroic verse, in which the following occur:

"*Angelicus pictor quam finxerat ante, Johannes*
Nomine, non Jotto, non Cimabove minor."

So Fra Giovanni was already the Angelico thirty years after his death. *Vide note* A in MARCHESE, vol. i., p. 199. Giovanni Santi calls him: "Giovan da Fiesole frate al bene ardente." See his chronicle in rhyme in PASSAVANT'S *Raphael* (Leipzig, 1839), vol. i., p. 472; or PUNGILEONI'S *Elogio Storico* (Urbino, 1822).

the flowers and carries the honey to his hive, so Angelico drew from Orcagna some of the sweets of his pencil, those parts in fact which were suited to his artistic nutriment. He used Orcagna's types after purifying and idealising them. In truth, the slender and graceful proportion of the Strozzi figures, their decorous attitudes, their noble draperies, find their counterpart in Angelico, who expends on them an additional amount of exquisite taste, though he hardly rivals their grandeur or severity. Precision in the definition of form, design, is in both artists. Orcagna's clear and luminous colour is in the works of Angelico, but a little flatter and less relieved by light and shade. Orcagna was more vigorously Giottesque, Angelico more sentimental, but nearer to an exquisite celestial ideal; and in this dreamy paradise, to which his art was subordinate, he revelled and was great. Not that he was without faults, but his feeling and inspiration supplied the absence of other things, and made that absence difficult to realise, except by diligent search. One might, indeed, almost suppose that his very defects were necessary to produce enjoyment of the qualities, so well do the means appear suited to the peculiar end in view. Fra Giovanni's education is therefore clear. Masolino gave him the artistical and practical, Orcagna's works acted on the peculiar bent of his mind; and in his own genius he found the inspiration which helped him to the result by the simplest and straightest path.

In technical modes of proceeding, Angelico may be said to close the Giottesque period more properly than Masaccio.[1] The reason is to be found in the education of the two great men. The education of Angelico was such that he remained equal during the whole of his career. In one point alone he altered, and that is in the subordinate part of architectural distances. At Rome, where Angelico displayed all his powers, as Masaccio exhibited them at the Carmine, as Raphael at the Vatican, and Michael Angelo in the Sixtine Chapel, the architecture is better than elsewhere. Fra Giovanni did not despise this branch of artistic delineation as the Giottesques did. In a fresco at the Vatican, in which S. Peter gives the communion to S. Stephen, he produced a

[1] [What may now be emphasised is the fact that Angelico does not so much "close the Giottesque period," but is one of the first and greatest of the early Renaissance painters. It is a mistake to allow the subject matter of his work to blind us to its artistic character, the classical and naturalistic elements in it that are of the most vital importance to us in any estimate of the place he seems more and more destined to fill in the history of Italian painting. He was a very great painter *qua* painter, and not merely a religious story-teller. Rightly understood, the authors say this, but without the emphasis that Vasari's life and almost all modern monographs have rendered very necessary. Mr. Langton Douglas has expressed this better than any other English writer. See his *Fra Angelico* (Bell, 1900), *passim*.]

distance of buildings proportioned to the size of the figures in the foreground. It is probable that Masaccio's example was of influence in this change. In other respects this would be less true. Masaccio was more an artist than Angelico, his forms were more sculptural, his colour more powerful, his idea of relief complete. His figures have that grandeur which the Italians call "terrible." His draperies are massive. His is a character related to that of Donatello and Michael Angelo. His representation is true, his perspective bold, his atmosphere almost perfect; but muscular form overweighs the idea of dignity and religious decorum. Angelico is the reverse of all this, all softness of character and resignation. He has the religious calm and confidence which failed in Masaccio. In him, grace and elegance supply the place of force and muscular anatomy. But he is not the less admirable, because a supreme harmony and repose rest over his work. Yet Angelico does not want any of the great maxims of art. The harmony of his lines in composition is equal to that of the greatest composers, equal to that of Giotto, superior to that of Masaccio. No one, indeed, after Giotto and Orcagna, was equal in this to Fra Giovanni. Ghirlandaio was more perfect in this branch than any other of his time. Fra Bartolommeo studied and developed it, and it was carried to perfection by Raphael and Michael Angelo, always, however, in harmony with the character and sentiment of those masters, the chiefs of the great school before whom all are ready to bow.

Harmony of composition in Angelico is coexistent with harmony of colour, although light and shade are not strongly defined; and in this he is inferior to Giotto and Masaccio only because they united to harmony of colour vigour of chiaroscuro. If in Giotto or Masaccio, colour or massive drapery gave character, dignity and force to their work, the same occurred to Angelico. Every part contributed to that unity of tenderness, inspiration, religious feeling, which mark his pictures, and which are such as no one man had ever succeeded in accomplishing. A sublime idea, and the means by which it was made manifest, were the gift of the friar of Fiesole.

Here again one may recapitulate, Giotto is the head, Orcagna the bond between Giotto, Angelico and Masaccio. Giotto embraced all art, being an universal genius capable of raising it to a common height in all its parts; Orcagna tempered the severity of Giotto with the softness and elegance which opened the road to Angelico. Angelico and Masaccio together had the qualities which, combined, formed the sum of those of Giotto. Masaccio perfected the language of art. Angelico took up its religious side. Masaccio treated the art in general, perfecting that of Giotto, modernising it, and holding out his hand to Raphael

and Michael Angelo, but losing something of the sentiment and decorous grandeur of the early Florentine. Angelico seized the religious side of Giotto's character without his severity. In the Saviour whom Angelico depicted we find the finest and most suitable exposition of the ideal of one who, bleeding for the sins of the world, pardons and prays for His enemies. An intense depth of feeling animates the face if not the frame of the God-Man.

The frescoes of the convent of S. Domenico at Cortona, which were probably the first executed by Fra Giovanni, perished when the convent was destroyed;[1] but, besides the lunette above the portal of the church of S. Domenico already described, a Virgin and Child between angels and saints decorated the high altar of that edifice, and is still preserved there, whilst an altarpiece representing the Annunciation, resting on a pediment adorned with scenes from the Virgin's life, once the ornament of some chapel, has been since transferred into the Chiesa del Gesù also at Cortona. At the same time the pediment of the altarpiece still in S. Domenico, with scenes from the life of S. Dominic, has also been taken to the Chiesa del Gesù.[2] Both the altarpieces of Cortona, fresh as they are, and combining within them all the talents of Angelico, may of themselves convince the observer that the painter had been taught in the Florentine school, from whence he had already received most of the impressions which affected his general style. In the altarpiece of S. Domenico, the Virgin, enthroned between SS. John the Baptist[3] and John the Evangelist (right), SS. Mary Magdalen and Mark (left), holds the infant Saviour standing on her knee. The four guardian angels stand in pairs behind, grasping their tribute of flowers. The pinnacles are adorned with a Crucified Saviour and the figures of the grieving Virgin and S. John, whilst in medallions at the base of the central one, the Angel and the Virgin Annunciate are depicted. In the pediment of this altarpiece,[4] which combines all the freshness of feeling and religious sentiment peculiar to the master, the scenes from S. Dominic's life are finely given, and still preserve their original beauty. With all the power which he could gather, Angelico repeated in succession many of the scenes which Traini had already depicted in the altarpiece of Pisa, and Fra Guglielmo had carved on the designs

[1] MARCHESE, *ubi sup.*, vol. i., p. 219. It was destroyed by the French. [On the sequence of Angelico's works and for the periods of his art, *cf.* LANGTON DOUGLAS, *op. cit.* (cap. i. and ii.).]

[2] The predella of the Annunciation contains one compartment illustrating a scene from the life of S. Dominic. This piece may have been originally in some other predella.

[3] This, as usual in Angelico, is the finest of all his types.

[4] Now in the Chiesa del Gesù.

of Niccolò Pisano in the ark of Bologna.[1] The Annunciation, a familiar theme of Angelico's, is one of those panels which charm the eye by the birdlike simplicity and grace of the figures, the freshness of the types, and the playful innocence of the action and attitudes. The Virgin, in a portico sitting on a chair, has dropped the book on her knee and acknowledges the presence of the angel and of the dove which hovers over her, by gracefully bending forward on her seat and crossing her hands on her bosom. Her action is not essentially different from that of the Annunciate Virgins painted later for S. Marco[2] and S. Maria Novella[3] at Florence; but her face and form are more youthful and original. In that of S. Maria Novella religious sentiment is more felt, whilst in that of S. Marco, where the hair falls back on the shoulders, a heavenly inspiration beams over the face, and the simplicity of candour is conveyed. Gabriel runs into the portico eager and graceful, pointing with a finger of the right hand towards the Virgin,[4] and with the left, which is extended in the same direction, indicates heaven. This simple action, which is that of a candid angelic nature, admirably tells the tale of the message from heaven addressed to the child of earth. One might almost fancy that the monk still heard ringing in his ears those beautiful lines of Dante:

> "*L'Angel, che venne in terra col decreto*
> *Della molt' anni lagrimata pace,*
> *Ch' aperse 'l ciel dal suo lungo divieto,*
> *Dinanzi a noi pareva sì verace,*
> *Quivi intagliato in un atto soave,*
> *Che non sembiava immagine che tace.*"

And the spectator might add with the poet:

> "*Giurato si sarìh ch' el dicesse,* AVE."[5]

The perfect type of an angel, the fittest form and contour, an unity of thought and conception in the figure, the attitude, the action, and expression, illustrate the genius of Angelico. In the distance "and because the Incarnation is essentially bound to the story of our progenitors,"[6] the angel expels Adam and Eve from Paradise, which is a

[1] The Death of Peter Martyr, the Vision of Innocent III., and the crumbling Lateran saved from falling by S. Dominic, the Meeting of SS. Dominic and Francis, the Vision of Peter and Paul, the Archangel Michael, the Dispute with the Albigenses, and Miracle of the Books, the Resurrection of the youth Napoleon, the Martyrdom of some unknown saint (possibly belonging to another predella), the Brethren fed by Angels, and S. Thomas Aquinas.

[2] Fresco. [3] Tavola.

[4] The wings of the angel have a profusion of gold in them.

[5] *Purgatorio*, Canto x., vv. 34–39.

[6] MARCHESE, *ubi sup.*, vol. i., p. 223.

garden of palms in a flowery meadow. In the two Annunciations of S. Maria Novella and S. Marco, the angels are quite as beautiful; but in the latter, Gabriel bends respectfully before the Virgin and holds his arms reverently crossed on his breast as he advances, whilst in the former, he pauses ere he alights, and is still supported in the most ideal attitude by his wings as a tenant of Paradise. This is perhaps the most noble ever produced by Fra Giovanni.[1]

The pediment of the Annunciation at S. Maria del Gesù of Cortona, with its scenes from the life of the Virgin, is well preserved and fresh beyond measure; but it would be waste of space to examine the numerous subjects separately; and it may be sufficient to say that their charms are of a high order and that they are most exquisite examples of the master.

Of the same period and equally fine is the Madonna and Saints of S. Domenico at Perugia.[2] The four figures of SS. John the Baptist, Catherine, Dominic and Nicholas are admirable, and the first as usual of surpassing beauty. Time has been most destructive, however, in dealing with the altarpiece, of which the Madonna formed the centre, and the saints the sides. A number of figures forming the courses of the pilasters are still at Perugia, and are all more or less damaged.[3]

So far Angelico's labours at Cortona may be traced, and no further; for, though it is clear that a man of his power and gifted with a talent

[1] [Of these two Annunciations the S. Marco picture remains in its own place (see *infra*), but that once in S. Maria Novella is now in Cell No. 34; it is a panel 13 in. by 10 in. and comprises the Adoration of the Magi as well as the Annunciation.]

[2] Executed for the chapel of S. Niccolò of the Guidalotti, now in Cappella S. Orsola. It represents the Virgin enthroned holding the naked infant Saviour erect, between S. John the Baptist and S. Catherine (right), SS. Dominic and Nicholas (left). Two angels with flowers stand at the Virgin's side, and three vases of roses stand at the foot of the throne. Part of the Virgin's head and neck and her blue mantle are damaged and repainted, as well as part along the left side of the throne. The dress of S. Dominic and S. Catherine are likewise damaged.

[Now in Sala dell' Angelico in Pinacoteca at Perugia. This picture belongs to the same period as the Madonna dei Linaiuoli of the Uffizi, No. 17. A document of the Guild tells us that this was painted in 1433. See *infra*.]

[3] SS. Peter Martyr (damaged), Buonaventura, Mary Magdalen, Thomas Aquinas, Romaldo (colour in part fallen off), Gregory (fine and well preserved), Lawrence (almost colourless), Catherine, are entire figures. The rest are seen to the knee only, and are: SS. John Evangelist, Stephen, Peter (almost colourless). Two central medallions with the Angel and Virgin Annunciate were no doubt once at the angles of the base of the central triangular pinnacle. With the exception of the dress of the Virgin from which the tone has fallen, these figures are in fair condition. Of the pediment two parts, containing the Birth, the Sermon, and a Miracle of S. Nicholas, are in the Vatican at Rome (second room, No. 17). [One remaining part, containing the Rescue of the Three Youths, and the Funeral of S. Nicholas, is in the Sala dell' Angelico in Pinacoteca of Perugia.]

for rapid execution must have done much more than now remains in a city which was apparently his residence during many of his earlier years, records of his stay or journals of his avocations have not been discovered. His departure from Cortona was determined by the successful negotiations of the Dominicans for the resumption of their old residence at Fiesole ;[1] and it is believed that Fra Giovanni was among those who joined the community shortly after its re-establishment near Florence in 1418.[2] "There, as a brother of his order, he gathered in abundance the flowers of art which he seemed to have plucked from Paradise, reserving for the pleasant hill of Fiesole the gayest and best scented that ever issued from his hands. There, in a period of corruption, of pagan doctrine, of infamous policy, of schisms and of heresies, he shut himself up within a world of his own, which he peopled with heroes and saints, with whom he conversed, prayed, and wept by turns."[3] Eighteen years were spent by him at Fiesole, yet of those eighteen years how little is known and how little can be told! But there perhaps, in the vicinity of Florence, he might renew acquaintance with the masterpieces of Florentine art, greet Masolino and hail the rising greatness of Masaccio. That he followed the example of all the best Italian painters of that and future times, and that he studied the frescoes of the Brancacci is affirmed by Vasari, and may be easily believed.[4] Of his works at this period one at least is known with certainty. After painting in 1432 an Annunciation for S. Alessandro of Brescia,[5] he executed for the corporation of the Linaiuoli in 1433 a tabernacle representing the life-size Virgin, enthroned, holding the Infant, with twelve angels in the cornice, which are of surpassing beauty,[6] displaying, with the perfection of the master, that analogy with those of Orcagna which might alone justify some of the remarks already made in foregoing pages as to the study of the works of that great Florentine.[7] The original record of the commission from the Linaiuoli has been preserved, and is one of the authorities, besides the assertion

[1] The Bishop of Fiesole claimed and got 100 ducats for the grant of the convent to the Dominicans in 1418. MARCHESE, vol. i., p. 224.

[2] MARCHESE, *ubi sup.*, vol. i., p. 226.

[3] Ibid., vol. i., pp. 226, 227.

[4] VASARI, vol. iii., p. 162.

[5] See *postea.*

[6] A note of the expenses for the woodwork, &c., of this altarpiece, dated October 29, 1432, was published by GUALANDI in *Memorie Italiane risguardanti le belle Arti* (Bologna, 1843), ser. iv., No. 139, p. 109. *Vide* also MARCHESE, vol. i., p. 235.

[7] Those with the cymbals on the right hand curve particularly illustrate the remarks in the text. On the wings, Angelico represented SS. John the Baptist and Mark, and on their obverse SS. Peter and Mark. The predella is decorated with an Adoration of the Kings, the Sermon of S. Peter in presence of S. Mark, and the Martyrdom of the latter; and these are three of the finest and most exquisite works which Angelico ever produced.

of Vasari, which proves that Fra Giovanni was called Guido before he entered the Dominican Order.[1] The altarpiece is now in the Gallery of the Uffizi.[2]

It is generally supposed also that he sent from Fiesole the thirty-five panels which ornamented the plate cupboards of the SS. Annunziata at Florence,[3] now in the Academy of Fine Arts.[4] These had been commissioned of Angelico by Piero di Cosimo de' Medici, and represented scenes from the life of the Saviour, closing with the Last Judgment. Many of them are worthy of special attention, particularly the Flight into Egypt, which is a simple Giottesque composition, and a Burial of the Saviour in the spirit of Giotto but weaker. A Resurrection of Lazarus, however, is feebler, though still Giottesque; and three panels of the first series—the Last Supper, the Baptism, and the Transfiguration—are not by the master. The poorest of all those by Angelico is the Massacre of the Innocents. Frescoes and altarpieces were also produced not only in S. Domenico, but in other churches of Fiesole. As these, however, have been in part much damaged, and there is no certainty as to the period of their execution, more interest attaches to the works which were finished at S. Marco of Florence, whither the reader shall accordingly be asked to follow.[5]

Cosimo de' Medici had returned from exile to Florence. Through his influence, Martin V. had been induced to grant a petition in which the Florentines prayed that the Dominicans should be made possessors of a convent hitherto belonging to the friars of S. Sylvester;[6] and in 1436, Pope Eugenius IV., being at Florence, presided at the festival of installation in the monastery of S. Marco.[7] Cosimo caused the edifice to be rebuilt by Michelozzo Michelozzi,[8] a library to be constructed, and the church to be renewed. The works of the convent were partly finished in 1437, the choir in 1439, and the whole of the church in 1441.

[1] The other is a record in the Opera of Orvieto.

[2] [No. 17 is the central part and wings. No. 1294 the predella.]

[3] VASARI, vol. iv., p. 31.

[4] [Now in Florence Academy, Sala dell' Angelico, Nos. 233 *et seq.* No. 233 is by Baldovinetti, the rest are by a pupil or pupils of Fra Angelico, none are from his hand, but may well have been painted under his guidance. MR. BERENSON, however, *Florentine Painters* (Putnams, 1898), p. 98, gives them to Angelico. See also L. DOUGLAS, *op. cit.*, p. 192.]

[5] When Angelico came to Florence in 1436, Masaccio was dead. Brunelleschi was raising the cupola of S. Maria del Fiore, Ghiberti was still at work at the gates, and Donatello flourished as a sculptor.

[6] S. Mark was occupied by the Silvestrines as early as 1299. See RICHA, vol. vii., p. 114. The petition and its causes are commented by RICHA, *ubi sup.*, vol. vii., pp. 116, 117.

[7] *Annal. Conv. S. Marci de Flor.*, MSS., fol. 1–2, in MARCHESE, vol. i., p. 244; RICHA, vol. vii., p. 117.

[8] RICHA, vol. vii., p. 122; VASARI, vol. iii., pp. 277–8.

It was consecrated in 1442,[1] and in 1443 the convent was finished.[2] Whilst the architects and masons were busy, Angelico (1438) undertook to paint the altarpiece intended for the choir [3] representing in the central table the Virgin enthroned with the infant Saviour and adored by the kneeling figures of SS. Cosma and Damian. At her sides were (left) SS. Dominic, Francis and Peter, (right) SS. Mark, John Evangelist and Stephen. The introduction of SS. Cosma and Damian was intended as a graceful tribute of flattery to the family of the Medici, who had been profuse in their gifts to the order; and the pediment of the altarpiece was devoted to the lives of those martyrs. But altarpiece and pediment have long been parted.[4] The former, rubbed down and deprived of colour, is in the Academy of Arts [No. 281], and serves at best to illustrate the method pursued by Angelico, whose original preparation is everywhere visible. The pediment was dislocated and scattered, so that it would be difficult to restore its original form. Not indeed but that the pieces might be found, but the subject was repeated so frequently in predellas by Angelico, that there are many duplicates of the same subject.[5]

[1] RICHA, *ubi sup.*, vol. vii., p. 123.

[2] *Cron. of S. Marco*, in MARCHESE, *ubi sup.*, vol. i., p. 245. Vasari says 1452, vol. iii., p. 279.

[3] *Annals* in MARCHESE, *ubi sup.*, vol. i., p. 247.

[On the date of this picture see LANGTON DOUGLAS, *op. cit.*, p. 86, *note* 2. He thinks it was begun not earlier than the spring of 1439.]

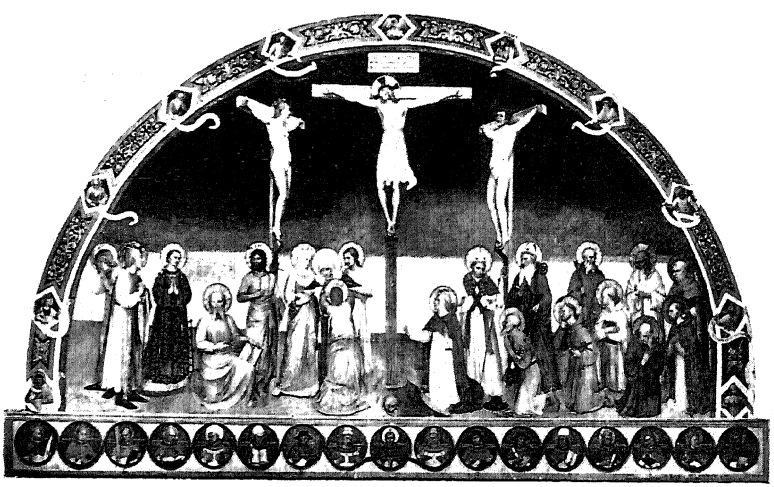
[4] Already in Richa's time the altarpiece had been taken from the high altar and hung in the passage to the sacristy. *Vide* RICHA, vol. vii., p. 143.

[5] For instance, two scenes from the life of SS. Cosma and Damian, once belonging to the altarpiece of S. Marco, form part of a predella in the SS. Annunziata at Florence, the centre of which is a Birth of the Saviour, already noticed as by Lorenzo Monaco. In the Academy of Arts at Florence [the Nos. 257 and 258] are parts of a pediment, in the first of which SS. Cosma and Damian cut off the leg of a sick man and substitute for it that of a healthy negro, whilst in the second the martyrdom of the two saints and their three brothers is presented. Signor Valentini at Rome lately owned a portion of a pediment somewhat damaged by retouching in which this martyrdom is again represented, and the testimony of Professor Benvenuti goes to show that this panel once had a place in the church of S. Marco at Florence, that from thence it had passed to the Academy of Arts and been exchanged for a design by another master. Thence it fell into the hands of Signor Niccola Tacchinardi, and from his into those of Signor Valentini. The same martyrdom, again, in the same shape was to be found in the Gallery Ugo Baldi at Florence. In the Gallery of Munich three predella scenes represent [989–991] (1) SS. Cosma and Damian, and the three brothers bound and thrown from a rock but saved by angels; whilst in the foreground Lysias is saved by two messengers from heaven by the intercession of the saints. (2) SS. Cosma and Damian crucified and the three brothers about to be stoned. (3) SS. Cosma and Damian with their three brothers before the judge Lysias. Professor Luigi Scotti testifies that these three panels by Angelico were in S. Marco of Florence, and that he restored them in 1817. It is difficult, indeed, to choose amidst them all which belonged to the pediment of the great altarpiece of S. Marco. FATHER MARCHESE says (vol. i., pp. 248–50), that a part of it was placed on the altar of S. Luca of the Cappella de' Pittori

Alinari.

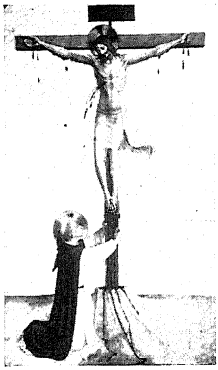
PARADISE

FRA ANGELICO. Academy, Florence.



THE CRUCIFIXION

FRA ANGELICO. S. Marco, Florence.



CRUCIFIXION

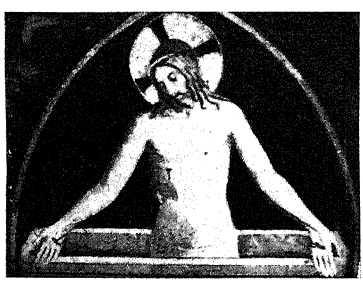
"NOLI ME TANGERE"

ANNUNCIATION

DOMINICANS WELCOMING CHRIST THE PILGRIM

S. PETER MARTYR

FRA ANGELICO.



"ECCE HOMO"

S. Marco, Florence.

After the completion of the altarpiece, and probably before the convent had been finished, Fra Giovanni began to adorn its walls with frescoes.

So much has been written respecting these works, and their character has been so frequently described, that nothing more can be required than some general remarks, for the purpose of pointing out the principal features in the paintings of the first cloister usually called " Primo di S. Antonino."

The Crucifixion, which covers the principal wall, has already been noticed more than once in these pages, especially in the attempt to draw a parallel between the ideal of the Redeemer as conceived by Giotto, and that imagined by Angelico. The figure of the Saviour represented in this first cloister of S. Marco is that in which Fra Giovanni most perfectly gave expression to the resignation and sacrifice of Christ. The soft character of the features, the slight bend of the head, convey without alloy the sense of pleasure which might be felt by one who, taking upon Himself the human shape, should in the midst of acute suffering display placid contentment at being permitted to die for the sins of the world. The attitude, the position of the God-Man on the Cross, is more nobly erect and more simple than that of Giotto—the ideal of human form in that condition. Less lifeless and less abandoned to its own weight, it may be less powerful than that of Giotto, but it expresses certainly a sublime sacrifice. The correspondence of the parts with each other, the development of the nude, are more graceful than in Giotto. It may be difficult to analyse the two creations, but the characteristic difference is, that force and energy were peculiarly marked in the one, and soft religious resignation in the other; that Giotto had more nature, Angelico more idealised form; the language of the first being in harmony with the power of his genius, that of the second in accord with the soft resignation and kindliness

in the cloisters of the SS. Annunziata: this, as may be remembered, still exists; that [Nos. 257 and 258] of the Academy of Arts are of the series. He adds that in S. Marco before the abolition of the convents of Florence there were seven small panels in the Farmacia adorned with scenes from the lives of SS. Cosma, Damian, and their brethren, and one representing the Deposition of Christ. The annals of the convent only notice one altarpiece by him, but the pictures of Munich and a fourth there also, representing the Deposition, are doubtless those which were formerly in the Farmacia. In addition to all these pictures, the Academy of Florence possesses an entire pediment [No. 243], representing six scenes from the lives of SS. Cosma and Damian, undoubtedly by Angelico, and once in the Chapel of S. Luke of the convent of the SS. Annunziata. Two small panels with scenes of these saints' lives are in the collection of Count Portales in Paris, Nos. 1 and 3, the latter much damaged.

[Other parts of the San Marco altarpiece are in Louvre, No. 1293, and in Dublin Gallery.]

of his nature. Artistically the proportions are equally good in both. Giotto created his type in the full consciousness of feelings excited to an extraordinary degree by the revival of religion and art. Angelico took the type of Giotto and gave it an intense religious sentiment and a more perfect form as matter. Giotto first, Angelico last, gave to the Crucified Saviour His proper forms; and the friar found the truest ideal of a figure whose significance had been developed by the founder of Italian art. These two painters are thus the poles which support the edifice of Christian delineation. If analysed in reference to mere nude, a part such as the thorax, or an articulation, will be found to have been rendered by Angelico in its true form, with muscles, flesh, and bones in their proper places. The figure will be pronounced human, fleshy, true, but noble. Without intense search after details the hands and feet are exquisitely indicated and rendered. The draperies on the hips are perfect, and possess the same principle of choiceness as the rest.

At the foot of this noble effigy, S. Dominic grasps the Cross and, kneeling, looks up with the most truthful and deepest expression of grief to the Saviour. It is a creation whose outlines, geometrical figure, proportion, and action, are so good and so well adapted together as to form in unity a perfect representation. Harmonising as it does with the figure of the Saviour, its beauties almost baffle description, but the truth, feeling, and passion, which are so simply expressed, reveal a moment of deep inspiration in Angelico. His execution rises to the height of his inspiration, and combines the faculties of Giotto and Orcagna. The clear, bright, and warm colour is fused and relieved, so that the whole appears a vision of the reality. Who, after contemplating this, can still pretend that Angelico was a miniaturist?

Silence has ever been enforced in the solitude of the cloister, and the friar is allowed but one companion, with whom he paces the galleries of his elected home. In the lunette of the door leading to the sacristy of S. Marco, S. Peter Martyr stands, and with a threatening glance imposes silence with his forefinger on his mouth. The knife imbedded in his right shoulder conveys the story of his martyrdom. It is difficult to say whether Angelico did not express the obligation of silence more by the glance than by the gesture. His aim, which was evidently force of expression, could not have been better attained; and he quietly succeeds where perhaps Masaccio would have studied to convey the idea by muscular action. Different methods might have produced the same result; but Angelico had his path and kept within it.

In the lunette of another door, S. Dominic, with a book, wields the

discipline of the order, the physical reality of the nine-tailed whip representing the moral as well as the real truth, and inculcating a stern necessity in a religious community. The reward is expressed in a third lunette, where the Saviour issues from the sepulchre. In a fourth, a half figure of S. Thomas Aquinas illustrated some other phase of monkish life, but the painting is much damaged.

Above the entrance to the "Foresteria," or hospital for wayfarers, two Dominicans welcome the Saviour's arrival in the skin dress of a pilgrim, holding a staff, and His hat hanging over His shoulders. One of them touches the Redeemer's hand, and grasps His right arm as he greets His coming.[1] No scene more true, more noble or more exquisitely rendered than this, can be imagined. The brethren truly rejoice to meet the pilgrim, and their looks breathe hospitality; whilst the soft features and glance of the Saviour and His engaging movement display the truest sense of gratitude. Handsome, youthful, noble, with a slight beard on the chin, and long locks flowing over the shoulders, this is the perfection of a type created by Giotto, the exact semblance of one without human dross, and all divine.

The frescoes of the first cloister of S. Marco thus exhibit Angelico, not as a mere painter of Madonnas or of the joys of Paradise, but as one who could delineate passion in various forms and degrees; who could reveal in each action its peculiar motive, and who fitly presents his meaning with repose, propriety, grace and truth.

In the chapter-house of the convent, Fra Giovanni repeated the Crucifixion, but with its attendant incidents, the thieves, and a crowd of twenty life-size figures.[2] The Saviour, a repetition of that in the first cloister, the repentant thief, are fine, but in the unrepentant sinner we come upon a form of delineation evidently repulsive to the nature of the kindly and religious friar. Not that the outlines, proportion, or character are absent, but the material development of the inner forms is as much wanting as in the painters of the fourteenth century. Here it is that he peculiarly accuses a divergence of feeling from that of Masaccio. He had to depict a convulsive movement, one requiring that species of skill which Masaccio possessed. He shows himself unequal to the task, and proves, that when he issues from his peaceful paradise of thought, he has left his home and lost his

[1] Fra Bartolommeo almost repeated this subject in a lunette in the refectory of this very convent of S. Marco, and it is one of the finest works of the master.

[2] A red background, substituted by restorers for the original blue, spoils the general effect.

[According to Mr. Langton Douglas, this red ground is the original *sinopia*, upon which no blue pigment was ever laid, for the fresco was never finished. *Cf.* LANGTON DOUGLAS, *op. cit.*, p. 99, *note* 1.]

way.[1] Otherwise the incidents of this great Crucifixion are full of the usual beauties and excellence, much individuality and movement, much gentleness in the figures and faces. The Virgin in a swoon, attended by the Maries, is good though somewhat arranged, and S. John the Baptist, as before, is a splendid creation.[2] In the painted frame are numerous lozenges and medallions, with busts of saints, sibyls and Dominican friars.[3]

Of all the frescoes in the upper rooms of the convent, that most worthy of immediate attention is the Annunciation in the dormitory, to which reference has already been made. The figures are less than life size.[4] The Virgin's figure is slender, gentle and graceful; but the face has not the freshness or youth of that of Cortona, or the angelic candour of that of S. Maria Novella. The proportions of the head, the chin, are small; and the critic may note the germ of those defects which Benozzo Gozzoli inherited and matured. In colour, great lightness, warmth and harmony are, however, attained. On the opposite wall to this, the Saviour again appears Crucified, with S. Dominic at the foot of the Cross as in the first cloister; and in the passage, the Virgin may be seen enthroned between four saints.

A magnificent Coronation of the Virgin decorates the wall of one of the cells. It is a vision on the clouds of the Virgin and Saviour, with a perfectly ideal representation of the latter sending as it were with both hands the crown destined for His mother, who bends forward with her arms crossed and looks supremely happy. Nothing can be finer than this group—than the type of the Saviour, which is one of the most suitable to the idea of the divinity that Angelico ever produced, simpler in lines, more religiously soft in expression than those of Giotto, yet regular in proportion and perfect in shape. Harmony and unity are not merely in the features, but in the attitude, and in the elegant sweep of the draperies; and here again Angelico transformed the Giottesque creation so as to suit his own intense religious feeling. If we revert to an antique type of the Christian time, that of Ravenna, whose form and proportion, though noble, reveal the pagan source from which they were derived, we find a creation more suitable to the development of Christian feeling than those of immediately succeeding times. Giotto was the first to grasp anew this antique simplicity, which he transformed, whilst he restored it.

[1] [One must remember that the fresco has been terribly damaged and restored.]

[2] The dress of the Magdalen seen from behind is repainted. [The whole of the central group has been spoiled.]

[3] These names are all inscribed.

[4] About three-quarters.

Angelico completed the type by modelling it into that of the Redeemer, who, in a sublime and pathetic manner, expresses the resignation of sacrifice: he did this not so much because he perfected form, but because he infused into it a more religious pathos; and here, in the representation of the Saviour crowning the Virgin, is the last phase of the comparison between the Redeemer of Ravenna and that of Giotto. For it must ever be borne in mind that Angelico was, as regards art, less of the fifteenth than of the fourteenth century, that he disdained, or purposely neglected, all the developments of the time in which the study of form and classicism was in full swing.[1] A proof of his contempt for means is distinctly to be found in this one example of the Coronation. On a wall smooth as vellum he drew in the subject, producing by the simplest lines such perfection as cannot fail to astonish every beholder. He laid in the shadows easily with a light grey tone, allowing the white ground to pierce through and give transparency! and so the picture was finished, with what a contrast of simplicity as compared with the dash of the fifteenth century. SS. Paul, Thomas Aquinas, Benedict, Dominic, Francis, Peter Martyr, in threes at each side beneath the Redeemer and Virgin, form a garland of a devotional character, each looking up and stretching his arms towards the joys of Paradise.

Magnificent, likewise in the cells of S. Marco, is the Adoration of the Magi, and here, it is believed, was the room which Cosimo de' Medici ordered to be built for his own use and in which he enjoyed the converse of the superior Antonino and of Angelico.[2] Here Pope Eugenius IV. slept when, in 1442, he visited Florence for the purpose of consecrating the church of S. Marco, and Fra Giovanni produced a fresco Giottesque in composition and harmony of lines, and equal to anything that he had ever done for tenderness and freshness of types, grace of form, and softness of colours.

Again, the Maries at the Sepulchre in the cells strikes the spectator as a splendid effort; whilst the rest hardly yield to the foregoing, being all more or less beautifully executed, but something less than usual marked by his depth of religious feeling. In the number, however, no doubt his pupils and helpers had a share.

In comparison with these, the few wall frescoes in S. Domenico of Fiesole appear to a certain disadvantage. In the ex-refectory, Angelico

[1] [Later criticism is altogether at variance with this view, and it might seem that the frescoes of the Cappella of Pope Nicholas V. in the Vatican alone prove it to be mistaken.]

[2] 36,000 ducats were spent by Cosimo on the convent of S. Marco. He little dreamt what Savonarola was to move against his family from this same place. See RICHA, vol. vii., and MARCHESE, vol. i., p. 245.

painted the Saviour on the Cross, the Virgin and S. John at the sides, and S. Dominic grasping the instrument of death,[1] but the latter has been completely repainted,[2] and the rest is much damaged, the best preserved parts being the figures of the Saviour and of the Virgin and the head of S. John.

In the chapter-house, the Virgin and Child between four saints is a fresco impaired by repainting.

Lorenzo di Credi, in 1501, damaged by repairing one of the altarpieces which Angelico executed for the church of Fiesole.[3] It represented the Virgin and Child between SS. Peter, Thomas Aquinas, Dominic and Peter Martyr. Originally built with a triangular pinnacle, it was modernised into a square, and the old figures of the pilasters were replaced by modern ones: the predella, which is one of the best of the master, and which appeared so admirable to Vasari that he declared he could never tire to look at it,[4] represents a celestial glory, the Resurrection of the Saviour, with the Virgin on one side and Paradise on the other, and is one of the best purchases of the National Gallery [No. 663].[5]

The best altarpiece in the church of Fiesole, however, was in Vasari's eyes that of the Coronation of the Virgin, of which he says that Fra Giovanni surpassed himself in its execution.[6] Considerable damage has been done to this picture, which is now in the Louvre, but the Paradise is truly beautiful; and the delicacy and gentleness of the faces are undeniable. The magnificent predella contains the same subjects as that of the pediment from S. Domenico in S. Maria del Gesù at Cortona, with the addition of one representing the Resurrection of the Saviour. The panels have all more or less suffered abrasion,[7] but the altarpiece as a whole is a good one of the master, and one whose subject was suited to his genius.[8]

[1] See the original record in MARCHESE, vol. i., *note* to p. 232.

[2] Francesco Mariani, who restored here in 1556. See MARCHESE, vol. i., p. 233.

[3] See the record to that effect in *Chron. Conv. S. D. di Fesulis*, in MARCHESE, vol. i., *note* to p. 229.

[4] VASARI, vol. iv., p. 29.

[5] Two small pictures of SS. Mark and Matthew, originally in the pilasters of this altarpiece, are now in the hands of Mr. Reiset of Paris. A second picture in our National Collection by Angelico, the Adoration of the Magi [No. 582 Nat. Gal. Cat.], originally in the Rosini Gallery at Pisa, and purchased from that of Messer Ugo Baldi at Florence, may be noticed here. The Virgin sits with the Infant on her knee in a rocky landscape, and displays the character of the master, but has not the exquisite finish of other productions executed in his prime.

[6] VASARI, vol. iv., p. 30.

[7] [No. 1290.] The restoring of this panel has been well carried out, the damaged part alone having been taken up.

[8] The Virgin enthroned in S. Girolamo of Fiesole, although composed in his manner, is not executed by Angelico.

The church of S. Trinità at Florence obtained from the master one of his finest works, the Deposition from the Cross, now in the Academy of Arts at Florence.[1] Nothing can be better than the nude in its fleshy flexible forms, which show the scars of the previous flagellation, nothing truer than the movement. The group to the right is remarkable, the heads revealing a point of contact between Angelico and the works of Masolino at Castiglione, as regards character and drawing; and the landscape betraying the usual defects of perspective. Yet composition, design, and colour combine to create the harmony which was the great gift of Fra Giovanni.[2]

The Convent del Bosco a Frati di Mugello also had a Madonna by Angelico, which has found its way into the Academy of Arts.[3] The Virgin and Child, with the two angels at her sides, is enthroned between saints.[4]

For the Annalena monastery at Florence Angelico also executed an altarpiece replete with his usual qualities and feeling. The Virgin again appears enthroned with the Infant between saints.[5] Another which has unfortunately disappeared from Fiesole since the time of Vasari, is the Annunciation with a predella containing five scenes from the life of the Virgin, sold in 1611 to the Duke Mario Farnese for 1500 ducats.[6] Angelico painted a fresco in the lunette of the portal of S. Domenico of Florence which has also disappeared,[7] and an Annunciation for S. Francesco fuor della Porta a S. Miniato, which has likewise been lost.[8]

Not very remarkable for superior beauty are the remaining panels at the Academy of Arts of Florence.[9]

[1] [No. 166] of Cat. *Vide* VASARI, vol. iv., p. 32. The altarpiece was in RICHA's time in the sacristy (*Chiese, &c., ubi sup.*, vol. iii., p. 157).

[2] Cleaning has cooled the tones and done some damage. The pinnacles have already been mentioned as by Lorenzo Monaco.

[3] [No. 265.]

[4] SS. Francis, Peter Martyr, Anthony, Cosma, Damian, and Louis, pediment: Pietà, SS. Peter, Paul, Bernardino and three others.

[5] SS. Peter Martyr, Francis, Cosma, Damian, John Evangelist and Lawrence. [Now in the Academy of Arts at Florence, No. 227.]

[6] VASARI, vol. iv., p. 30, and the record of sale in MARCHESE, *ubi sup.*, vol. i., *Doc.* vi., p. 400. We are told that an Annunciation resting on a predella representing five scenes from the Virgin's life is in the church of the convent (now Franciscan) of Montecarlo, near S. Giovanni di Valdarno di sopra; and that it has the character of Angelico. It remains to be ascertained whether the piece be original or a copy; and whether it be the original sold to the Duke Mario Farnese, or the copy cited by MARCHESE, vol. i., p. 230.

[This altarpiece, which is still to be seen in the convent church of Montecarlo, is, according to Mr. Perkins, a genuine and important work of the master, although it appears to have escaped the attention of all the Frate's more recent biographers. (See PERKINS, in *Rassegna d'Arte*, an. v., No. 8.) The picture is fully described by SIG. MAGHERINI-GRAZIANI, in his *Memorie e Pitture di Masaccio in S. Giovanni di Valdarno e nei Dintorni* (Florence, 1903).]

[7] VASARI, vol. iv., p. 32. [8] Ibid., vol. iv., p. 32.

[9] A Coronation of the Virgin of a small size, almost entirely repainted and damaged by restoring [No. 251], a Crucifixion restored and damaged [No. 250]

Three reliquaries by Angelico are preserved in S. Maria Novella :[1] one is adorned with the Virgin and Child, the second with the Annunciation and Adoration of the Magi,[2] the third with a Coronation of the Virgin and saints. The Annunciation in the second of these reliquaries is that which has already been compared with those of Cortona and of S. Marco.[3]

For the church of S. Maria Nuova, Angelico again repeated the Coronation of the Virgin, a masterpiece now at the Uffizi,[4] magnificently composed, and in which the purest ideal is maintained. In the predella, the Marriage of the Virgin[5] is one of the greatest compositions of the master, uniting to all the Giottesque qualities the perfect softness and feeling of Fra Giovanni. Twenty-two figures are there beautifully grouped together with animated action, and without any of that coarseness of custom peculiar to the subject in the hands of earlier painters. Equally fine are the two remaining parts of the predella.[6]

That Angelico studied Orcagna has already been remarked. The composition, in which that study is most evident is the Last Judgment, which Fra Giovanni frequently repeated, and a noble example of which he executed for the church of the Angeli at Florence.[7] Without altering the traditional form of this subject, Angelico placed the Saviour on high, surrounded by seraphim and cherubim and presiding over the Judgment, to which the souls are called by the trump of the angels beneath Him. Below His right is the Paradise, in which the elect kneel in prayer, amongst whom a friar may be seen, embraced by an angel ; and approaching it, a dance of angels in a flowery meadow leading the blessed through a gate to a state of eternal happiness. This angelic dance, suggesting and expressing excessive joy and

a Pietà and Adoration of the Magi superposed in one panel and possibly by a pupil, at all events damaged [No. 249]. The Dead Saviour carried by the Apostles to the Sepulchre, a picture originally in the brotherhood della Croce al Tempio [No. 246]. Noticed by VASARI, vol. iv., p. 34. S. Thomas Aquinas Disputing with the Doctors [No. 247].

[1] VASARI, vol. iv., p. 32. [These reliquaries are no longer in S. Maria Novella, but are now in the convent of S. Marco, Florence.]

[2] Executed for Fra Giovanni Masi. RICHA, *ubi sup.*, vol. iii., p. 49.

[3] Vasari notes as in S. Felice in Piazza a Virgin between saints (VASARI, vol. iv., p. 34). The saints are SS. John the Baptist, Dominic, Thomas, and Peter Martyr, and a picture of that subject is now in the Pitti (Pitti Gallery, No. 373). It is either a copy from the master, or so totally repainted that Angelico's hand can no longer be recognised.

[4] [No. 1290] of Cat. See also VASARI, vol. iv., p. 35.

[5] [Uffizi, No. 1178.]

[6] [Uffizi, No. 1184, the Death of the Virgin. Uffizi, No. 1162, Birth of S. John the Baptist.] In the church of the Hospital of S. Matteo at Florence is [1864] a fine Virgin and Child adored by four angels, with a grey distance. This is a splendid example of Angelico's manner, recalling his frescoes.

[7] [It is now No. 266 in the Academy of Arts.]

celestial repose, is the dance of Orcagna at the Strozzi, imitated and improved not only in the conception but in the types, the character, the movements, and the draperies, by Angelico, who finds in a great predecessor not only a pictorial but a religious inspiration.

On the Saviour's left are the condemned and the demons struggling with souls doomed to perdition. Copying the seven *bolge* of Dante, he impartially commits a host of monks and popes to the flames. But his kindly temper does not know how to deal with such scenes as these. Again, in the glory of the upper Paradise, the action and its delineation in the figure of the Saviour are cold. Majestic grandeur and repose may be found in the elect. Soft angelic tenderness is expressed in their faces; but having exhausted his powers in them, Angelico had none in store to infuse into the eyes or form of the Redeemer. The Judgment is purely a conception of the fourteenth century carried out by Angelico in the fifteenth. Compared with the earlier effort of Orcagna, that of the Dominican lacks power and unity.[1] This subject, repeated and conceived in the same spirit in a panel belonging to Lord Ward's collection,[2] formerly in the gallery of Cardinal Fesch, is best again in that portion which is devoted to the elect; but the figures generally are executed with more than usual boldness, and have less character of repose than in previous examples.[3]

A third Judgment in the Corsini Gallery at Rome is remarkable because the Saviour, sitting with a book in His left and cursing with His right hand, imitates the attitude of the Saviour in the Last Judgment at the Campo Santo at Pisa.[4]

A small, weak and repainted Ascension by Angelico, a much restored Descent of the Holy Spirit, are also in the Corsini Gallery; and a Virgin and Child with saints from the gallery of Count Bisenzio at Rome now adorns the collection of Lord Ward.[5] In the Turin Gallery

[1] Varnishes have deprived this altarpiece of its freshness, the tempera being sullied by them.

[2] Dudley House.

[3] This piece is altered in form and impaired by some retouching.

[4] A thick coat of varnishes of various periods disfigures the panel. The picture is small and, like the last, altered in shape. The subject, treated as has been seen in the panels of the SS. Annunziata at Florence, may again be found in a small panel at Leonforte in Sicily in the church of the Cappuccini, a donation to that church of the Branciforti Trabbia family. The composition is almost a repetition of that of Lord Ward. The Saviour menaces with His right and left. The picture is repainted, and copious retouching in oil all but obliterates the style of the master, so that it is difficult to judge whether originally the picture was by the master, or an old copy.

[5] Mr. Barker's collection has [1864] a very fine Madonna with a female saint kneeling. In front on one side is an angel, three others holding the drapery behind. In the spandrils are two angels with censers. The picture is in good preservation.

two very graceful angels, each on a small panel kneeling on clouds, are genuine works of Angelico.[1]

[1] [Nos. 94 and 96.] A Virgin and Child does not combine the exquisite feeling of Angelico's best works. In the style of the latter is a picture [No. 25, Sala III.] in the Public Gallery of Parma representing the Virgin and Child enthroned, with seven angels about her, between SS. Francis and Dominic, who embrace each other as they kneel, and the erect SS. Paul and John the Baptist. This also is executed in the spirit, but without the refinement of Angelico, and presents the character of certain frescoes in S. Marco, which are assigned for this reason to Fra Benedetto. A record on the back of the panel says it was bought at Florence in 1786, and considered to be by Benozzo Gozzoli. [Mr. Berenson accepts this work as by Angelico himself.]

A Madonna between SS. Dominic and Peter Martyr in the Berlin Gallery [No. 60], though repainted in old times, is evidently by Angelico. The greeting of SS. Dominic and Francis, and the Apparition of S. Francis at Arles [No. 61 and 62 in the same gallery] are both by Angelico, but are more or less retouched.

A pretty Virgin with six angels in perfect preservation is in the Frankfort Gallery (No. 13). [Not accepted by Mr. Berenson.]

A pretended Angelico, lately in the Campana collection and now in Paris, is certainly not by him but by some pupil, and recalls to mind the manner of Andrea da Firenze. The predella subjects are copies from Angelico.

"S. Ambrose refusing the entrance of the Temple to Theodosius" is a well-preserved panel of the master in the Antwerp Gallery.

A Last Judgment, again, at Berlin [No. 60A], with an inscription purporting that the picture was executed in 1456, a year after Angelico's death, is assigned to him and to his disciple Cosimo Rosselli. It is by some feeble pupil and imitator of Angelico's manner, and the upper part, which is the best, makes an approach to the style of Rosselli, but the lower is really of a common character.

Marchese quotes this picture on the authority of FORTOUL, *de l'Art en Allemagne*. The Bammeville collection sold at Christie's in 1854 had a picture assigned to Angelico and much in the style of the Last Judgment of Berlin. [Both Mr. Berenson and Mr. Douglas give the Berlin panel to Angelico.]

In 1432, as has already been stated, Angelico painted for the convent of S. Alessandro of Brescia a Virgin Annunciate, of which the record has been preserved. *Vide* MARCHESE, vol. i., p. 401. A picture representing that subject seems still to exist there, having on the predella five scenes from the life of the Virgin. It is now but a daub of modern colour; but where the original painting can be traced, the manner is akin to that of an imitator of the Umbrian school of Gentile da Fabriano. That Angelico executed an Annunciation for S. Alexander of Brescia is certain, but that he painted the present daub is impossible. [Despite a certain amount of restoration, this beautiful picture can hardly be called a daub. Modern critics recognise in it a genuine work of Jacopo Bellini.]

Amongst the pictures in the magazine of the Turin Museum, one represents the Virgin enthroned with a sleeping Infant between SS. Lawrence, Aurelius, Amicus, and Albinus. This is a very common production, abraded in the flesh tints, so that the panel appears through the preparation. The figure of S. Albinus, little cupids painted as relief ornaments to the throne, and angels at the back of the seat, are less damaged than the rest, and the flesh tints of the latter are of a light rosy colour. The painter, whose second-rate style reminds one of Gentile da Fabriano and his followers, or such artists of the Venetian state, as for instance, Antonio da Negroponte, is Paolo of Brescia, as is proved by the following inscription: "PAULUS BRESIENSIS PINXIT. 1458." It is not possible to say whether the Annunciation at S. Alessandro and the Madonna at Turin are by the same hand, but there is a common style in both.

Mr Fuller Maitland is the owner of an Entombment of the Virgin by Fra Giovanni which has been engraved as a creation of Giotto.[1] Vasari no doubt was correct in stating that Giotto executed a picture with that subject, but he probably did not confound his work with one by Angelico. The panel at Stanstead House represents the Virgin in an elliptical glory, carried to heaven by angels, whilst below, at the side of her tomb, kneel S. Francis and another saint.[2]

Angelico had had occasion to meet in the convent of S. Marco at Florence the Pontiff Eugenius IV. The friar had no doubt performed his part in the ceremonies of the consecration in 1442, and Eugenius was not unacquainted with the merits of one who had already achieved so much for art. Vasari relates how Angelico proceeded to Rome to paint in the Vatican for Pope Nicholas V.[3] He tells how, the archbishopric of Florence being vacant, the Pope offered the mitre to Angelico, who refused it, saying he was not fitted for the cares of government.[4] But Angelico recommended to his Holiness Antonino, his brother friar, a friend of the poor, erudite, able, and fearing God; and his wish was acceded to.

There is in this story, if it be true, not only wherewithal to correct an error of Vasari, but enough to determine the time when Angelico first visited Rome. Bartolommeo Zabarella, archbishop of Florence, died in 1445, and was succeeded by Fra Antonino during the pontificate, not of Nicholas V., but of Eugenius IV. Vasari therefore errs in the name of the Pope who offered the mitre to Fra Giovanni; and it is probable that the invitation which took the painter to Rome was given by Eugenius, who knew him, and had had

[1] At Stanstead House, formerly in the Ottley Collection, and engraved in the *Etruria Pittrice* as a work of Giotto. See *antea*.

[2] [A picture of the same subject was lately in the hands of Messrs. Colnaghi.] A small head in fresco by Angelico in the hands of Rev. Dr. Gillis was exhibited at Manchester in 1858.

[Other pictures by Angelico besides those mentioned above will be found in MADRID, *Prado*, No. 14, Annunciation; MUNICH, *Gallery*, Nos. 982 and 989–991, Entombment, and Legends of Saints; PISA, *Museo Civico*, Sala VI., No. 7, Salvator Mundi. Mr. Berenson ascribes the Triptych at OXFORD, *Taylorian*, No. 5, to Angelico. MR. PERKINS ascribes to the master a Burial of the Virgin in the collection of Mr. J. G. Johnston at PHILADELPHIA, U.S.A., which he considers to be an early work (*cf. Rassegna d'Arte* (Milan), an. v. (1905), No. 8, p. 114). In the collection of Mrs. John L. Gardner, at BOSTON, U.S.A., is a very beautiful little panel of the Death and Assumption of the Virgin, formerly in the possession of Lord Methuen. A fresco of the Crucified is in the *Louvre* (No. 1294). Mr. Berenson, Mr. Perkins, and Dr. Sirèn all ascribe to Angelico a panel of S. Francis receiving the Stigmata, in the Museo Cristiano of the Vatican (Press Q, No. V.); while Mr. Berenson's list also includes a small Tabernacle picture in the collection of Count Stroganoff, at ROME.]

[3] VASARI, vol. iv., p. 35.

[4] Ibid., p. 36.

occasion to witness his ability.[1] This is the more likely as it appears from the minutes of a meeting of the council of Orvieto cathedral held on the 10th of May 1447,[2] that Angelico, then in Rome, had written to offer his services for work at Orvieto, and this offer appears to have been made upon the death, in the previous February, of Eugenius. For this pontiff therefore Angelico painted in the Vatican the Cappella del Sacramento, which was afterwards demolished by Paul III.[3] Eugenius died shortly afterwards in Feb. 1447; and Nicholas V. was elected by the conclave on the 6th of March. During the first months after his accession, the pope had doubtless little leisure to devote to the patronage of art.[4] In the meanwhile Francesco di Barone of Perugia, a Benedictine mosaist, then residing in Rome and no doubt acquainted with Angelico, knowing that he was not busy, wrote to the "*operai*" at Orvieto, saying that a brother of the Predicants, celebrated as a painter, was desirous of visiting their city. The council met, Angelico came, and the result was a contract, drawn up[5] on the 14th of June 1447, in which the friar engaged to paint in the Cappella Nuova of the Duomo,[6] for the four months of June, July, August, and September, at the rate of 200 golden ducats per annum, not including lodging, or the expenses of colours or scaffolding.[7] He stipulated further for his pupil Benozzo Gozzoli and Giacomo his aid, respectively, the sum of seven and three ducats per month.

Angelico performed his contract as to time, but could not finish the work. All that he had been able to execute, up to the 28th of September, was three triangular divisions of the ceiling in which he painted (1) the Saviour in the midst of a glory of angels;[8] (2) sixteen

[1] FRANCESCO ALBERTINO, the Florentine, in *Opusculum, ubi sup.*, says, Cappella Nicolai. V. et alia secreta Eugenii IIII. quas frater Joan. flor. ord. p̃di perpulchre depinxit in palatio . . ." p. 49 verso.

[2] DELLA VALLE, *Storia del Duomo di Orvieto, ubi sup.*, pp. 125 and 305. Signor Gaetano Milanesi (*Vide Com.* to the life of Angelico in VASARI, vol. iv.) corrects the date to May 10 instead of 13 as in Della Valle.

[3] VASARI, vol. iv., p. 35.

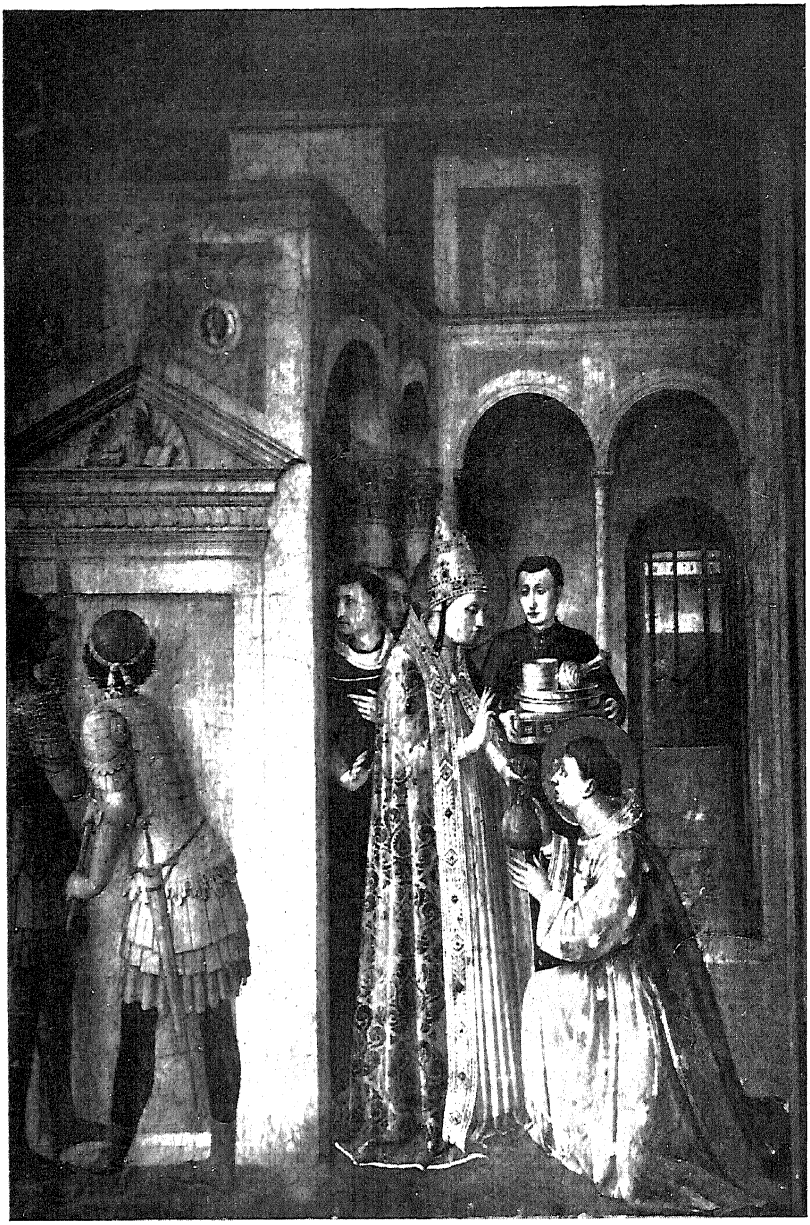
[4] [It was doubtless Eugenius who brought Angelico to Rome, and he may even have begun to work there before the pope died. However that may be, the first payment made to him was entered in the secret register in 13 March 1447. See LANGTON DOUGLAS, *op. cit.*, p. 118.]

[5] See the original record in DELLA VALLE, *ubi sup.*, p. 306. [As early as May 11, 1447, Angelico is spoken of in the documents of the Archivio dell' opera del Duomo di Orvieto. *Cf.* FUMI, *Il Duomo d'Orvieto* (Roma, 1891), *Doc.* lxxxi, p. 293. See also *Docs.* lxxiv., lxxv., lxxvi,, lxxvii., p. 394; lxxxi., p. 395.]

[6] Afterwards decorated by Luca Signorelli.

[7] A minute of the proceedings of the council, drawn up at the end of June 1447, describes how Antonius Giovanelli fell whilst engaged in erecting the scaffolding for Fra Giovanni. Funds are voted for his support and possible burial. DELLA VALLE, *ubi sup.*, p. 307.

[8] Intended to stand above the Final Judgment to be painted on the walls.

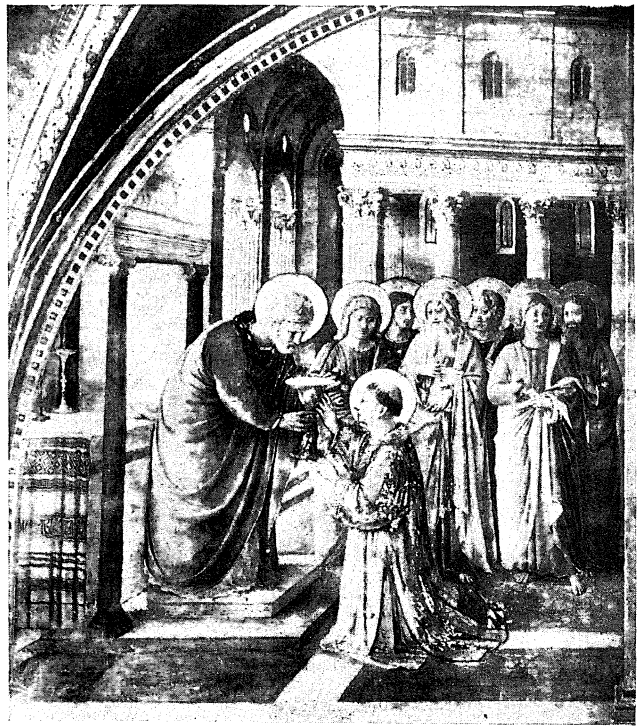


S. LAURENCE RECEIVING THE TREASURE OF THE CHURCH

FRA ANGELICO. Chapel of Nicholas V., Vatican, Rome.

S. STEPHEN PREACHING

FRA ANGELICO. Chapel of Nicholas V., Vatican, Rome.



COMMUNION OF S. STEPHEN

FRA ANGELICO. Chapel of Nicholas V., Vatican, Rome.

splendid figures of Saints and Prophets seated on clouds, and (3) the Virgin amongst the Apostles. The spectator may regret as he looks at this work, which was completed by Signorelli, to find the Saviour totally repainted, the angels much restored, and the rest not a little damaged by time.

At Rome Nicholas V. had now leisure; and he employed Angelico to decorate the chapel of the Vatican which bears his name, with scenes from the lives of two saints.

As one enters that chapel, the lunettes, divided severally into two, illustrate the life and martyrdom of S. Stephen, the first to the right of the entrance being devoted to the Ordination, and the Distribution of Alms; the second above the entrance to the Sermon and the Examination before the Council of Jerusalem; the third, left of the entrance, to preparations for the Martyrdom and the Stoning. On the lower course of the wall, to the left of the door, is the Ordination of S. Lawrence; on the side in which the door is pierced, S. Lawrence receiving from Sixtus II., treasures for Distribution in Alms, and the Almsgiving; and on the lower course of the wall, to the left of the door, S. Lawrence before Decius, and the Martyrdom. On the pilasters, at each side of the lower course of frescoes, Angelico painted saints erect in niches, SS. Anastasius (transferred to canvas and almost obliterated), Leo (restored), Thomas Aquinas, Ambrose, Buonaventura, Augustine, John Chrysostom (transferred to canvas and almost gone), and Pope Gregory the Great. In the ceiling the four Evangelists are majestically represented with their symbols.[1]

In the execution of this series, Fra Giovanni, though nearly threescore years of age, not only displayed a vigour equal, but superior, to that of his youth. As scene after scene fell complete from his pencil, he seemed to gather from the previous effort new strength for the next. In the Ordination of S. Stephen he represented S. Peter turning from the high altar and stooping towards the kneeling S. Stephen to administer the communion to him in the presence of six disciples. In these, not the stern gravity of Giotto nor the masculine force of Masaccio were depicted, but a gentle feeling of brotherly affection, mingled with religious fervour. But grave and noble above all the rest is Peter, grand in attitude, superior in dignity and rank. Nothing more reverent had been imagined than the expression and attitude of Stephen. In the distance the transept and nave of the church are not merely in harmony with the figures, but in good proportion and of a fine style; and thus Angelico, who had seen the efforts of Masaccio and other Florentines to improve perspective distance, and who had

It is an enlarged edition of the Saviour in the Last Judgment of the SS. Annunziata at Florence, His arms being outstretched and raised on high.

[1] S. John, however, daubed with colour, and S. Mark damaged.

imitated hitherto the incapacity of Masolino in this respect, began at last to feel the advantage of progress in a subordinate part of pictorial art. As a scene of charity and love of human kind, Angelico had never done anything more pathetic than S. Stephen almsgiving. With religious devotion in his youthful face, the saint on the steps of his church slips a piece into the hand of a young mother of gentle aspect and soft features, draped in flowing vestments and expressing in her face and attitude a noble feminine modesty. A clerk behind him seems to call the list of those to be relieved. An older female near the first stands by entranced in prayer. Other poor eagerly move forward for their share, whilst, to the right, two women, content, depart and commune with each other. To delineate poverty without squalidity, and express the modesty which is ashamed to beg, is a gift which Angelico shows that he possessed, and in this scene he poured out the full measure of those kindly and gentle feelings which filled his own breast. Masaccio, in depicting the poor around S. Peter, had not forgotten that the spectator does not pardon a vulgar picture. Noble features and frames are clad in humble garments. But the exquisite gentleness of motion and grace of demeanour, the sensibility which Angelico could delineate, prove him to have lived in a sort of ideal atmosphere, hardly attainable by any but an honest and pious monk.

In contrast again with Masaccio's S. Peter preaching at the Carmine, yet how fine, S. Stephen speaks, enforcing his arguments with the play of his hands, as S. Catherine does in S. Clemente. The listeners, who seem to be moved in their deepest depths by his images and arguments, are admirable. The means are simple and the result beautiful. To say that the remaining subjects of the series are equal to the three first is sufficient, but time and restoring have injured the frescoes in which the saint is led to martyrdom and stoned. So again the picture of Sixtus II. conferring Ordination on S. Lawrence,[1] and giving him the treasure to distribute, are damaged, and the profile of the saint's face in the latter is daubed with colour.

In the Distribution of Alms by S. Lawrence the spectator cannot but be moved, so great is the joy apparent in the poor receiving alms. The saint, in the dress of a subdeacon, holds a purse in his left hand, and gives a piece to a beggar on hand-crutches. Right and left the poor bend forward with reverent glance and longing motion. A blind

[1] Two feigned windows flank the fresco, and on a card on that to the right is the following inscription: "GREG. XIII. PONT. MAX. EGREGIAM HANC PICTURAM F. JOANNE ANGELICO FESULANO ORD. PRÆ. NICOLAI PAPA V. JUSSU ELABORATAM AC VETUSTATE PÆNE CONSUMPTAM INSTAURARI MANDAVIT." Sixtus II. is painted with the features of Nicholas V.

man on the right feels his way to the spot where the saint stands. Women move forward with their children. The distance again is a church in perspective, of simple architecture and as good as that in the Almsgiving of S. Stephen. Less realistic or severely true than Masaccio, Angelico is here again more gentle and graceful. Masaccio real, Angelico mystic : such might be the sentence of a critic of our time.[1]

After visiting the Sixtine Chapel, and retiring overwhelmed and humbled from the contemplation of the terrible grandeur and the splendid violence done to nature by the great Michael Angelo, after passing through the Stanze of the Vatican where the most perfect of painters has left his masterpieces, the soul of the beholder, convulsed by the first, restored to a more natural equilibrium by the second, finds repose and comfort in the chapel of Nicholas V. Here, as elsewhere, the paintings of Angelico speak to the heart and inspire love and kindliness. In one edifice, divided by a few walls, one sees in close proximity the works of three artists. In Michael Angelo we find power, in Raphael form, in Angelico the religious ideal. If, then, Angelico's creations sustain comparison with those of the best Italian painters, they cannot but have been of their kind great, as those of Michael Angelo and Raphael were great in theirs. The practical means, the artistic language, used by Angelico were therefore the most fitted to render and realise his idea. Hence idea and means in him corresponded, as they did in Raphael and Michael Angelo. The painter of the Sixtine Chapel and the painter of the chapel of Nicholas V. were at two opposite poles of art. In the first, nature was violently forced for the creation of a mighty representation, often for this reason unreal. In the last a sweet self-denying spirit exaggerated the contrary defect, yet still succeeded in imparting a grand idea.

Fra Giovanni died in Rome at the age of sixty-eight.[2] He was

[1] This fresco is well preserved. The bases are adorned with festoons and medallions, all much repainted; but in some heads on the wall to the right the style of Benozzo may still be recognised.

[2] The pictures executed by Angelico at Rome are not known now. The Crucifixion at the Vatican of which Vasari speaks is gone, likewise the altar-piece and the Annunciation at the Minerva. But as regards the altarpiece some critics still believe that the panel on which it is painted is only covered by the canvas of a newer picture by Rosario. ALBERTINI, *Opusc., ubi sup.*, p. 50, verso, says, an entire chapel at the Minerva was painted by Fra Giovanni. *Vide* also *Comment.*, VASARI, vol. iv., p. 49. Vasari also mentions miniatures executed at Rome, but none such exist (ibid. p. 35). At Florence perished also frescoes of SS. Dominic, Catherine of Siena, and Peter Martyr, in and about the screen of S. Maria Novella, frescoes in the screen chapel, and an Annunciation on canvas on the door of the organ (VASARI, vol. iv., p. 26), a Madonna once belonging to Don Vincenzio Borghini ; Two Madonnas and a Crucifix in the old Gondi (Barto°) collection ; stories of the Paschal taper in S. Maria Novella (ibid., p. 32), and S. Benedict imposing silence in the Badia

buried in the church of the Minerva, where the following inscription was placed over his remains:

HIC JACET VEN. PICTOR
FR. JO. DE FLOR. ORD. P.
M.
CCCC
L
V

NON MIHI SIT LAUDI, QUOD ERAM VELUT ALTER APPELLES,
SED QUOD LUCRA TUIS [? PAUPERIBUS] OMNIA, CHRISTE, DABAM:
ALTERA NAM TERRIS OPERA EXTANT, ALTERA COELO;
URBS ME JOHANNEM FLOS TULIT ETRURIAE.

Fra Benedetto, brother of the Angelico, died in 1448, either in S. Marco of Florence or at S. Domenico of Fiesole, having been for three years previous superior of the latter convent. He was industrious as a miniaturist, and adorned at the request of Cosimo de' Medici all the choral books of the church and sacristy with pictures and ornaments, a labour which lasted five years. He illuminated some of the books of the convent of Fiesole, and various missals and psalters.[1] As to the point whether he assisted his brother in the frescoes of S. Marco,[2] all that can be said is, that his manner must have been so similar to that of Angelico that modern criticism cannot distinguish between them. Some parts of the frescoes of S. Marco are doubtless inferior to the rest, and these may be the work of Benedetto.

As for Angelico's pupils, they must be left for future chapters on the development of the Umbrian school.

(ibid., p. 33). There are no miniatures of Angelico at S. Marco, but many by his brother Benedetto. The choral books of S. Dominic of Fiesole are most of them gone, but what remain have no miniatures. Father Marchese, however (vol. i., p. 159), thinks Angelico painted miniatures, and mentions a missal executed for Cosimo de' Medici with admirable paintings in it. He seems, however, not certain that these may not be by Benedetto.

[1] MARCHESE, *ubi sup.*, vol. i., p. 162 and following.

[2] VASARI, vol. iv., p. 26.

CHAPTER XIII

PAOLO UCCELLO

We have seen the feeling for classic art survive the tentative efforts of the earliest centuries to carry on Christian painting with pagan models; we have traced its existence throughout the decline of the dark ages, and during the period which witnessed a deep religious spirit animate the painters of the revival. We now perceive that the antique, which the most religious of the mystics had not entirely neglected, regained an absolute sway. The worship of the literature and philosophy of Greece, which Savonarola opposed in vain, now filtered into every branch of art, and invaded both sculpture and painting. The artists of this time were probably aware that no attempt to reach the ideal could be successful without a deep and continuous study of nature. At that inexhaustible fountain they might take from each creation that which seemed most perfect, combine these parts into a splendid whole, and revive the greatness of a bygone age. Some choice spirits may have seen the goal, and tended towards it. They may have entered the road that led thither without considering the obstacles which might stand in their way. It was certainly given to none in the fifteenth century to reach it. There was still too much to be done before an ideal could be attained; and years were spent in an effort to give a forward impulse to the arts or sciences which are the concomitants of perfect painting. Some took up perspective; others, chiaroscuro; many struggled to improve the old mediums. Two very natural results followed from the efforts of the time. The study of old Greek models rested exclusively on works of the chisel. Of these the material form became impressed on the painter's eye. Sculpture thus invaded with its peculiarities the domain of painting. The demand for marbles and bronzes, too, continued to produce men equally able with the chisel and the brush; but who imported the laws of bas-relief into painting, as Ghiberti had imported the laws of painting into bas-relief—men who sought to impart to productions of the brush the polish and sharpness that dazzle in works cut out of metal. The subjects rendered familiar by the study of the antique became fashionable; and the Bible or saintly legends no longer

formed the exclusive food for artistic activity. For this invasion of the old Christian ground by mythology, the time seemed aptly chosen. The ardour of religion had truly passed away or remained confined to a class. Purely religious painting, perfected with a view to exalt and embody the lessons of a fervent faith, had sunk into the grave of Angelico, who had lived to see new generations spring up around him unmoved by his example or careless of his honest enthusiasm. These still continued to represent religious subjects, but did not preserve the stern simplicity necessary to give them grandeur or impress the spectator with their solemnity.

This was not all. Those who had been convinced that a study of nature, and not a mere imitation of the most perfect models, was necessary for the revival of the genius of an extinct art, were led to spend more time than usual in examining and analysing all natural appearances. In this effort, most tarried by the way, lost sight of the aim towards which the subtle knowledge of nature should have led them, and became realistic imitators, who forget that the ideal is based on selection. The characteristic features of Florentine art in the fifteenth century are thus oblivion of the great aim which should animate every artist,—a praiseworthy effort to master the various branches of perspective, light and shade, and the chemistry of painting, with a tendency to imitate the mere outer show of the antique or an unselect nature.

We shall not say that the painters of this time deserve more blame than praise. In so far as they had aims, their efforts were meritorious. The religious school which preceded them was doubtless more in the path of the truth, but had been without many of the advantages which the later labourers in the field were enabled to glean. Such as may think that art is not an emanation or expression of the feeling of its time, or do not appreciate the old simplicity which made every thing subordinate to a sublime Christian idea, may be right in preferring the more realistic, or naturalist school, as it has been called, of the fifteenth century. There are beauties and excellence in both.

The first painter of Florence who displayed the characteristic features which have been thus rapidly sketched, is Paolo Doni, or Uccello. Born at the close of the fourteenth century (*c.* 1396 [1]), he was apprenticed to Lorenzo Ghiberti and, as "garzone di bottega"

[1] In four tax papers, of 1427, 1433, 1442, and 1446, Paolo gives himself a different age. In the two first he says he was born in 1397. In the third he gives the date of 1402, in the last that of 1396. A record of 1469 contains a declaration of his age and infirmities. He there again states that he was born in 1396. GAYE, *Carteggio*, vol. i., pp. 146–7.

(1407), no doubt fagged for Donatello and the other assistants who worked the second gate of the Baptistery of S. Giovanni.[1] It was thus his fortune to live at a period when Brunelleschi and Ghiberti carried on their memorable feud; when Donatello was preparing to startle his countrymen with the originality of his vehement style. It was an age in which the science of perspective was already an object of ceaseless research; in which Brunelleschi was to teach Masaccio the rudiments of that science; Ghiberti was to introduce it, in spite of all previous experience, into bas-reliefs; and Donatello was preparing to show its use in altering the natural forms of statues to suit the position in which they were intended to rest. It was no wonder, therefore, that the bias of a youth so situated should be, first, to imbibe the maxims which regulate the production of bas-relief, next to master if possible those laws of perspective and foreshortening which seemed the great necessity of the time. Finally, it was not unnatural that, in his attempt to apply the laws whose substance he desired to master, he should fall back upon nature as the source of all truth.

Uccello, whose works are unhappily but too scarce, or damaged at the present day, still shows us that there were more of the elements of the sculptor than of the painter in him. We are puzzled, however, to point out where he learnt to paint. It is well known that the sister-arts were usually practised in each atelier of Florence. Ghiberti had been a painter; but we seek in vain for pictures by him or by Donatello. Uccello's works point unmistakably enough to the same source of teaching which served for Masolino and Masaccio, and is revealed in the manner of Fra Filippo. Sharing with Donatello a general contempt for select nature, he drew with a hardness of line which betrays familiarity with sculpture. But his colour, if it may be judged from the damaged creations we still possess, was fused, careful, slightly cold in shadow, but of a rosy tone in the flesh lights. He sparingly used liquid and not unpleasant tints over the grey preparations. The effect upon the spectator's eye is that of flatness. We possess pictures of his early and of his later time; the first, tentative and imperfect, revealing the course of his struggle towards a true representation of foreshortened parts and perspective lines, giving us the block, without the pliant action of bodies, full of realism and detail; the last, more masterly and perfect, with figures in good form and proportions, draped so as to develop the shape with propriety, but still reminiscent of bas-relief in their plasticity, and in the peculiar distribution of the groups and episodes.

[1] THOMAS PATCH, *ubi sup.*, *La Porta del Battistero di S. Giovanni.*

In the first class are three out of four panels representing incidents of battle, adorning of old the garden of the Bartolini at Gualfonda, near Florence.[1] The eagerness of rival purchasers has left but one to the

[1] [VASARI, vol. iii., p. 96. The three pictures, now in the National Gallery, the Louvre and the Uffizi, are not "three out of four panels representing incidents of battle, adorning of old the garden of the Bartolini at Gualfonda" or Valfonda, near Florence. It is true that Vasari, in the second edition of his *Lives*, published in 1568, at vol. i., p. 272, par. 2, speaks of four such panels: "In Gualfonda more especially, on a terrace of the garden which formerly belonged to the Bartolini family, are four battle-pieces in wood, by his hand; the horses and armed men, in splendid vestments of the fashion of that day, are very beautiful; and among the figures are portraits of Paolo Orsino, Ottobuono da Parma, Luca da Canale, and Carlo Malatesta, Lord of Rimini, all great captains of those times. These pictures had suffered injury in certain parts and have been restored in our own day by Giuliano Bugiardini, from whom they have received injury rather than profit." In the notes to the Le Monnier edition of Vasari used by the authors (Florence, 1845–56), this passage is thus noted: "Of these four pictures one only was known to exist—that, namely, which is preserved in the Royal Gallery of the Uffizi, and which is authenticated by the name of the painter written below. . . . The fate of the remaining three was unknown till the year 1848, when it was our good fortune to discover two of them, one of which is in admirable preservation, and to point them out to the Signori Francesco Lombardi and Ugo Baldi. . . . It is suspected that the fourth has been taken to England." Such is the source of the identification of these pictures. But if we turn to the first edition of Vasari, published in 1550 (vol. i., p. 256, par. 2), we shall see that he there describes those four works he speaks of as being in chiaroscuro: "among which are four (pictures) with stories in chiaroscuro of great size containing many figures, horses, animals, and landscapes in the garden of the Bartolini.' But, as we see, the three pictures we possess in London, Paris, and Florence are in brilliant colours. Moreover, the Bartolini pictures painted in the fifteenth century were restored in the sixteenth by Bugiardini, while our panels have not been restored, nor is Bugiardini's hand anywhere visible in them. Thus argues MR. H. P. HORNE, in a brilliant and learned article in *The Monthly Review* for October 1901. "What are our battle-pieces then, and for whom were they painted?" he asks. He identifies them with part of the work which Vasari tells us Uccello did for the Casa Medici and Palazzo Riccardi, and, quoting a document, an inventory taken in 1596 of the contents of the Palazzo Medici, where we read of "three great pictures of jousts antique all in one piece with their frames gilt, fixed to the wall high above the door of the first great chamber in the vestibule of the chapel," seems to prove that our panels are not three out of four, but three out of six which once, framed in the wall, decorated the chamber of Cosimo, later the chamber of Lorenzo il Magnifico, forming a frieze as it were, on two sides of the room. Thus we conclude that the Bartolini pictures have perished altogether now, and that we are left with three of six panels painted for Cosimo de' Medici. For the subjects of the missing three the reader must consult Mr. Horne's article, but as to the three that remain to us Mr. Horne tells us they represent the rout of San Romano, where Niccolò da Tolentino, captain of the Florentines, defeated in 1432 Micheletto da Cotignola, captain of the Sienese. Later Tolentino died in prison, refusing to break faith with the Florentines. And for this, and because he held him in high esteem, Cosimo ordered Uccello to decorate his chamber with a representation of his greatest exploit. According to Mr. Horne, the Uffizi picture formed the centre piece divided from the wings—that to the right the Louvre picture, that to the left the panel in the National Gallery—by pilasters about 8 inches wide. The Uffizi picture has no portrait. but the two figures without helmets in the National Gallery panel are Niccolò da Tolentino and his armour-bearer, while the similar figure in the Louvre panel is Micheletto da Cotignola. *Cf.* HORNE,

Uffizi at Florence. Two others are in the ex-Campana Collection at the Louvre and in the National Gallery. A daring boldness of action marks the knights and barded steeds in tilt which form the subject of the panel at Florence; but the conception is more praiseworthy than successful; and the effect of certain movements, such as that of a kicking horse, is ludicrous and grotesque. Again, the foreshortened position of a prostrate steed presenting his belly and heels as well as the legs of his fallen rider to the spectator, suggests the wish rather than the power to overcome a difficulty of no mean kind. Perspective of broken lances, shields, and helmets is laboriously carried out; and distant episodes of archers, men-at-arms and dogs, show that Uccello already possessed the art of perspective; but the spectator has before him the lifeless and wooden models of divers figures, their geometrical substance without the final dressing that should give life to the form and its action. Added to this, sharp outlines cut out the figures; and the injury done by time and restoring to the colours renders the whole production of less interest to the lover of good pictures than to the critic. The piece serves, in fact, as a medium for a show of a knowledge in foreshortening, whereas perspective should have no other aim than to make the picture true and productive of a natural illusion.[1] One can fancy Donatello saying, at sight of such a work, "This perspective of yours makes you drop the certain for the uncertain. These are things which can only be of use to a workman in marquetry." [2] It is not uninteresting, however, to note at the outset that Uccello attacked at once a series of difficulties. He not only revelled in the details of armour, saddlery, and plumes, which marked the panoplies of his time, but he studied horses, dogs and birds. His partiality to the latter is the origin of his nickname. He even attempted to depict

The Battle-piece by Paolo Uccello in the National Gallery, in *The Monthly Review* (London, 1901), vol. v., p. 114 *et seq.* CAVALCASELLE, in the Italian edition of this *History* (vol. v., p. 60 *et seq.*), devotes several pages to the description of two battle-pieces at that time in the possession of Mr. Charles Caryl Coleman, of Capri. One of these represented the "Capture of Pisa," the second the "Battle of Anghiari." Originally ascribed to Piero della Francesca, they were attributed, as Cavalcaselle says, "with greater reason" to Uccello. Cavalcaselle himself appears to have accepted this attribution in the beginning, but at a later time to have thought that the panels might have been works of Pesellino. Of the present whereabouts of these panels we are not certain. One of them is said to have come later into the possession of Mr. Charles Butler, of London. Certain it is, however, that they no longer form part of Mr. Coleman's collection.]

[1] This picture [No. 52] is signed on a shield to the left "PAULI UCIEĨI OPUS."

[2] [VASARI, vol. iii., p. 89. The note of contraction over the last two letters of Ucieĩ would suggest, Mr. Horne tells us (*op. cit.*, p. 131), that the name was Ucielini. He thinks there is a clue here to the origin of the painter's name. The Uccellini were a noble Guelf family exiled in 1260. *Cf.* VILLANI, *Cronica*, lib. vi., cap. 79.]

the strangest animals; and Vasari relates of him that, in the ceiling of the Loggia de' Peruzzi at Florence, he figured the elements as four animals; the earth as a mole, water as a fish, and fire as a salamander. He should have symbolised air as a chameleon, but, deceived by a similarity of structure in the name, he substituted for the lesser creature a camel.[1]

In the next piece, at the Louvre [No. 1273], in which a leader in armour, on a sable horse, and with a high hat, has drawn his sword, and prepares to follow a first line of knights, starting with couchant lances, the action is more calm, yet the forms are still wooden. The movements of the footmen in the intervals of the cavalry are true; but, in them, as in the group of riders in armour at the right side, there is still a rigidity approaching that of stone. The best of these panels is that of the National Gallery,[2] representing the battle of S. Egidio, fought by Malatesta, who appears, with his youthful nephew Galeazzo at his side, issuing the order to advance. Without any colour in consequence of abrasion, without swing in the drawing, because of the sharpness and broken quality of the outlines, without dignity, because the figures are feeble and lean, and the costume of the time is not picturesque, this piece may still command attention. The heads of Malatesta and Galeazzo are modelled in soft and well-fused tones of rosy hue and spare impasto; the shadows are slightly cold, but the whole is executed in the most careful style after the technical method observable in the works of Masolino and Fra Filippo. Galeazzo in profile, a boy of fair hair and complexion, gorgeously attired in a gold embroidered dress,[3] is a happy effort of the artist's pencil. Uccello possibly had but to copy nature to succeed, for the youth was evidently handsome; and it is suggestive of this belief that when Uccello painted figures in which he was not bound to produce a portrait, the forms of head which he preferred were round and plump in external outline, pinched and small in the more minute detail.[4] As to the action—the shape of steeds and their riders—the profuse finery of dress, ornaments, and distances of landscape—the character of this example is not

[1] VASARI, vol. iii., p. 97.

[2] [No. 583.]

[3] Note in the execution of details of costume, that the stuff and gold embroideries are glazed with a general warm and fluid tint.

[It is to be noted that the standard under which the authors tell us Malatesta fights does not bear his insignia, the elephant, or any badge of his family. Mr. Horne has proved beyond doubt that the standard bears the "Groppo di Salamone," a knot of intricate form from the badge of Niccolò da Tolentino (*op. cit.*, pp. 126–9); while the standard in the Louvre picture bears the arms of Michelotto da Catignola.]

[4] Something in the drawing of this picture makes it reminiscent of the manner of Fra Filippo. The colour suggests the same idea, being laid in with a liquid brush, of a flat but golden tone, where not abraded.

essentially different from that of the rest of the series to which it belongs.

We have no means of ascertaining the exact time when these pictures were executed; although the subject of one of them, that of the battle of S. Egidio, points to a date subsequent to 1416;[1] nor are we rich in anecdotes of Uccello's private life. Vasari's description suggests the idea of a man much worn by study, toiling at night over perspective problems, earning little and not producing much.[2] The anecdote of Uccello's flight from the monks of S. Miniato because they fed him exclusively on cheese,[3] might, however, lead to the belief that hermit's fare was at least not habitual with him; whilst the facts, that he made a will as early as 1425 and possessed a house worth a hundred florins in 1434, sufficiently prove that, albeit his fame might not be great, yet his means were ample.[4] It is clear, from his returns to the income-tax office, that he lived at Florence, with but little interruption, until 1446;[5] and well-founded doubts may therefore be urged against the statement of Vasari, that Uccello accompanied Donatello in 1444 to Padua.[6] Yet we may not deny that Uccello, at some period of his life, was in that city; for the "Anonimo" (Morelli) notes that the frescoes of the Palace of the Vitaliani were by him.[7] About 1436 Uccello completed a portrait of the English condottiere, Hawkwood, in S. M. del Fiore at Florence. It did not meet with approval from the council of the works; and a record of that year "orders the *capomaestro* to take down the equestrian figure, which is not properly painted by P. Uccello, and requires the artist to repaint it in terra verde,"[8] or dead colour. Whether the order was obeyed, or whether the figure now in S. Maria del Fiore be the one which was disapproved, is immaterial. It was not unlikely that the critics of the time should

[1] [The picture must have been painted after 1432, and probably after 1435, when Niccolò da Tolentino died. Mr. Horne thinks that they were painted somewhat before 1459, when Benozzo Gozzoli was painting the chapel in the Palace.]

[2] VASARI, vol. iii., p. 89.

[3] VASARI, vol. iii., p. 90.

[4] GAYE, *Carteggio*, vol. i., pp. 146–7, gives the original records. Uccello's house was in Via della Scala.

[5] Income-tax returns for 1427, 1433, 1442, and 1446 are mentioned by GAYE, *ubi sup.*, and that of 1434 is given in full.

[6] VASARI, vol. iii., p. 96. We have minute records of Donatello's stay in Padua, of the sums paid him for works at the Santo, of the pupils and assistants that were with him. The name of Uccello does not appear in any of these records. See *La Basilica di S. Antonio di Padova* (4to, Pad.), by PADRE BERNARDO GONZATI, vol. i., chaps. iv. and vi., and the proofs in the "Documenti" appended.

[7] ANONIMO, *ubi sup.*, p. 23. Uccello here painted figures of giants for a ducat a piece.

[8] The original provision for a monument to Hawkwood was made in 1393. GAYE, *ubi sup.*, vol. i., p. 536.

have been struck by a peculiarity which has since been stigmatised by Vasari,[1] and which has given rise to long comments from more modern critics. This peculiarity lies in the action given to the horse on which Hawkwood rides—unnatural, according to Vasari, because the steed only rests on one fore and one hind leg, unnatural perhaps, according to the judgment of the council of S. M. del Fiore, but masterly and true to nature in fact, being indeed but a counterpart in drawing of the action given by Donatello to the horse of Gattamelata at Padua.

Uccello's purpose was, in obedience to instructions, to represent Hawkwood in full panoply as he might have appeared in marble, had the provision made in 1393, for the erection of a monument to his memory,[2] been carried out. Being painted in green earth, it would naturally preserve the appearance of stone; being drawn by Uccello with the same attention to the laws of optics which had dictated to Donatello the proportions of his S. Mark in Orsanmichele, it might have induced the spectator to believe that his glance was truly directed towards a natural creation of plastic art. The beholder sees in fact an imitation: first, of a stone sepulchre leaning on brackets high up on the wall, and properly drawn as if seen from below; secondly, a pedestal resting on the sepulchre; and thirdly, the profile of a stepping horse, on which Hawkwood with the baton of command rides with security and ease. If executed in 1436, this work proves that Uccello was thus early master of his craft, and far advanced beyond the period of groping and trial which witnessed the production of the foregoing pieces. Natural in movement, broadly designed, as well as nobly conceived, executed with consistent power, this statue of Hawkwood reveals Uccello possessor of the arts of foreshortening and perspective, and conscious of human and brute forms in their best proportions. It shows us the high standard of scientific knowledge which had been attained by Florentine painters about the middle of the fifteenth century;[3] but, above all, it displays Uccello's style founded essentially upon the study of statuary corrected by the study of nature.

In other examples, such as the frescoes of the cloisters in S. M.

[1] VASARI, vol. iii., pp. 94–5. [2] See *note antea*.

[3] This piece, originally executed in fresco, has been since transferred to canvas, and is somewhat damaged by the operation. The background, the saddle, and bridle are red. The painter's name may still be read: "PAULI UCELLI OPUS."

In S. M. del Fiore, Uccello also painted the face of the clock inside the church (VASARI, vol. iii., p. 95). Four heads at the angles of the square circumscribing the dial may still be traced, but they are so damaged that they give no clue to the master's style.

[The painting was originally on the north wall, as was that by Andrea dal Castagno of Niccolò da Tolentino. They were transferred to canvas and removed to their present position in 1841. Uccello's painting replaced an earlier one by Agnolo Gaddi and Pesello, who were commissioned to paint it in 1395.]

Novella, where bas-relief is again imitated not only by the use of dead colour, but, as in bas-relief, by the distribution of the scenes into distinct parts within given spaces, Uccello discloses still more concretely the various phases of his acquirements and inherent defects. Without poetic thought, he subjects incidents hitherto represented with religious tenderness and feeling to a coarser contact with humanity. He reminds us of the imperfections of ordinary men, whose form and action he realises with hard and unchoice character, yet the plastic forms accuse a fruitful study of nature, with recurrent reminiscences of the antique—fair proportions and real bone and muscle beneath broad draperies. Perspective is carried to a high level of perfection in its application to animate and inanimate objects, and an improved artfulness is visible in the mode of rendering projections of shadows.[1]

The subjects of the frescoes in the cloisters of S. M. Novella are numerous :

Starting from the space nearest the entrance from the cloister into the church, the eye first glances (left) at the Animal Creation (right) the Creation of Man in the lunette. In the first the Eternal, of human size, in copious drapery and grave attitude, is surrounded by animals of various kinds. In the second, parted from the first by a rock, the Eternal, again, advances and helps Adam to rise. In the lower course of this arched space are traces of the form of Eve and of the Father, with the Temptation to the right.[2] The second lunette contains the Expulsion and "Adam and Eve labouring by sweat of their brow." In the lower course is the Sacrifice and the Death of Abel. The third lunette and its lower course rudely represent the Building of the Ark and the Procession of God's Creatures; and they suggest either that Uccello had no part in their production, or that some inferior painter renewed them at a later time.[3]

Far more interesting is the fourth lunette, of the Deluge, in the upper part of which angels and monsters seem to urge the elements to the destruction of everything on the earth's surface. On the right floats the

[1] [Those frescoes on the south are the work of Uccello and his pupils, those on the north and east are by Dello. The Flood and the Sacrifice of Noah and the Drunkenness of Noah are certainly by Uccello himself, as the Building of the Ark and the Beasts entering the Ark seem to be; the rest on the south wall may well be the work of pupils under his direction.]

[2] Part of the intonaco in the Creation of Animals has fallen, and much that Vasari describes is gone (VASARI, iii., p. 92). The Creation of Adam is better preserved—the most perfect indeed as regards condition of the whole series. The trees in the distance, originally painted in red, are spoiled by retouching. This and other backgrounds are originally water-colour, not fresco. In the Creation of Eve there are but traces of the upper part of the outline of the Creator in profile, and of the form of Eve. Adam is gone. In the Temptation one still sees on the left the outline of Adam and a serpent about the tree. The latter has a human head of a pleasing regular profile, and not in dead colour like the rest. On the right, Eve holds the apple. The distance is red.

[3] VASARI notes that "two scenes are by another hand" (vol. iii., p. 92).

ark in turbid waters, a lofty edifice of wooden beams, at whose window Noah receives the dove. A similar edifice floats to the left, whilst, between the two, various episodes, incident to a vast and universal inundation, are depicted. In the distance, a thunderbolt rends an oak. Nearer, and amongst other scenes of anguish, one may note a naked figure on a float in friendly contact with a bear, both determined to repel a lion who swims towards them. A figure to the left of this strives to gain a footing on the steps of the floating edifice. More in front to the right, a naked wretch grasps with the energy of despair the sides of a barrel in which he is floating. A woman before him supports an aged man on the back of a swimming buffalo. To the right an erect figure in full draperies is grasped at the feet by a drowning man. The upper part of the body of a dead child is on the water near the foreshortened frame of one, face upwards, presenting his feet to the spectator. A crow pecks out the eyes of one of the dead; and a buoyant corpse lies supine on the billow with head and shoulders to the beholder. On the left foreground, a naked man on a horse threatens with a sword one in a similar condition, defending himself with a club. Between them a tired wretch still paddles on his back. Pressed to the side of the ark by the wind which glues his wet garments to his frame, stands another victim of the elements.[1]

Noah's Sacrifice, in the next lower course, can be traced in a few parts only. The figure of the Creator, appearing in air with his head away from the spectator, is a mere outline. One sees further the heads of persons kneeling about an altar, and a rainbow. Then comes the Drunkenness of Noah, where the patriarch lies on the ground, foreshortened; and his son stands over him, about to cover his nakedness. In rear, and in the centre of the picture, another son starts back in surprise; and, on the left, Shem points at the prostrate frame of his father. A trellis with grapes is behind Shem, a cabin, with two casks of wine,[2] behind the central group. It is a pity that this fresco, which Vasari praises and criticises, should be much injured. The figure of Shem is preserved, with the exception of a part of the face, shoulder, and right hand. The upper part of the central figure remains, with part of the head and shoulder of that covering the nakedness of Noah.[3]

Injured as these frescoes have been, a careful analysis of their parts may yield some fruitful observations. The conception of Adam's Creation reveals a new realism, an effort to show, not a creative act resulting from a mere enforcement of will, but a material exertion of

[1] This fresco is not without damage. The drowned child on the right is half repainted, the figure whose eyes are pecked out by the crow is repainted with the bird itself on lines different from the original ones. The figure in the distance to the left, creeping up the steps, is retouched. The foreshortened corpse on the right, with its head to the spectator, is in a similar condition. Besides this, whole pieces of colour are new.

[2] In the trellis is the outline of a figure. Vasari pretends that the perspective of the casks is incorrect, but the accuracy of his remarks in this respect cannot now be tested.

[3] Thus it is clear that the whole of the figure of Noah is new.

ROUT OF S. ROMANO

PAOLO UCCELLO.

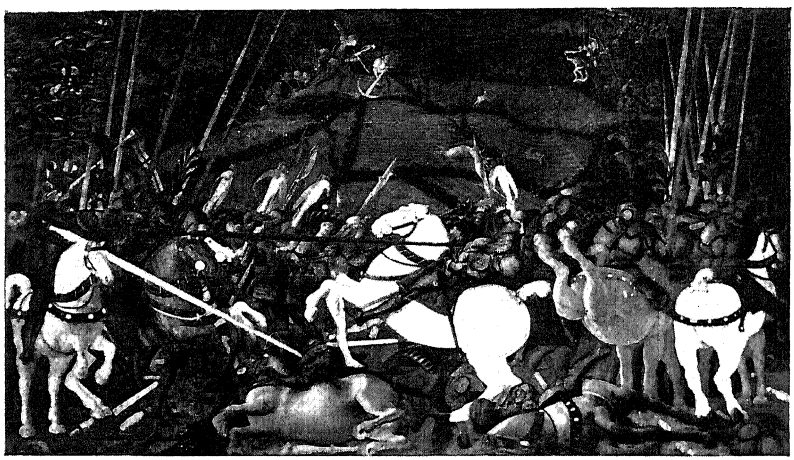
National Gallery.

Neurdein.

ROUT OF S. ROMANO

PAOLO UCCELLO.

Louvre, Paris.



Alinari.

ROUT OF S. ROMANO

PAOLO UCCELLO.

Uffizi, Florence.

physical force. Adam does not move alone, and at the command of God; but the Creator takes him by the hand and helps him to rise; and the spectator unmistakably notes the muscular exertion which is necessary for the performance of the action. The nude of Adam is in fact a realistic study of a muscular and well-proportioned nude, neglected somewhat in the drawing, chiefly of the extremities, but rendered with a plasticity reminiscent of statuary. A breeze plays through the broad draperies of the Eternal, the folds of whose garment still show, with some festooning, the principal masses of the flesh beneath them.[1] But that which betrays unmistakably the education of Uccello is the lozenge frame, with its chequered black and white pattern, and the red background.[2]

Uccello finds means to represent, in the Deluge, motion and irresistible force, the rush of the wind, the fury of the elements and the helplessness of man. He does not attain the highest tragic awfulness, but he combines much that contributes to it. In this composition, especially, appears his tendency to import into painting the laws of distribution habitual to the sculptor of bas-reliefs. He divided his scene into three great parts, joining them well together for the sake of unity and introducing a strong realism into the incidents. His power of keeping the human form, even when draped, before the spectator's eye is shown in the figure clinging to the ark and pressed to its side by the force of the wind. The clammy garments show the fleshy parts below, and the gale makes the folds flap again. Here, too, may be noticed Uccello's accuracy in rendering the projection of shadows; for, though the storm is in full rage, the sun still shines through an opening in the clouds. As to perspective and anatomy, sufficient is to be found in this one fresco for tracing the exact picture of Uccello's talent; and for gaining the conviction that he had mastered the problem of retreating lines to various vanishing points on a common horizon, or in the definition of circles and curves at different distances and on numerous planes. His masterly foreshortening in floating corpses must have astonished the men of his time. His knowledge of the forms of animals, native and foreign, is equally apparent and curious.

The daring with which Uccello depicted the Eternal, descending with His head away from the beholder, justly surprised Vasari. Its counterpart is to be found, in Uccello's century, only in a similar

[1] The meandering line of the drapery skirts is a remnant of the teaching of Ghiberti.

[2] The background, though red like the sky (repainted), is simple in its mass of rock. The foreground is a meadow with flowers.

figure by Piero della Francesca in the fresco of the dream of Constantine at S. Francesco of Arezzo.

In the Drunkenness of Noah, which seems the last of the series, Uccello displays greater boldness of hand; but he still preserves characteristic peculiarities, such as oval heads with angularly lined features. The figures are elastic in movement, firm in tread; and the colour, where preserved, is well modelled and softly fused in the system already noticed. The figure of Shem is, according to Vasari, a portrait of Uccello's friend, the painter Dello. That painter had wandered in his youth into distant countries and had settled in Spain. He returned, however, in 1446 to Florence, where he remained two years. He was at the time about forty-two,[1] and that is the apparent age of Shem in the last of Uccello's frescoes. We may assume, therefore, that the cloister of S. Maria Novella was painted by Uccello about 1446–48.

The historian may regret that he cannot record the time when Donatello, Brunelleschi, and Antonio Manetti were gathered together by Uccello as in a gallery, with Giotto at their head. The genius of Giotto, it is clear, was still acknowledged by the painters of the fifteenth century. The sources of his power were beyond the ken of the single artist, it is true, but the realist painter and sculptor, the daring architect, the mathematician, who helped by science the solution of perspective problems, were willing, it would seem, to admit that a combination of gifts had found place in the early Florentine master, and entitled him to stand at their head. Little of the original work remains in the series of portraits of these men, now in the Louvre under the name of Uccello.[2] The impression which it creates is that of an old copy of the time of Pontormo.[3] The inscription is modern. Yet the portraits correspond with Vasari's descriptions and the wood-cuts in his original edition; and a close inspection may permit the critic to admit that the picture is a genuine one of the time, and really by Uccello.

A wide divergence of thought and of talent separated Paolo from Masaccio. But one should have thought the latter not unworthy to be classed amongst the geniuses whom we have but now seen brought together in one picture. Some concealed record may yet come to

[1] Dello was born about 1404. His life shall be sketched later, with the assistance of new documents discovered by Signor Gaetano Milanesi. See *Gior. Stor. degli Archivi Toscani, ubi sup.*, 1860, third quarter, p. 10. These paintings were executed with funds left for the purpose as far back as the year 1348. by Torini di Baldese, a merchant of Florence. See *Com.* to life of Dello in VASARI, *ubi sup.*, vol. iii., p. 54.

[2] [No. 1272] Louvre Cat.

[3] So completely is the picture repainted.

light, from which we shall learn that Masaccio and Uccello were not unacquainted. We have it indeed on fair authority that the latter painted the predella of an altarpiece in S. Maria Maggiore at Florence, of which the principal panel was by Masaccio. But this, and many other works of interest produced during a long course of years, have been totally lost to posterity.[1]

Uccello, in his later years was invited by the brotherhood of Corpus Christi at Urbino to paint an altarpiece. His name did not escape the attentive Giovanni Santi, who gives him a good word in his *Elogio*;[2] whilst the records of the brotherhood contain items of payments to him for his work and for his journey from Florence in 1468.[3] The altarpiece is no longer to be found; and there is no authentic picture of the master in Urbino. Yet in S. Agatha of that city a predella was long preserved as a part of an altarpiece executed by Giusto of Ghent. It may now be seen in the college of the R. P. Scolopi contiguous to S. Agatha.[4] The subjects, six in munber, are derived from a legendary description of the theft of a pyx:

First we note, in a room, a dame, at a counter, presenting, apparently to a silversmith, the pyx with the wafer of the host upon it. Next comes a scene in two parts. To the left is an interior where the silver of the pyx is smelting on a fire to the right. Blood flows out of the pot, and the miracle seems to fill the purchaser with a very natural terror. The female, with two children, stands by as if in thought. Outside, in the second part, soldiers are bursting the door. In the third compartment the pyx, miraculously entire, is carried in procession to the church from which it was stolen. The fourth represents the guilty persons brought to the place of execution by a train of soldiers on horseback, in the dress of the

[1] "L'antiqua chiesa di S. M. Maiore fu . . .: nella quale è una tavola di Masaccio: la predella et l'archo di sopra è di Paolo Uccelli." ALBERTINI, *Memoriale*, *ubi sup.*, p. 12. Vasari also mentions a work by Uccello (vol. iii., p. 90), saying, it was a fresco in a chapel at the side of the door leading to S. Giovanni, representing the Annunciation. In the ceiling, Uccello painted the Four Evangelists. RICHA, vol. iii., p. 281, notes the existence of a picture by Uccello in S. M. Maggiore, on a pilaster to the left of the portal. All these works, however, have disappeared. The same fate has attended the paintings of Uccello in the Spedale di Lemmo, VASARI, vol. iii., p. 89, in the Convent of Annalena, now razed (ibid., vol. iii., p. 89); scenes from the Life of S. Francis in S. Trinità; the monochrome frescoes, since whitewashed in the cloister of S. Miniato; the altar dossal in the Cappella de' Pugliesi at the Carmine (ibid., vol. iii., pp. 90, 91); canvases representing animals in the Casa Medici (ibid., vol. iii., p. 91); scenes from the Life of S. Benedict in the monastery of the Angeli (ibid., vol. iii., p. 95); and an Incredulity of S. Thomas in the Mercato Vecchio (ibid., vol. iii., p. 98).

[2] See the passage in PUNGILEONI, *Elogio Storico di Gio. Santi* (8vo, Urbino, 1822), p. 73.

[3] Ibid., p. 74. The dates of payments are August 10 and October 31, 1468.

[4] [This is the story of the Jew and the Host now in the Gallery in the Ducal Palace, No. 23.]

period, and blowing trumpets. At one side the female awaits the cord at the gallows. The fifth part is confined to the burning of the receivers of the stolen silver at the stake. The last scene shows the dead body of one of the guilty ones swollen in death—angels carrying away the wafer of the sacrament, and devils waiting for the soul of the criminal.

This predella was evidently ordered by the wealthy patron of some altar in S. Agatha. His arms cover a shield above the chimney in the interior of the first piece of the series. In this as in all the parts, the perspective is remarkably correct. The figures are steady of tread and drawn with much fidelity from nature. The style of Uccello is displayed in the general oval character of the full faces and their small pinched features, in the slender necks and frames, in the vulgar individuality which reveals merely a patient study of nature, and in the hard cutting lines which minutely and sharply define the forms. The drawing of the horses in the processions is equally characteristic of the master. The colour, though abraded, is still warm, of an equal, and therefore monotonous, value of tone; and recalls to mind that of the early battle-pieces of Gualfonda.[1] Copious details of costume and ornament confirm the impression that Uccello is the painter of this piece.

In the same manner, though executed with less power, is a Virgin and Child, with attendant figures, in possession of the Duke of Verdura at Palermo. The Virgin's face seems cast in the mould peculiar to Fra Filippo. The colour is transparent and golden; and the picture recalls to mind those which usually pass in galleries for productions of Baldovinetti or Pesellino.[2]

Uccello was seventy-two years of age when he visited Urbino. In the following year he was unable to move. A placet is still in existence in which he declares to the Uffiziali of Florence (August 9, 1469) that he is aged seventy-three, that his wife Mona Tomasa di Benedetto Malifici is infirm, that his son Donato is sixteen years old, that he, Paolo, is old, without means, and unable to work.[3] Uccello probably died soon after this, and was buried in S. M. Novella contrary to the clause of his early will, which declared that he desired to be buried in S. Spirito.[4]

[1] [See *note* 1, p. 292 *supra*.]

[2] Gold ground. The Virgin, half-length, holds the Infant erect on a stage before her. Her right hand grasps the stage. On each side is a vulgar angel, whose ornaments and wings are engraved in the gold ground.

[3] Gaye, *Carteggio*, vol. i., p. 147.

[4] Ibid. Richa states that he was buried in S. M. Novella. See *Chiese Flor.*, vol. iii., p. 78. Vasari says Uccello died in 1432. This may be a misprint for 1472 (vol. iii., p. 98).

His genuine works are not to be found in public galleries.[1]

The name of Dello is connected with no existing works except those of the cloister in S. Maria Novella. We shall therefore proceed to notice them, prefacing the few remarks which they suggest by new facts lately discovered by Gaetano Milanesi, and correcting with their assistance the slight and confused story of Vasari.[2]

Dello was the son of Niccolò Delli, a tailor, and Orsa his wife, and was born about the year 1404 (the positive date of the event being confused by the contradictory statements of three different income-tax returns, of 1427, 1430 and 1433). Vasari's assertion that he was apprenticed to the double profession of painter and sculptor seems contradicted by the fact that the works in terra-cotta which are assigned to him are proved to have been by Bicci di Lorenzo, but is confirmed by records at Siena.[3] Dello had hardly entered his twentieth year when Niccolò Delli his father, being keeper (1424) of the fortress of Montecerro, in the Tuscan Romagna, surrendered it to the forces of Filippo Maria Visconti, Duke of Milan. For this treason, as it was then considered, he was sentenced (*in contumaciam*) to death on the 21st of November, and fled to Siena. Here Dello succeeded in finding employment, and executed a brass figure that struck the time on the top of the tower of the Palazzo.[4] From Siena, Niccolò and his sons proceeded to Venice (about 1427), where they remained some time; Dello causing his name to be registered *pro forma* in the Guild of the Speciali at Florence (1433).[5] Dissatisfied with his new residence, and perhaps unable to earn, Dello emigrated to Spain, and is proved by the income-tax return of his mother, Orsa (Florence, 1442), to have lived in Seville for many years. His fortune was such, that in the course of time he gained wealth and the title of "Cavaliere," and on his return to Florence he claimed and obtained from his native city (1447 new style) the recognition of that title.[6] He returned to Spain in

[1] [Beside the works spoken of above, there are frescoes by Uccello in a room on the top floor of the Palazzo Pubblico, Florence; a finely-preserved panel, the Midnight Hunt, in the University Gallery, No. 28, at Oxford; a small panel in the collection of Madame Andrè at Paris, but doubtfully his perhaps, and a similar small panel concerned with the same subject of S. George and the Dragon, which Mr. Berenson tells us is in the collection of Count Lanskoronski in Vienna. In the Johnson Collection in Philadelphia, U.S.A., there is a fine profile portrait of a woman which Mr. Perkins gives to Uccello. *Cf.* F. Mason Perkins, *Pitture Italiane in Filadelfia, U.S.A.*, in *Rassegna d'Arte*, an. v. (Milan, 1905), *note* 8, p. 113 *et seq.* In the Jarves Collection, New Haven, U.S.A., there is a cassone-piece, the Triumph of Love, very near to Uccello. In the Metropolitan Museum of New York, U.S.A., there is a portrait very near to Uccello (F. Mason Perkins).]

[2] The life of Dello is in Vasari, vol. iii., p. 46 and following. The notices of G. Milanesi are in *Giorn. Stor., ubi sup.*, anno 1862, pp. 10–12, 25–29.

[3] See *antea*. The works in question were in S. Maria Nuova and the church SS. Dodici Apostoli. Vasari, vol. iii., p. 46.

[4] *Doc. Sen., ubi sup.*, vol. ii., p. 390.

[5] "1432–33, xxvi. Januarii. Pro Dello Nicolai Delli pictore populi S. Fred. de Flor."—*Giorn. Stor., ubi sup.*, p. 11.

[6] The record by which Dello or Daniello received the "insegne della libertà e del popolo" at Florence is in *Giornale Stor., ubi sup.*, p. 27. It is dated June 27, 1446.

1448,[1] and is recorded by Filarete as still living in 1464–66, the period in which the *Trattato d'Architettura* was written.

The twenty-four episodes of the Genesis which Dello is said to have painted in the cloister of S. M. Novella are all more or less defective in style and execution, and the last twelve slightly differ from the first; but the same spirit pervades all the compositions of the series. Some scenes indeed are not without interest, but it is not possible to find one in which a petty conception, a rude and hasty execution are not combined. The frescoes seem the weak production of a man who followed, and made but slight approach to, the manner of Masolino, and who contrasts most unfavourably with his competitor in this very cloister, Paolo Uccello. They may have been carried out by an artist of incompletely formed talents. They seem incompatible with the supposition that their execution should have been entrusted to Dello after he had earned fame in Spain and returned to Florence in 1446. It may be true that Dello's portrait was painted by Uccello when he completed the series of the Genesis. The portrait now pointed out as that of the Spanish "Cavaliere" is aged enough for Dello's years at that time, but the existence of the likeness does not help the critic to decide the question at issue.

A picture which might do honour to Dello, were it proved to be by him, is that exhibited under his name in the collection of Mr. Barker in London. It represents the Adoration of the Magi,[2] and displays, in richness of composition, in details of costume and landscape, a style that might suggest the classification of the painter amongst those who held the manner of the Peselli. Though embrowned by time, the picture is fine, and far superior to the frescoes of the cloister of S. M. Novella. Its technical execution points to a realistic artist of the middle of the fifteenth century whom we should not wonder to find issuing from the Peselli's school.

Vasari assigns to Dello the usual industry of painting chests and furniture. He even says that he thus adorned a room in the house of Giovanni de' Medici, but it would be hard to point out any works of this kind at the present day. Dello's Pietà in the SS. Annunziata, which is noticed by Vasari,[3] cannot be found, nor do we know of the existence of frescoes painted by him (according to Richa) in S. Agatha.[4]

[1] VASARI states that Dello returned to Spain because he could not bear the raillery of those who had known him in a humbler character than that of "Cavaliere" (vol. iii., p. 50).

[2] A round.

[3] VASARI, vol. iii., p. 46.

[4] RICHA, *Chiese*, vol. v., p. 285.

CHAPTER XIV

ANDREA DEL CASTAGNO AND DOMENICO VENEZIANO

CONTEMPORARY with Uccello, and celebrated not less for his talent than for a certain legendary violence of temper, lived Andrea del Castagno, an artist of considerable power, clothed in a hard and rough bark of rustic coarseness, but a good fellow, as his pet name of Andreino [1] indicates, and one to whom the study of drawing and of nature owed some improvement in the fifteenth century.

Born in 1390, a few years before Uccello, and called del Castagno either because the poor hamlet of that name in the Mugello witnessed his entry into the world, or because he lived there in childhood, his father Bartolommeo di Simone was a labourer and small proprietor of S. Andrea a Linari, in the country of Florence.[2] An orphan in early years,[3] he tended the flock of a cousin by Castagno, and would probably have spent his days in rustic labours, but that he stumbled by chance upon an itinerant painter at work in a tabernacle, and, fired by the wish to study the artistic profession, he began scratching rude figures on walls and stones. He thus attracted the attention of Bernardetto de' Medici, who took him to Florence, where he entered upon his apprenticeship.[4] His path in life was not strewed with flowers. Andrea tells us, in 1430, that it was true he possessed a hut and two small pieces of land in his father's village, but he was poor, very poor ; had in Florence neither bed nor board nor lodging, and no worldly substance ; and that he had been recently discharged from the hospitals of S. Maria Nuova and the Pinzocheri, after four months' illness.[5] He lived to paint in after years, in one of the refuges which had sheltered him, and to make for himself a name as

[1] He is called Andrein by Gio. Santi in his *Elogio* (PUNGILEONI, *Elog. Stor., ubi sup.*, p. 73), Andreino by Albertini (*Memoriale, ubi sup.*, p. 13), and Andreino degl' Impiccati by Filarete in the dedication to his MS. *Trattato d'Architettura.* See also MILANESI, in *Giornale Stor. degli Archivi Toscani*, an. vi., 1862, p. 7.

[2] Ibid., p. 2. The date of Andrea's birth, the place and his father's name are given by the painter in his first return to the income-tax at Florence in 1430.

[It seems doubtful when he was born, but Mr. Horne concludes about 1410. See HORNE, *Andrea dal Castagno*, in *The Burlington Magazine* (1905), vol. v., p. 66.

[3] In his return he cannot give the name of his mother. *Giornale Stor., ubi sup.*

[4] VASARI, vol. iv., p. 140.

[5] *Giornale Stor., ubi sup.*, p. 2.

a man of energy and talent. A few years before his death, he owned a house in the Via de' Fibbiai at Florence, and led an orderly married life.[1]

Some pretend that in his youth he was bound apprentice to Masaccio;[2] others, that he only studied Masaccio's manner.[3] His style tells us that he was a realistic imitator of common nature; that he was not a pupil of Masaccio, Masolino, or Angelico; but that he may have issued from the school which produced Paolo Uccello and Pesellino. Incorrect in drawing, he still possessed style; and the quality of his power was akin to that of Uccello. The frescoes of the Casa Pandolfini at Legnaia,[4] and the equestrian picture of Niccolò da Tolentino, which is the last of his productions, would alone prove this. Yet these works also show that Andrea del Castagno was a realist of a lower nature than Uccello. His mode of drawing reveals a bold hurtling decision; his draperies have a sculptural character; and his perspective is not without science. The peculiar vigour which distinguished Donatello seems to have existed in the coarser frame of Andrea; and a natural inclination might well unite two men such as they were in the bonds of friendship. Vasari seems to have been exactly in the truth when he described Andrea as "gagliardissimo."[5] The action of his figures was in truth full of energy and swing. But in expression he was one of the most vulgar of the realists. As a colourist, he was distanced by almost all his contemporaries, and never produced anything but hard, raw, and unpleasant work. Yet the strength that was in the man is still imposing; and Castagno deserves the place which he occupies in art history.

Two Crucifixions which we owe to him are in the monastery of the Angeli at Florence.[6] One in the first cloister represents the Saviour, of life size, Crucified between the Virgin and S. Benedict,

[1] *Giornale Stor.*, p. 2.
[2] BALDINUCCI, *ubi sup.*, v., 329.
[3] LANZI, *ubi sup.*, i., 80.
[4] [It is Vasari who tells us that "for Pandolfo Pandolfini Andrea depicted certain illustrious persons in one of the halls of his palace at Legnaia." The place is called La Volta di Legnaia, and to-day is the Casa d'Ancona. It probably belonged to the Pandolfini when Vasari wrote, but Andrea died in 1457, and the villa was only sold to Jacopo di Giannozzo Pandolfini in February 1475. Very little to-day remains of the old decorations of the salone. The figures of "certain illustrious persons" were taken with difficulty away by the Government, and, transferred to canvas, are now in the refectory of S. Apollonia in Florence.]
[5] VASARI, vol. iv., p. 141.
[6] Not in the places given by Vasari, but no doubt they are those to which he alludes (VASARI, vol. iv., p. 149). The monastery indeed has undergone many changes since the sixteenth century.
[7] [Of these two the one still in place is a work of his school; the other, a fine piece of work, has been removed to the Uffizi, No. 12.]

and the Evangelist and S. Romualdo, with the Magdalen at the foot of the Cross. It discloses to the spectator Christ, of good proportions and action, well studied in the nude, not too vulgar in face, and of a type which bears comparison with that of the Redeemer in the Trinity by the Peselli lately purchased for the National Gallery.[1] Not a little striking at the same time is the resemblance of character between this wall painting and an altarpiece gable representing the same subject by Piero della Francesca, now in the Spedale at Arezzo. A common realism and technical method appear to unite the two painters; and this is apparent not only in the principal Figure, but in the Virgin, which both artists represented in vulgar lamentation with her cheek resting on her hand.[2] Common grimacing features are excessively striking in the S. Benedict and the hands are cramped as if by epilepsy.[3] S. Romualdo, in profile, grabbles at his hair. But Castagno obviously knows of the tragic only the outer and visible signs. The inward grieving he is unable to depict. His drapery has the stiffness and consistency of paper, his outlines are hard and angular, his mode of rendering hands or feet coarse and clumsy. His colour is a liquid tempera of a dull tinge, laid on without much knowledge of the harmonic keys, yellowish in flesh lights with superposed earthly shadows rubbed in so as to allow the undertone to crop up.[4]

The second Crucifixion at the Angeli is in the fifth cell in the second cloister, and without the figure of the Magdalen. It exhibits an excess of vulgarity even in the Saviour, whose frame is almost an anatomical caricature.[5]

In a happier mood, Castagno painted for the niches of a hall in the Villa Pandolfini at Legnaia, a series of heroes and sibyls, the remnants of which have been transferred to canvas and taken to the depôt of the Uffizi. Suiting the design of his figures to the height of the spaces, calculating the perspective of the parts according to the rules applied by Uccello and Donatello, he devoted a niche in the rural temple to Pippo Spano, the patron of Masolino and victor of the Turks; to Farinata, the liberator of his country, to Niccolò Acciaiuoli, the seneschal of Naples; to Dante, Petrarch and Boccaccio,

[1] From the late Bromley collection. [No. 727 Nat. Gall. Cat.]

[2] The Evangelist is open-mouthed and shows his teeth. The background is blue.

[3] A fault which may be found also in Piero della Francesca.

[4] This mode of colouring may be seen also in the works of Piero della Francesca.

[5] This Crucifixion is blackened in the shadows by damp. An engraving of it is in the *Etruria Pittrice*. RICHA, *Chiese*, vol. viii., p. 174, notices its existence.

the immortal poets of Italy; to Esther, Tomyris, and the sibyl of Cumæ. A frieze crowned the lintels of the niches, and a correct perspective might allow the spectator to caress the illusion that the hall was honoured by the presence of a select and celebrated company.[1] To gain a correct impression of them, indeed, these figures should be seen in their original places, where their supernatural size, the bold freedom of their attitudes, and something of the classical in their appearance, would give them still greater value. Pippo Spano, in a defiant attitude, bending the steel of his rapier in his two hands, and with legs apart, challenges the world and seems capable of victory. There is dignity in the poets, slender, wiry activity in the sibyls, with that peculiarity of length in neck and limb, and exaggerated size in the extremities, which characterise the later Pollaiuoli and Botticelli. Study of the antique is clear in the half-figure of Esther,[2] yet the coarse vigour of Andrea is visible in a large and common hand. The spaces are filled in with energetic firmness by one who knew the maxims of art as they were developed by Uccello and Donatello, by one who might truly be called the rival of the former, the imitator in painting of the sculptural boldness of the latter, but whose fibre is coarser, and whose taste is more unselect and vulgar than theirs. Castagno, in fact, shows an impetuous spirit, in bold freedom of action and outline, in the dash with which the colours are used; a knowledge of antique examples, in classic costume and head-dresses. His tones are of the hue of brick in the flesh tints of males, of a more delicate yellowish tinge in the sibyls, broadly modelled with a brush full of liquid medium.[3]

Such a talent as Andrea's was well calculated for the production of works requiring no selection. He was, therefore, well suited to perform a duty imposed on him in 1435, by the Florentine government; and the fallen leaders of the Peruzzi and Albizzi were no doubt pictured by him with daring truth on the walls of the Palazzo del Podestà.[4] His success is proved by the name which he then

[1] The niches were rectangular, formed by pilasters with cornice and architraves. The nine figures above enumerated form but a part of a series which occupied the four sides of the hall. They were the ornament of one side only. The Villa Pandolfini at Legnaia is now a farm belonging to the Rinuccini family. [*Cf. note* 4, p. 306.]

[2] Originally in the centre of the wall above the door.

[3] Vasari notices the same paintings twice: once, as at Legnaia in Villa Pandolfini, vol. iv., p. 141; again, as in Casa Carducci Pandolfini at Florence, ibid., p. 150. The last statement is no doubt an error.

[4] Vasari's statement (vol. iv., p. 150) that the paintings at the Palazzo del Podestà represented the traitors of the Pazzi conspiracy (1478), is devoid of foundation, because Andrea del Castagno died before that time. But on this point see *postea*.

earned of Andreino degli Impiccati. Free of the Guild of Barber-Surgeons and Grocers, in 1444,[1] Andrea is known to have laboured in that year for S. M. del Fiore at Florence, and to have furnished the "*opera*" with a design of a Deposition from the Cross for one of the rounds of the cupola. In 1446, he painted some of the panels of the organ of the cathedral,[2] and in 1455 he executed the portrait of Niccolò da Tolentino.[3] This equestrian likeness was to imitate statuary and to represent the military chief in full dress, with the baton of command, on a sarcophagus resting on brackets against the wall. It has been since transferred to canvas, and hangs in the cathedral, where it challenges comparison with Uccello's Hawkwood. It is a fine work for the period in which it was produced, being actively in motion and true to nature; but it reveals in Andrea more vehemence than grandeur or dignity; and the forms of the horse lack the purity which characterises that of Uccello's. The draperies are sculptural, and the laws of place are duly observed; the drawing is bold and broad, but the forms are heavy and somewhat coarse.[4]

Four years previous to this time Andrea del Castagno had been commissioned to execute certain frescoes for the hospital of S. Maria Nuova at Florence;[5] and after he had finished a S. Andrew in the cemetery and a Last Supper in the refectory, he began a series of frescoes in the choir of the church; painting in one compartment the Angel and the Virgin Annunciate, in a second and third, the Presentation and the Death of the Virgin.

His rival in S. Maria Nuova was, according to Vasari, Domenico Veneziano, whose creations excited in Andrea such envy and invincible jealousy, that he waylaid the Venetian and murdered him at the corner of a street.[6] Vasari is so certain of Andrea's guilt, that his narrative is everywhere coloured by undisguised indignation. In a preamble he balances the virtue of those whom generous rivalry excites to deeds of greatness, with the vice of those in whom the success of a friend is but food for envy and malice.[7] He depicts Andrea as a resolute and vindictive character, flattering to gain the confidence of his enemy,

[1] He is registered as "Andreas Bartholomei Simonis pictor populi S. M. del Fiore." See the original record in *Giornale Stor., ubi sup.*, p. 3.

[2] Ibid., p. 3.

[3] See the original commission for this work, without the name of the painter, in GAYE, *Carteggio, ubi sup.*, vol. i., p. 562.

[4] An armed soldier stands at each corner of the sarcophagus.

[5] "La cappella majore (S. M. Nuova, è mezza di Andreino e mezza di Dominico Veneto, benchè alcune figure dinanzi siano per mano di Alexº Bal." (Baldovinetti). ALBERTINI, *Mem., ubi sup.*, p. 13.

[6] VASARI, vol. iv., p. 149.

[7] Ibid., vol. iv., p. 139.

unwavering in his purpose, and securely gaining his end by cunning and force, at the same time so brutally hasty in temper, that he pursues a boy with the intention of killing him, because he removed the ladder from his scaffolding in S. M. del Fiore.[1] Yet Vasari was clearly unable to specify the exact cause which led Castagno to murder Domenico; and the reader may seek in vain in his pages for an adequate motive for such an act.

The truth is that Andrea was not guilty of the crime imputed to him, and one or two records suffice to prove his innocence. In the first place, Andrea did not paint at S. Maria Nuova simultaneously with Domenico Veneziano, six years having already expired since Domenico completed his share in the adorning of the choir (1445), when Castagno began his frescoes (1451); and in the second place Domenico Veneziano survived Andrea nearly four years.[2]

The paintings of Andrea and Domenico in S. Maria Nuova are not in existence. Domenico may thus have worked in oil colours, and Andrea may have executed one of his subjects with an oil medium.[3] There are no means of ascertaining the fact. Andrea's remains, however, are works in tempera, and tend to discredit rather than to corroborate the statement that he used oil in his colours. Domenico seems, as far as one can judge from the pictures left to us, to have used a medium tempered to a certain extent with oil. We may have occasion to discuss the question of the introduction of oils and varnishes in tempera in the life of Antonello da Messina. It is enough to note for the present that the efforts of the Florentines of the fifteenth century to substitute oil for other mediums were tentative and in a great measure unsuccessful; that a long time elapsed before tempera was abandoned altogether, and that many pictures were executed partly in the old method and partly with oils. The perfected system of the Van Eycks was not discovered in Italy, but introduced from the Netherlands, and came but slowly into common use.

Though Andrea's works in the choir of S. Maria Nuova have disappeared, a fresco of the Crucifixion, with attendant figures, in the neighbouring loggia of the hospital of the Oblate, may be assigned

[1] VASARI, vol. iv., p. 145.

[2] Signor Gaetano Milanesi enters largely into this question, adducing all possible collateral proofs in support of the assertion that Domenico lived later than Andrea del Castagno, concluding with the quotation of Domenico's and Andrea's registry of death, which settles the matter. See *Giornale Stor., ubi sup.*, pp. 6, 7.

[Vasari told the story in good faith. He found it in the Libro di Ant. Billi.]

[3] The Death of the Virgin was so painted, according to VASARI (vol. iv. p. 147).

to him,[1] the figure of Christ being similar in character to those in the monastery of the Angeli and recalling those of the Peselli, but creating a better impression on the beholder, because the style is less coarse, the hands and feet less common. On the other hand, Castagno's remaining frescoes in S. Croce, of the Baptist and S. Francis together in a niche, display in full his power of realising in the minutest manner the wiry and muscular nude of a fasting solitary.[2] His S. John is aged and more like S. Jerome than the Baptist. The face is that of a peasant with straggling hair looking up to heaven and beating his breast. The nude is drawn with a melancholy truth, and the figure rivals that of the Magdalen by Donatello, in its appearance of privation. One may observe the sinewy forms mapped out in the manner afterwards peculiar to Mantegna; the bones, muscles, veins and skin defined with astonishing precision. As usual, the laws of place are judiciously applied; but the draperies and colour have defects similar to those of previous examples, which it is therefore needless to repeat.[3]

At S. Giuliano in Florence, Andrea is said to have painted a fresco.[4] The convent, much altered since Vasari's time, still contains a Crucifixion in a lunette above the portal. Yet the style and execution are unlike those of Andrea. There are not four figures at the sides of the Cross, as Albertini and Vasari state; and the work is that of a painter who lived in the sixteenth century.[5]

According to Vasari, one of the tabernacles on the road to l'Anchetta outside Florence was painted by Castagno.[6] But from Porta S. Croce to l'Anchetta, not one of the numerous tabernacles contains paintings

[1] The building is annexed to S. Maria Nuova. The Virgin and Evangelist are at each side, the Magdalen at the foot of the Cross. In the foreground at each side kneel two canonised Benedictines.

[2] [In the right aisle, the work of Domenico Veneziano.]

[3] One can still see that the figures were transferred from a cartoon, pricked and pounced in the usual manner The shadows and outlines are verde.

[4] The Crucifixion, with four figures, was, according to Vasari and Albertini, above the portal. VASARI, vol. iv., p. 142; ALBERTINI, *Mem., ubi sup.*, p. 12.

[The earliest work to which we can give a date is the frescoes of the Albizzi conspirators on the Bargello, *c.* 1434. The earliest documented work is a cartoon for a circular window in the Duomo (1443–4), a Deposition. Perhaps the best known work of Andrea to-day is the frescoes in S. Apollonia, consisting of a Pietà in a lunette over a door and the famous and very wonderful Last Supper, with the Resurrection, Crucifixion, and Entombment above. These upper frescoes (uncovered in 1891) were first attributed to Andrea by Cavalcaselle. They are, Mr. Horne asserts, among the earliest of his works, the Crucifixion in the National Gallery (No. 1138) being of the same period. About seven years ago a fresco of the Trinity and Saints was discovered in SS. Annunziata.]

[5] Yet Rosini engraves the piece as by Castagno (plate xli.), and the Annotators of Vasari follow his opinion (vol. iv., *note* 2 to p. 143). The subject of the present painting in the lunette of the portal of S. Giuliano is the Redeemer Crucified, the Magdalen at the foot, SS. Julian and John Evangelist at the sides, of the Cross.

[6] VASARI, vol. iv., p. 149.

in his style. The only work of his time, indeed, is a Virgin and Child dated 1408, and noticed amongst the works of the Gerini. One may conclude, either that Vasari is in error, or that the tabernacle painted by Castagno has perished. This fate indeed befell most of his works; including the frescoes at S. Miniato which are recorded to have been finished in 1456.[1]

Amongst the pictures assigned to Andrea del Castagno in the public galleries of Florence, one is a bust portrait of a beardless man, in the Galleria Pitti.[2] The head is that of a powerful person, in the strength of manhood, with heavy lips and a volume of hair tufted on the forehead, beneath a barret. The drawing of the parts is bold and decisive, and carried out with a breadth characteristic of the master. The portrait has, indeed, Andrea's low keys of tone and is painted with great care and fusion on a general flesh ground of verde, and the forms are heavy as in most of his productions. Though but a head, the picture reveals characteristic traits of Castagno, and leads the critic by a natural sequence to the contemplation of a Virgin and Child between SS. Cosma and Damian in adoration, and the standing figures of SS. John the Baptist, Mary Magdalen, Francis, and Catherine of Alexandria, an altarpiece originally in S. Ambrogio and now in the Academy of Arts at Florence.[3] This piece, which has been attributed to more than one painter, is now with sufficient cause catalogued under the name of Botticelli. Yet in some of the figures, and especially in that of S. Catherine, one may notice some of that heaviness and coarseness in the rendering of form which is a peculiarity in the portrait at the Pitti. The painter evidently copied a coarse and rustic model having large hands and feet. The S. Cosma, kneeling to the left, is also of common type, and the draperies are in fair style; but, in this respect, Castagno had elsewhere attained to equal excellence.[4] The Magdalen standing in rear of S. Cosma—the S. Francis—recall to mind similar figures by Domenico Veneziano, the latter being at once a somewhat nobler repetition of that by Castagno, and of a figure not unlike that of Domenico Veneziano in the altarpiece of S. Lucia at Florence. There is a clear resemblance of style, in fact, between Domenico Veneziano and Andrea del Castagno, as there is between the latter and Piero della Francesca, who studied under Domenico. The name of Andrea

[1] *Vide Cenni di S. Miniato*, p. 161. The works of Andrea which are no longer visible may be enumerated: a figure of S. Andrew in the Cappella di Luca at S. Trinità (VASARI, vol. iv., p. 141); a standard for processions in the Company dell' Evangelista at Florence (ibid., p. 142); scenes from the life of S. Julian, in the chapel of that name; S. Jerome and a Trinity, in the chapel of S. Girolamo; a Lazarus, Martha, and the Magdalen, in the chapel of Orlando de' Medici, at the Servi of Florence (ibid., pp. 142–3); a Flagellation in the cloister of S. Croce (ibid., p. 143); a nude of Charity in La Scarperia in Mugello (ibid., p. 150); a picture in S. Miniato fra le Torri (ibid., p. 148; ALBERTINI, *Mem., ubi sup.*, p. 14), executed in 1456, according to an inscription on the picture itself copied by BALDINUCCI, *Opere, ubi sup.*, vol. v., p. 335.

[2] [Pitti Gallery, No. 372. Certainly not by Andrea.]

[3] [No. 88 now under the name of Sandro Botticelli, of old assigned to Domenico Ghirlandaio. The attribution to Botticelli is strongly disputed. It is probably by some unknown master.]

[4] See *postea*, the S. Jerome in the Academy of Arts at Florence. [No. 91.]

may thus be put forward as a fair claimant for the authorship of the picture now under notice, the more so, as the colour is of his usual low and verde tinge, at least in so far as the damaged condition of the surface enables one to judge.[1] Besides this piece, three others in the Academy of Fine Arts at Florence are assigned to Andrea del Castagno. S. Jerome in the Desert,[2] in one of them beats his breast with a stone in his hand, in front of a crucifix, in a landscape of which the trees are animated by birds. The coarse vigour of Andrea, or his school, is visible in the work, whose tempera is raw and dull; but the draperies are more careful than in Castagno's frescoes. The Magdalen,[3] and the Baptist[4] are two figures which may remind the critic of works of Filippino's decline.[5]

In the museum of Berlin, a Virgin with the dead Christ on her knees surrounded by saints and angels on Golgotha, reveals the style of Andrea del Castagno.[6] The figure which most truly displays his manner is a bony and sinewy S. Jerome, the nude of whose frame is mapped out after the manner conspicuous in the later Mantegna, the expression of whose face is hard and stern. The grimace in the Virgin's face is not agreeable. The thin-bodied colour is yellowish in tone, the shadows of a yellowish brown through which the verde undertone appears. Another picture in the same gallery, representing S. Jerome, a small predella piece,[7] is of a similar character to the foregoing, but the tempera is more spare and the execution coarser. A second S. Jerome of the same class may be seen by the curious in the depôt of the Berlin Gallery. A third, which is a repetition of No. 1139 at Berlin, may be seen in the Lombardi Collection at Florence.

A small Crucifixion in the Municipal Gallery at Prato,[8] with the fainting Virgin, the Evangelist, the Magdalen, SS. Jerome and Francis, seems entitled to be classed amongst the works of Andrea del Castagno. The group of the Virgin raised by S. John is in the feeling of that in Angelico's fresco of the refectory of S. Marco at Florence; but the S. Jerome is peculiarly in Andrea's manner.[9]

[1] Does not Vasari tell us that Andrea del Castagno was the best painter in Florence, and notice him as the master of one of the Pollaiuoli with whom Botticelli painted? VASARI, vol. iv., pp. 139 and 151.

[2] [No. 91, Academy of Arts.]

[3] [No. 93, Academy of Arts.]

[4] [No. 89, ibid.]

[5] A S. Jerome [No. 54, id.] in the Academy of Arts is exactly in the character of [Nos. 93 and 89], yet is assigned to Fra Filippo. In the same Gallery, No. 6, a Magdalen at the foot of the Cross, tempera on canvas, is in the manner of Luca Signorelli, yet catalogued under the name of Andrea del Castagno.

[6] [No. 1055.] To the Virgin's left is S. Jerome, to the right S. Augustine. In rear is the Cross, with an angel at each extremity of the horizontal limb. Distance a landscape.

[7] [No. 1139.] In the distance are episodes, SS. Sebastian, Roch, and Tobit netting the fish.

[8] [No. 7 Prato Cat.], under the head of "Scuola Fiorentina."

[9] [Not one of these works would seem to be actually from Andrea's hand. Mr. Berenson gives to Castagno a frescoed Crucifixion in the Via Alfonso (No. 33) at Florence; a David on a shield in the collection of Mr. Drury Lowe at Loche Park; a Nativity belonging to Sir H. Howarth, in London; a bust of a man in the late Radolphe Kann Collection at Paris.]

Andrea del Castagno died, probably of plague, on the 19th of August 1457, having lost his wife a few days before. He was buried in S. Maria de' Servi at Florence.[1]

Of Domenico Veneziano, hitherto so intimately and so unjustly connected with the imaginary misdeeds of Andrea del Castagno, no one knows the birth or education. Were chance to reveal that he was born in Venice, the question would still arise: Where was he taught, and by whom? Even now and with the materials that are at hand, one may assume that Domenico learnt design and painting in Tuscany. In Venice, where artists clung during the whole of the fourteenth century to the antiquated manner of the early ages, Domenico could not have laid the foundation of a style which, in its prime, bore the indelible impress of Florentine greatness. The rise of the fifteenth century created little change in Venice, and we shall have occasion to note that this state of things lasted till the time of Giovanni d'Allemagna, Gentile da Fabriano, and Antonello da Messina.

In the early part of the fifteenth century Cosimo de' Medici lived in exile at a distance from Florence. The time which he spent in Venice, the interval during which his sons journeyed from place to place in search of support towards the re-establishment of the family in Florence, may have amply sufficed to lead to an acquaintance between them and Domenico. It appears indeed, from the tenor of a letter addressed by the artist from Perugia to Piero de' Medici in April 1438,[2] that Domenico had long been connected with the fortunes of the Medici family, that he owed to Cosimo a debt of gratitude, and perhaps substantial favours, and that he was at that time sufficiently confident of his powers as an artist to request that he might be allowed to paint for the head of the house an altarpiece; and to declare that, if that request were granted, "he hoped to do marvels." Domenico, at the same time, shows himself intimately acquainted with the names and means of Florentine artists at the date of his letter. He knew that Fra Filippo and Fra Giovanni (Angelico) were actively employed, and that the former was, at that very time, busy on the altarpiece of S. Spirito.

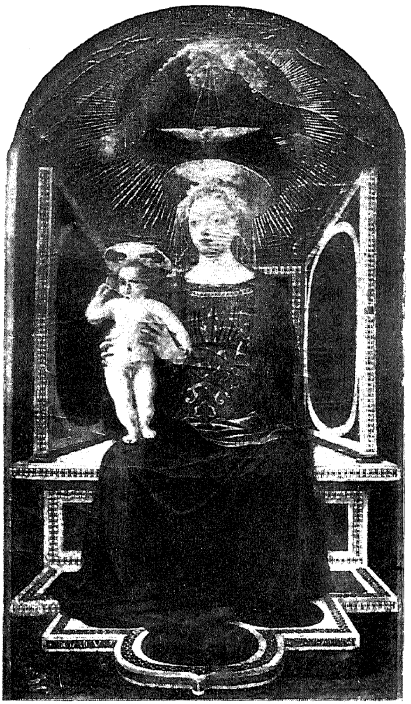
In a previous chapter, the state of Perugian art in the fourteenth century has been described. The creations of Perugian painters resembled those of all other artists of the neighbouring cities at that time. The rise of the fifteenth century did not witness any improve-

[1] *Giornale Stor., ubi sup.*, p. 2.
[2] April 1. *Vide* GAYE, *Carteggio, ubi sup.*, vol. i., p. 136.

Brogi.

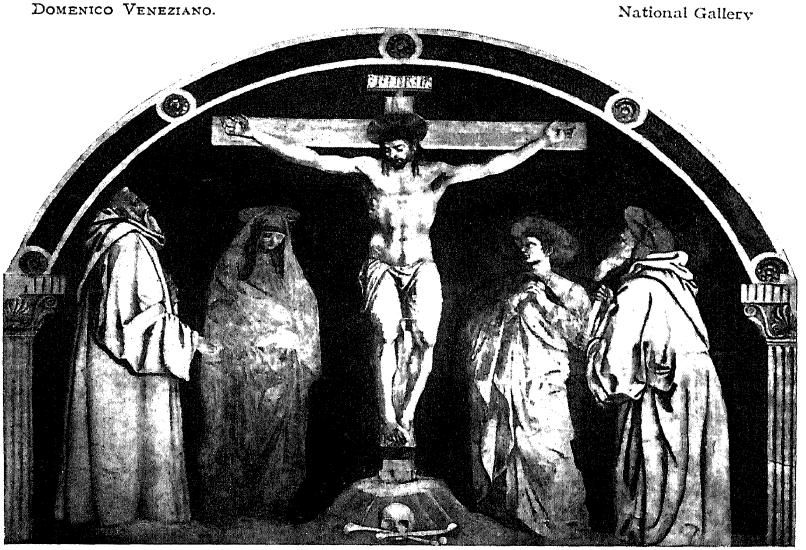
MADONNA AND CHILD, WITH SAINTS

DOMENICO VENEZIANO. Uffizi, Florence.



MADONNA AND CHILD

DOMENICO VENEZIANO. National Gallery



Anderson.

CRUCIFIXION

ANDREA DAL CASTAGNO. Uffizi, Florence.

ment. Not a single work exists to prove that Domenico could have studied there with fruit. When Benedetto Bonfigli began the series of frescoes in the Palazzo del Comune at Perugia, which were commissioned of him in 1464, he displayed an art unlike that of the painters who preceded him either there or at Siena. He executed them in a style akin to that of the Florentine school, and stamped in some measure in the mould of Domenico Veneziano and Piero della Francesca. If, indeed, one examines the short, stout, round-headed figures, with aged and flattened features, peculiar to Bonfigli, he may perceive a distinct resemblance of character and of type, of arrangement and of drapery, with the works of the former and of Fra Filippo,[1] in the nude, an imitation of the manner of Andrea del Castagno, the Peselli, and Piero della Francesca. The frescoes of Bonfigli were to have been valued after their completion by Fra Filippo, Angelico and Domenico Veneziano. It is obvious, therefore, that Bonfigli was acquainted with the latter; it is probable that he had had lessons from him; and it is clear that his art was not a local but an imported one. The absence of all but a purely local art in Perugia, the intimate acquaintance of Domenico with Florentine painters and their works, the influence which he exercised on Bonfigli, prove that he must have studied in Florence, that his stay in Perugia was of some duration. The date and tenor of his letter to Piero de' Medici are sufficient to warrant the assumption that he was born in the early part of the fifteenth century and that he was the contemporary of Fra Filippo and Angelico. His surname of Veneziano may have arisen from the fact that he was of a Venetian family, a record of 1439–40, describing him as "Maestro Domenicho di Bartolomeio da Venezia."[2] Vasari was aware that Domenico had resided in Perugia. He states that certain paintings which adorned a hall in the Casa Baglioni had caused his name to be heard even in Florence,[3] and that, being called thither, he completed numerous works. It is very likely that the appeal made to the Medici was not without effect, and that, through their influence, Domenico obtained a commission to paint the choir of S. Maria Nuova. The records of that hospital prove that he laboured there from 1439 till 1445; and they further reveal that his apprentice was Piero della Francesca, and his daily labourer Bicci di Lorenzo.[4] The frescoes of the choir of S. Egido

[1] Bonfigli imitates, without improving on or approaching the excellence of Fra Filippo.

[2] See *postea* the text of this record.

[3] VASARI, vol. iv., p. 145.

[4] "M. Domenicho di Bartolomeio da Vinezia che dipigne la chapella maggiore di Santo Gidio dè dare a dì vii. di Sett. f. 44; et dè dare a dì xii. di Sett. f. 2, 5, 15 posto Pietro di Benedetto dal Borgho a San Sepolchro sta collui."

in S. M. Nuova are no longer in existence, but Vasari is correct in saying that Domenico employed oil in the medium with which they were executed;[1] for the books of the hospital are full of items of payment for linseed oil furnished to Domenico during the period of his labours.[2] But it is clear that Domenico could not have learnt the Flemish system of oil painting from Antonello da Messina,[3] because there is no proof that Antonello should have visited North Italy so early, and because the system of the Van Eycks did not consist merely in the use of linseed oil as a vehicle for colours. The use of linseed oil in certain portions of pictures was not unknown, as we are told by Cennini, to the Florentines of the fourteenth century. Domenico seems to have extended this practice; and the solitary picture which we possess is clearly painted in a tempera composed of vehicles differing from the old ones. These modifications were tried at the same time by contemporary painters, but were carried out with most success by Domenico's pupil Piero della Francesca, who, in 1466, accepted a commission to paint a church standard in oil,[4] and who succeeded admirably in that medium in the portraits of the Duke and Duchess of Urbino, which now adorn the Uffizi at Florence. How far the system of Piero della Francesca varied from that of the Van Eycks and Antonello must remain a matter for future study.

Rumohr is right in saying of Domenico's picture in S. Lucia de' Bardi at Florence that the head of S. Lucy is not unworthy of Angelico, whilst the other figures, the Virgin and Child, SS. John Baptist, Francis and Nicholas, display the mannerism of Andrea del Castagno. The figure of S. Lucy is indeed in some measure select in the spirit of Masolino and Angelico, or of Fra Filippo's youth. The attitude is noble, and the drapery participates at once of the simplicity of the Dominican or of Masolino, and of the research peculiar to Andrea del Castagno. The same remark, however, applies to the Virgin and Child. Her hand simply supports the body of the naked standing Christ. He looks at the Baptist, who points at Him and seems to say, "Ecce Agnus Dei." There is more maternal affection than purely religious feeling in the group of Mother and Child, but

Record in Archivio dell' Arcispedale di S. Maria Nuova di Firenze, Quaderno di Cassa EE, 1439–40, f. 94, tergo, communicated by Gaetano Milanesi and published by Mr. Harzen in *Archiv für die zeichnenden Künste* (8vo, Leipzig, Rudolph Weigel, 1856), *note* to p. 232. For Bicci's assistance to Domenico, see *antea*.

[1] VASARI, vol. iv., p. 147.

[2] *Giornale Stor. degli Arch. Toscani*, 1862, *ubi sup.*, p. 4.

[3] VASARI asserts this in the life of Antonello, vol. iv., p. 80.

[4] For the company of the Nunziata at Arezzo. See the original commission in *Giornale Stor.*, 1862, *ubi sup.*, p. 9.

there is a pleasing inward repose in it. S. Nicholas in episcopals is a short, stout, yet weakly being, aged and not noble. But the painter falls into excess of commonplace in the figure and face of the Baptist, whose lineaments, muscles, limbs, and extremities are a mere realistic study of nature. The vulgarity in this figure is, however, of essential interest to the critic, as it reveals the source from which Piero della Francesca obtained one of his most marked defects.[1] S. Dominic reminds one of the style of Andrea del Castagno.[2] Generally, the drawing is firm and clear, and the outlines have the precision which may be found in the works of Piero della Francesca, Verrocchio, and Leonardo da Vinci. The general impression created by the colour of the picture is that of a light-toned piece, of gay and well-fused colour and fair impasto. The arched space in which the scene is laid is an advance upon the style of the works of Angelico, Masolino, and Fra Filippo. The piece, as a whole, belongs to the class of those executed by these masters, and shows that Domenico was of the school which their creations display.[3]

Domenico spent his remaining days, it would seem, in Florence. In 1448 he painted two wedding chests for a wealthy person named Marco Parenti.[4] The only remaining monument of his skill is the fresco originally in a tabernacle on the Canto de' Carnesecchi, and now transferred to canvas, in possession of Prince Pio at Florence.[5]

The Virgin sits in a stone seat of considerable depth and drawn in false perspective. Her form, much larger than that of nature, is slender,

[1] The drawing of the legs is coarse, and seems a prelude to that of the dropsical ones of Piero.

[2] As before remarked, see *antea*, Andrea del Castagno.

[3] The Virgin and Child enthroned on a throne resting upon two hexagon steps, is under a triple arcade between the Baptist and S. Francis on the left, SS. Nicolas and Lucy on the right. A pentagonal screen of architecture lines the background. Trees show their leaves above the parapet. On the lower step of the throne are the words "OPUS DOMINICI DE VENETIIS, HO . . . MATER DEI—MISERERE MEI—DATUM EST."

[Now in the Uffizi Gallery, No. 1305 in the Sala di Leonardo. This picture is inscribed "OPVS DNICI DE VENETIIS HO MATER DE MISERERE MEI DATUM EST." One predella scene is in the Berlin Gallery (No. 68). It represents S. Lucia's Martyrdom. The rest is missing.

Other works assigned to Domenico, among others by Mr. Berenson, are the Head of a Saint, possibly S. Jerome, Pitti Gallery, No. 370, attributed by others to the school of Leonardo (*cf.* MAUD CRUTTWELL, *The Florentine Galleries* (Dent, 1907), p. 219); and Portrait of a Man, Pitti Gallery, No. 375, attributed by others (*cf.* MAUD CRUTTWELL, *op. cit.*, p. *cit.*) to Andrea Mantegna. In London there are two frescoes, Nos. 766, 767, the Heads of Monks, and one transferred fresco, No. 1215, a Madonna enthroned, all in National Gallery, which are assigned to Domenico, and indeed the last of them is signed on the step of the throne. See *infra*. In Munich there is the Bust of a Young Man which appears to be from his hand, No. 997, Pinacotek, Munich.]

[4] *Giornale Stor.*, 1862, *ubi sup.*, p. 4. The price was 50 florins.

[5] [Now in National Gallery, No. 1215.]

natural, and fairly draped. The Infant stands naked and in the act of benediction on the right knee. Her head is veiled, her neck in a low dress; and the step of the throne rests on a meadow decked with flowers. Above her, free in movement, the foreshortened figure of the Eternal looks down. Venerable and bearded in grey, He sheds rays from His mouth upon her head and seems to recommend her with both hands to the adoration of the faithful. Two heads of canonised monks originally at the Virgin's sides are likewise preserved, one aged and bearded, the other shaven and shorn.

Of the colour in this piece nothing remains to be said. The head of the beardless Dominican, however, is but another development of forms, such as may be found in the saints of Angelico, about the Crucifixion of the great refectory at S. Marco. The style is the same, but religious feeling and thought are less clearly marked than in the work of the friar. The head of the bearded monk is an imitation of a common nature.[1]

Domenico died at Florence on the 15th of May 1461, four years after Andrea del Castagno, who is supposed to have murdered him, and was buried in S. Pier' Gattalino.[2]

[1] The fresco is damaged, chiefly in the draperies and in parts of the heads.

[2] Vasari affirms that Domenico, taking with him Piero della Francesca, painted in the sacristy of S. Maria di Loreto a part of the ceiling, but that, frightened by an outbreak of the plague, both artists fled and left their work unfinished. The date of the outbreak of the plague in the Marches is historically given as 1447, 1452. There are no traces of this fragment in S. Maria of Loreto. The eight-sided space of the sacristy is now covered with frescoes by Luca Signorelli. (*Vide* VASARI, vol. iv., pp. 19 and 145; and for the death of Domenico, *Giornale Stor.*, 1862, *ubi sup.*, p. 7.) Vasari is supposed by Gaetano Milanesi, in the work just quoted, to have confounded Domenico Veneziano with one Domenico di Matteo, a Florentine painter who was really assassinated in the streets of his native city in 1448.

[Mr. William Rankin very justly gives to a follower of Domenico Veneziano an interesting panel representing the Triumph of Chivalry (?) once in the de Montar Collection, and now in that of the New York Historical Society—a work ascribed by Mr. Berenson to Piero de' Franceschi. (See RANKIN, in *Rassegna d'Arte*, an. vii., No. 3, pp. 42. 43.)]

CHAPTER XV

FRA FILIPPO LIPPI

THE historians of Italian art may indulge in a justifiable exultation at having rescued one of their great painters from the stigma cast upon him by Vasari. It were to be desired that the character of Fra Filippo should be freed from the stain which rests upon it, as that of Andrea del Castagno has been cleared from the imputation of murder, which made his name for centuries a byword amongst artists. It is unfortunately not possible to give distinct proofs that Fra Filippo was not a monk of loose habits. Yet there is much in the history of his life, such as it lies before the student of this century, to cast doubts on the veracity of his accusers, and to mitigate the censure of the critic.

Filippo was the son of a butcher named Tommaso Lippi, by Madonna Antonia.[1] Her death, shortly after 1412,—the date of this event [2]—his decease two years later, left Filippo an orphan in the

[1] This fact is ascertained from records kindly furnished by Dottore Gaetano Milanesi. According to Vasari, Filippo was born in the Contrada dell' Ardiglione by the Canto alla Cuculia in Florence and behind the convent of the Carmine, (vol. iv., p. 114).

[*Cf.* G. MILANESI, *Fra Lippo Lippi* in *l'Art* (1877–78), Nos. 157, 158, and 160; and VASARI (ed. Milanesi, 1878), *ad nom.*; and consult also ULMANN, *Fra Lippo und Fra Diamante als Lehrer Sandro Botticelli* (Breslau, 1890). For Fra Filippo's work at Padova ("in Padova dipinse anchora assai, et fecevi di belle opere"), *cf.* FABRICZY, *Il Codice dell' Anonimo Gaddiano* in *Boll. Naz. di Fiorenze* in *Arch. St. It.*, ser. v., vol. xii. (an. 1893), p. 67.

Mona Antonia Sernigi was Tommaso di Lippo's second wife, and it has been suggested that Fra Filippo was but her stepson. There is no evidence at all as to this.]

[2] [This is not very clear. The authors apparently mean to suggest that Fra Filippo was born in 1412, for we know that his mother died shortly after his birth. But the exact date of Fra Filippo's birth has always been doubtful. Vasari, in the first edition (1550) of his *Vite*, says that Fra Filippo died in 1438, aged sixty-seven, thus suggesting 1371 as the date of his birth; but we have just stated that he was working in Prato in 1463. In the later editions of the *Vite* he makes confusion more confounded, suggesting 1381, 1402, and 1412 as the dates of Fra Lippo's birth. The date of Fra Lippo's death was recorded in the archives of the Carmine as having taken place in 1469 (BALDINUCCI). If Vasari is right in saying he was then sixty-seven, he was born in 1402. Milanesi however, at first adopted Vasari's last date 1412 as the year of the master's birth; but later came to the conclusion that he was born in 1406. This date is the one now most generally accepted, though still doubtfully.]

hands of an aunt, whose poverty disabled her for the duties of a mother. In 1420 Filippo was registered in the community of the Carmine at Florence.[1] From that time till 1432, he remained an inmate of the monastery, and probably studied painting in the neighbouring chapel of the Brancacci.[2] In 1430 he appears for the first time in the books of the Carmine with the title of painter. In 1432 he left the monastery and ceased to be noticed in its records. Hence the natural conclusion, that the works which Fra Filippo may have executed there were completed between 1430–1432. We lament the disappearance of these early productions; in one of which, says Vasari, "the spirit of Masaccio seemed to have entered the body of Fra Filippo."[3] Such parts of the frescoes of the Carmine cloister as have been rescued from whitewash can scarcely be said to display the characteristics of the friar.[4]

If indeed we attempt, in a rapid sketch, to resume the principal features of his style, we shall find that Fra Filippo's chief excellence was that which distinguished him as the greatest colourist, and the most complete master of the technical difficulties in art, of his time. He may not have stoically held to the severely grand maxims which signalise the genius of Masaccio; but he gave luxurious attraction to his works by a charm of colour, in which indeed he may claim to have been unique.[5] A full brush, handled with breadth, produced a deep impasto. A careful return to the parts fused them into a soft fulness, and left a bright clear tone behind. Yet Filippo was not free from the peculiarities of his age. In his efforts to reproduce the reality, he did not aim at the rotundity of nature, but preferred the characteristic flatness usual in bas-relief. The want of massiveness so produced was, however, compensated by taste and feeling. His compositions were not without grandeur; and if he remained second to Masaccio in the perfect distribution and arrangement of a picture, he supplied his deficiencies by movement and exuberance, chiefly in the numerous pleasant episodes which give interest and animation to the scenes he depicted. His figures individually might be less

[1] [The first entry of Fra Filippo's name in the Libro delle Spese of the Carmine is in the year 1421. He is mentioned for the first time as *Dipintore* in 1430, and for the last time in 1431. *Cf.* MILANESI, *ubi sup.*]

[2] The doubts hitherto raised on this point are settled now that we know that the frescoes of Masaccio at the Brancacci were completed before 1428.

[3] VASARI, vol. iv., p. 116. Fra Filippo's works at the Carmine were: a Pope conferring the rules to the Carmelites (terra verde) in the cloister, a S. John the Baptist in the church, a S. Martial on a pilaster near the organ.

[4] See *antea* in Masaccio.

[5] This is more particularly true as regards wall-painting. And so, the Florentine school gives us, as before, a full sequence of progress in every branch of art.

dignified and grand than Masaccio's, but he threw an amount of life and gentle feeling into the heads and features, that, combined with beauty of colour, create a most pleasing impression. His style as a draughtsman was good. Master of nude form, though frequently generalising the drawing of extremities, his pictures display less progress in the study of detail than those of Uccello, Andrea del Castagno, Domenico Veneziano, or the Peselli; but, if inferior to them in this respect, he avoided the vulgarity of their realism. His draperies, particularly such as clothed female forms, were luxuriously adorned with ornaments in gilt relief, according to the fashion of the time, and to the example of Masolino.[1] He did not multiply realistic minuteness in landscape like his naturalist contemporaries, but he preserved simplicity and due subordination. Fra Filippo's style, in fact, was a medium between that of the naturalists and that of Angelico, Masolino and Masaccio. Perspective owed little of its progress to him. He never ventured to foreshorten figures, and his architecture discloses little knowledge of the art which Uccello brought to such comparative perfection. He supplied this want, however, to some extent, by atmosphere. At first he followed the architectural style of Angelico and Masolino. In the frescoes of his later time one may observe somewhat heavier proportions. His partiality for luxurious ornamentation in pilasters, friezes and cornices was, throughout his career, remarkable.

The productions of his early years can only be guessed at by due comparison with later and more certain works. Amongst the pictures which bear the impress of his style, but reveal at the same time a freshness and religious feeling reminiscent of Angelico and Masolino, is a Nativity in the Florence Academy of Arts.[2] The meek intentness of the Virgin, kneeling in prayer before the recumbent Saviour, seems a natural emanation from one still saturated with the sentiment of the mystic school or of the cloister. The two angels hovering in attendance on the Dove, whose rays fall on the new-born child, have the soft beauty of those depicted by Fra Giovanni. The short-necked Infant and the bearded monk of the Camaldolese, whose trunk and head appear in the right-hand corner of the foreground, are in Fra Filippo's character. The light rosy key of clear tone which pervades

[1] A peculiarity in Benozzo Gozzoli also, which Masaccio avoided or disdained.

[2] [No. 79. The Camaldolese is probably meant for S. Romuald. This work was formerly given to Masolino. That Fra Filippo came under the instruction of Masaccio and Masolino, as well as under that of Lorenzo Monaco, seems certain. Mr. Berenson was the first to assert that Don Lorenzo was his master. He was of course deeply influenced by Fra Angelico. This picture comes from the Convent of Camaldoli.]

the picture, the soft fusion of the tints, remind the spectator again of Angelico and Masolino.[1] The picture has been assigned indeed to the latter, but is now more truly attributed to Fra Filippo. It is very probably the altarpiece which the Carmelite painted for the retreat of the wife of Cosimo de' Medici, of which Vasari speaks in the same sentence with certain small episodes given by Cosimo to Eugenius IV. (1431–39).[2] It may have been executed contemporarily with another Nativity now in the Academy of Arts, which, in spite of much injury and abrasion, also recalls the influence on Lippi of the manner of Angelico and Masolino.[3]

If we suppose that these pictures were completed by Fra Filippo when still an inmate of the Carmine, or immediately after his abandonment of the Carmelite cells, and if we assume that the first of them was painted for one of the Medici, we perceive that the connection of the friar with Cosimo's family began at a much earlier date than Vasari believed.[4]

The story of Lippi's capture by the pirates of Barbary seems at all events to be a romance,[5] and there is no trace either of his stay in Ancona, the place where he is supposed to have been captured, or of his residence in Naples, where he is said to have landed after his captivity. Nor is it true that his withdrawal from the convent in which he had been brought up involved his abandonment of the frock, or at least of some species of religious vow. We may note, on the contrary, that in all the pictures which bear his signature he calls himself "Frater Filippus." In a letter written by Domenico Veneziano to Piero de' Medici in 1438, he alludes to Lippi as Fra

[1] Besides the figures described in the text, the youthful S. John may be seen on the right advancing to the front with a scroll and a reed cross. The hands of the Eternal issue from a rainbow in the sky. The distance is a landscape of rocks and trees. The principal figures are half the size of life.

[2] VASARI, vol. iv., p. 118.

[3] This picture [No. 82, Sala di Perugino] represents the Virgin adoring the Infant on the ground, SS. Joseph and Hilarion to the left, and in the same direction, but in distance, S. Jerome. On the right, behind a wall, is S. Mary Magdalen in prayer in front of the hut. The distance is a landscape with shepherds and a glory of angels. According to RICHA (vol. x., p. 145), the S. Hilarion is a portrait of Roberto Malatesti, a monk of Annalena. This piece is mentioned by ALBERTINI, who calls the convent of Annalena by its old name of S. Vincenzio, *Memoriale, ubi sup.*, p. 16, and by VASARI (vol. iv., p. 120), who says that Annalena was a convent of nuns.

[The convent of Annalena was a convent of nuns. Roberto Malatesta was the brother of Annalena, the foundress.]

[4] Vasari states that Lippi became known to Cosimo de' Medici by the altarpiece which he delivered to S. Ambrogio of Florence (vol. iv., p. 117). This picture was executed long after Fra Filippo and Cosimo were acquainted, as may be shown later.

[5] VASARI, vol. iv., p. 116.

Filippo;[1] and in a note of his own to the same person dated August 13, 1439, the Frate clearly describes his condition when he says, "I am one of the poorest friars of Florence."[2] This note indeed is one of the most direct contradictions to the general tenor of Vasari's narrative respecting Fra Filippo that can be conceived. It paints the man, and gives such an insight into his struggles as to create a lively sympathy in his favour.

A year previous to the date of the letter, Domenico Veneziano describes, from the comparative distance of Perugia, the prosperity and fame of Fra Filippo and Angelico.

Fra Filippo, in August of the following year, laments that one of his pictures should not have produced the price which he anticipated. He tells how it has pleased God to leave him, the poorest friar of Florence, in charge of six marriageable nieces who cannot live without his means. He therefore begs Piero de' Medici, then at Trebbio, in Mugello, to let him have wine and corn on account, that his nieces may not starve when he goes away. He says complainingly further that Ser Antonio del Marchese has offered him a yearly salary of five florins, which, setting aside travelling expenses, would furnish him about the price of a pair of hose, and begs a few lines to that nobleman from Piero, possibly with a view to more liberal treatment and salary.[3]

This glance at a piece of real life contrasts, indeed, with Vasari's flowing description of the enjoyments of a loose and adventurous friar.[4] Is it possible that the monk who feeds, clothes, and attends to six marriageable nieces, and begs for corn and wine, should be the same whom Cosimo de' Medici locks up in his palace, as a modern manager locked up a celebrated dramatist indebted to him for a play; and who ties his sheets together that he may escape for days together to loose company and the enjoyment of sensual pleasure? Is it likely that the seducer of Lucretia Buti should, in 1452, have been chaplain, as we know he was, to the convent of nuns of S. Giovannino at Florence,[5] and that in 1457 he should be rector of S. Quirico at Legnaia?[6] It is possible that Fra Filippo, though a churchman, may have erred. But the historian whose faith in the veracity of Vasari is justly shaken will pause even before he admits that Filippino Lippi is the natural son of a Carmelite friar; and we prefer to believe that he was adopted, in the manner usual to the time.[7]

[1] See *antea*, and GAYE, *Carteggio*, vol. i., p. 136. [2] Ibid., p. 141.
[3] See the letter in original in GAYE, *Carteggio*, *ubi sup.*, vol. i., p. 141.
[4] VASARI, vol. iv., pp. 118, 119.
[5] Communications from records in possession of G. MILANESI. [6] Ibid.
[7] [It is no longer possible to doubt the truth of Vasari's main story con-

But to return. If we resume the notice of such works as Fra Filippo may have executed in his earlier time, we may place next in order to the altarpieces of the Academy of Arts at Florence, that of the Berlin Museum, whose signature "Frater Filippus" is a welcome confirmation of the patent originality of the picture.[1] Once in the Solly collection, its first destination is not known, but the delicate finish, the great fulness of its impasto, the gay and pleasing features which characterise it, lead one to class it as an advance upon the works previously quoted. The subject, as before, is the Nativity, the Virgin kneeling in adoration before the Infant lying on a bed of flowers, the youthful Baptist to the right, S. Bernard in prayer in a distance of hills, and the Eternal above, sending, as it were, the dove whose rays fall upon the frame of the Redeemer. In the same class are the two lunettes in the National Gallery, representing the Annunciation[2] and S. John the Baptist with six other saints,[3] both painted for Cosimo de' Medici, and long the ornament of his palace. These and the foregoing examples suffice to reveal the education which Fra Filippo received. He issued from the school of Masolino, Angelico and Masaccio. Without being able to overtake the latter he followed a sure path of progress during a laborious and fruitful career, in which no weariness or carelessness, but a ceaseless activity and development are apparent to the last.[4]

Domenico Veneziano alludes, in a letter already quoted, to an altarpiece which Fra Filippo had in hand in 1438. The donor of the picture, Gherardo di Bartolommeo Barbadori, caused it to be placed in the chapel of his family at S. Spirito, before the expiration of the

cerning the life of Fra Filippo; of course the journey to Barbary is a romance. But the documents discovered since the authors wrote, especially the will of Fra Filippo, conclusively prove that Filippino Lippo was his natural son by Lucretia Buti. But *cf.* HORNE, *Sandro Botticelli* (Bell, 1908), vol. i., p. 8 *et seq.*]

[1] [No. 69, Berlin Mus. Cat.] [2] [No. 666, Nat. Gal. Cat.]

[3] [No. 667.] Both pieces were of old in the Riccardi (Medici) Palace. The first, purchased from the brothers Metzger, was presented to the Nat. Gal. by Sir C. L. Eastlake. The second was bought from Mr. A. Barker. [No. 666] is marked with the crest of Cosimo, three feathers tied together in a ring.

[4] [The early work of Fra Filippo, *e.g.* the two Nativity pictures of the Florence Academy, the Munich Annunciation (No. 1007), the Lateran Coronation (Sixth Room), all suggest that Lorenzo Monaco was at least among his masters. The Berlin Nativity might seem to be a later work, and may well be the picture which stood in the chapel of the Palazzo Riccardi, and which as it were completes Benozzo Gozzoli's procession. MUNTZ, in *Les Collections des Medicis au Quinzième Siècle*, p. 64, quotes the following from a catalogue of paintings in the Palazzo Riccardi: "Nella chappella di detta andito: Una tavolo in sudetto altare di legname chon cholonne dal lato a chanali dipinte a marmo biancho e chapitelli messi d'oro, e cornice, e architrave messe d'oro chon un fregio in ismusso messo d'oro dipintori cherubini, e in detta tavola una nostra Donna che adora il Figliuolo che sta innanzi a piedi e un San

Alinari.

PORTRAIT OF FRA FILIPPO LIPPI, BY HIMSELF

Detail from Fresco of the Burial of St Stephen Cathedral, Prato.

Anderson.

ADORATION OF THE VIRGIN

FRA FILIPPO LIPPI. Academy, Florence.

THE ANNUNCIATION

FRA FILIPPO LIPPI. National Gallery.

year in which Domenico wrote.[1] Somewhat grey from time, it depicts the Virgin standing erect on the first step of her throne, between angels and archangels, presenting the infant Saviour to the adoration of two kneeling churchmen.[2] It is one of the finest creations of Fra Filippo, and proves to what height his talent had risen at the comparatively early age of twenty-six. A predella, representing the Annunciation and three other scenes, once formed part of this picture, and is now in the Florence Academy of Arts.[3]

Contemporary with the Barbadori altarpiece, that which Fra Filippo executed for Carlo Marzuppini claims attention.[4] The Virgin, in the centre of the picture, is crowned by the Redeemer, in presence of two kneeling patrons[5] presented by four Bernardine friars, whilst six angels at the sides sound instruments or sing hymns of joy. One of the kneeling figures is that of Carlo Marzuppini, donor of the altarpiece to the Cappella S. Bernardo in Mont' Oliveto of Arezzo. He is said to have called Fra Filippo's attention at the time to the loose manner in which the hands were drawn; and there is no doubt that, if the altarpiece, which is now in the Gallery of the Lateran at Rome,[6] be carefully examined, one may admit that the hands are neglected in detail and sometimes of small proportions. Yet one fails to see the justice of Vasari's further remark, that Fra Filippo was led by this criticism to hide the extremities of his figures in drapery.[7] The anecdote, however, illustrates the critical tendency of the age; and it is not impossible that remarks similar to these should have

Giovanni e uno Santo Bernardo e Dio padre cholla cholomba innanzi di mano di . . . f . . ." This description seems to fit the Berlin picture exactly, while it seems very wide of the Uffizi picture which the authors later tell us was from the chapel in Palazzo Riccardi.

[1] RICHA, *Chiese*, vol. ix., p. 33, notes the fact, misdating 1418, instead of 1438. See also VASARI, vol. iv., *note* to p. 119.

[Domenico had told Pietro de' Medici, writing from Perugia 1438, that Filippo "cannot finish it the [S. Spirito altarpiece] in five years though he should toil at it night and day, so great a work it is."]

[2] [No. 1344 Louvre.] Some heads of monks are visible behind the parapet of the monumental throne.

[3] [No. 86. There are but three scenes, as follow: (1) S. Frediano, bishop of Lucca, turning the Serchio; (2) The Annunciation of her Death to the Virgin; (3) Augustine in his Study.]

The colour is somewhat injured, but the style and character prove that this is the predella of the Barbadori altarpiece.

[4] VASARI, vol. iv., p. 120.

[5] One to the left is aged, that to the right youthful.

[6] At the suppression of the convent of Mont' Oliveto in 1785, the picture passed into the hands of the Lippi of Arezzo. It was then purchased (1841) by Sir Ugo Baldi, who sold it to Carlo Galdeschi. The latter parted with it to Gregory XVI., who placed it in the Lateran Gallery. Some injury has been done by restoring.

[7] VASARI, vol. iv., p. 120.

contributed to diminish the means, and try the temper, of Fra Filippo in 1439. Be this as it may, the phase of neglect passed away, and in 1441 an important commission was offered and accepted. Lippi painted an altarpiece for the nuns of S. Ambrogio. Damaged by repainting in most parts, it is now in the Academy of Arts,[1] and seems to have been one of the fine pictures of the master. The subject, similar to that of the altarpiece of Mont' Oliveto, is a Coronation of the Virgin amongst angels and adoring figures of saints, many of whom are Bernardine monks, and one, with the tonsure, to the right, is a half-length portrait of Fra Filippo himself. An angel in front of him holds a scroll on which is written "IS PERFECIT OPUS."[2] We thus have a material proof that the painter still bore in 1441 the distinctive marks of a Carmelite friar.[3]

Some years later we find Fra Filippo receiving (May 16, 1447) forty lire for a Vision of S. Bernard adorning the space above the door of the Cancelleria in the Palazzo de' Signori at Florence,[4] a piece which now forms part of the Collection of the National Gallery, but which does not strike the spectator as attractively coloured or handled with the mastery remarkable in previous examples.[5]

[1] [No. 62.] Borghini noticing this picture in the sacristy of S. Ambrogio, says that it was signed at the base "FRATER FILIPPUS," and that on the ornamental frame were the words: "AB HUJUS ECCL. PRIORE FRANCISCO MARINGHIO AN. MCCCCXLI FACTA, ET A MONIALIBUS ORNATA FUIT AN. M.D.LXXXV." *Il Riposo* (Milan, 1807), vol. ii., p. 108.

[2] [And part of the name Filippus.]

[3] A record discovered by Baldinucci informs us that the price paid for this altarpiece in 1447 was 1200 Florentine lire, enough, one should think, to satisfy the wants of a painter and any number of relatives. BALDINUCCI, *Opere, ubi sup.*, vol. v., p. 354. The record is given in full, yet one may doubt the accuracy of the ciphers forming the price.

[On 23rd February 1442 Fra Filippo was appointed "perpetual abbot and rettore commendatorio of S. Quirico a Legnaia, near Florence." He was deprived at the urgent request of S. Antonino for misdemeanour in 1455, but managed to retain the temporal administration at any rate till after 1459. It is in 1455 that we hear of the lawsuit brought against him by Giovanni da Rovezzano, his assistant, for recovery of salary. Fra Filippo confessed under torture the forgery of the receipt. See VASARI (Sansoni), vol. iii., p. 490.]

[4] BALDINUCCI, *ubi sup.*

[5] [No. 248] Nat. Gall. S. Bernard writes his homilies at a desk placed on a table formed of the solid rock. The Virgin, attended by angels, appears before him. The panel is hexagonal and of a dull tone, very inferior to the work of 1441 at S. Ambrogio. Another piece in the Palazzo de' Signori noticed by Vasari (an Annunciation, he says) and Albertini has perished. (VASARI vol. iv., p. 119; ALBERTINI, *Memoriale, ubi sup.*, p. 15.)

[Other works of this period would seem to be the Berlin Madonna and Child (No. 58), once in the Solly Collection, the Madonna and Child in the sacristy of the Innocenti in Florence (repainted), and the Madonna and Child in the Gallery of Munich (No. 1006), the beautiful Annunciation in the Martelli Chapel of S. Lorenzo in Florence (restored) (see *infra*), the panels in the Accademia (Nos. 263, 264), representing the Archangel Gabriel and the Baptist, and the Madonna and S. Anthony, parts of a large picture; the tondo repre-

All these pieces, and the number of commissions which Fra Filippo obtained from most of the great families and churches of Florence, testify that his time was now actively employed, and that he was courted for his works in a pressing and continuous manner. We may suppose that when he received, in 1452, the appointment of chaplain to the convent of S. Giovannino at Florence, he owed this preferment to the all-powerful influence of the Medici, and that Cosimo, "who always flattered him by caresses," [1] did not neglect other and more substantial means of securing his good-will. Cosimo, indeed, appears to have had some traits of character in common with Philip the Hardy of Burgundy. His patronage of art had a higher aim than the gratification of his own sense of the beautiful. The architects whom he employed not only raised edifices for his private use, but for religious communities whose influence in the state might serve his political views. He frequently made presents of pictures; and letters written by members of his family are extant to prove that, by such presents, he sought to captivate Alfonso of Aragon and the men about his court. One of these letters, written by Giovanni de' Medici to Messer Bartolommeo Serragli at Naples in June 1456, contains this interesting passage:—

"I note what you write respecting the high esteem in which His Majesty (Alfonso of Aragon) holds the picture. This is pleasing to me, and if the Signor Conte *Deruano* (De Rohan?) wishes to have another, you can, on your return thither, take the drawing of it, and personally solicit in the matter; and if he is in no hurry, I think you may be able to have it, particularly as Fra Filippo is now settled at Prato." [2]

senting S. Lawrence enthroned with saints and demons in Palazzo Alessandri, Florence (see *infra*); the Madonna della Misericordia of the Berlin Gallery, No. 95.]

[1] VASARI, vol. iv., p. 119.

[2] This most interesting letter, hitherto unpublished, is communicated by the friendly hand of Signor Jacopo Cavallucci of Florence, and runs as follows:—

"Giovanni di Cosimo de' Medici a Messer Bartolommeo Serragli a Napoli.

"Ho hauto una tua de' dì 29; et simile, prima, piu altre: in modo stimo haverle tutte che hai scritte. Et simile l' ho risposto due volte, et per la via l' ho mandate, et credo l' harai haute benchèvegho venghono tarde tanto, e che da me non resta lo scriverti et simile ti farò contrario. Intendo che la M[a] del Re è a buon termine et fuori di pericolo, ch' è m' è piacere singulare. Credo pure li sarebbe giovato assai se Mons. di Modena l' havesse potuto vedere et curare; et marravigliomi assai chome chi ama la sua Maesta non ordina che lui intendo tutto: pure si vuol presumere che a qualche buon fine si faccia. Idio provegha alla sua salute. Vegho quanto scrive la M[ta] havere stimata la tavola che m' è grato: et s' el Signor Conte deruano ne vuole un' altra tornando tu in qua puoi pigliare il disegno et esserne sollecitatore, et se lui non hara pressa, credo la potra havere massime hora che Fra Filippo è ridutto a Prato. Penso che, poi scrivesti, la M[ta] del Re sara gita a tal termine, che arai fatto il bisogno intorno a tuo spaccio, et credo ci sarai per S. Giovanni, et cosi l' aspettiamo che c' è buon essere. Del Conte Jacopo qua si dice lui havere hauti denari;

Bartolommeo Serragli seems to have found a willing ear for the suggestions of this letter, and Giovanni de' Medici, accordingly, ordered the drawing of Fra Filippo, who forwarded it to him in a note of the 20th July 1457.[1] This note and the correspondence which follows give a perfect picture of the condition in which Fra Filippo usually found himself. But before we can deal with the matters which they contain we must take a retrospective glance at some facts which may help to elucidate the career of our artist.

Fra Filippo had relatives in Prato,[2] a small town within twenty miles of Florence, and he had had occasion to captivate by his works the superintendent of the cathedral, Geminiano Inghirami, for whom he had executed a transit of S. Bernard which is still preserved in the Duomo. Inghirami caressed the laudable ambition of adorning the choir or apsis of the edifice under his charge with paintings by a celebrated and talented master. The plan for this embellishment had been proposed as early as 1430 by Inghirami's predecessor, Niccolò Milanesi,[3] but had never been carried out. Inghirami suggested that Fra Filippo should be appointed to the duty of painting the frescoes of the choir, and we find that this suggestion had been agreed to, the painter having fixed his abode in Prato as early as June 1456.[4]

credo sara suto poi scriverti; ma pochi. Di nuovo niente ci è, se nonchè si dicie a Genova armano 6 navi grosse per mandare a Bonifazio per quella altre 6 tornano di Levante. Sentiremo alla giornata che seguira

"Ne altro, to ti conservi.

"In Firenze a dì x di Giugno 1456, Tuo."

[1] Published in GAYE, *Carteggio, ubi sup.*, vol. i., p. 175.

[2] VASARI, vol. iv., p. 121. [That he had relatives in Prato seems uncertain. At any rate after 1455 he lived in a house he bought from the wardens of the Opera of the Sacro Cingolo, near the Duomo. In 1865, when the Via Magnolfi was built, this house was incorporated in the new buildings marked by an inscription.]

[3] *Pitture di Fra Filippo Lippi in Prato*, by C. F. B. (Canonico F. Baldanzi), (Prato, 1835), p. 12.

[4] [In 1452 Fra Angelico had been asked by the magistrato of Prato to execute the work. He refused, and about the middle of the year, Fra Filippo and Fra Diamante went to work there (see Documents vi., xi., and xvi. in Strutt, *Fra Filippo Lippi* (Bell, 1901). But Fra Filippo had been commissioned to paint a tondo representing stories from the life of the B.V.M., by Leonardo di Bartolommeo Bartolini, who had paid 22 florins for it, and so sought redress. This he obtained, the four *probiviri* who presided over the Ceppo of Prato assuring him on August 8, that if Fra Filippo had not delivered the picture by 8th December 1452, they would reimburse him. No entry in the Libro delle Spese appears to show that they were put to this expense, and indeed we seem to have the picture, painted then in 1452, in the Madonna and Child of the Pitti Gallery, No. 338. On May 28, 1453, an entry appears in the Libro delle Spese recording the payment of 85 florins to Fra Filippo for a panel, painted in a tabernacle over the well of the Ceppo (see STRUTT, *op. cit.*, *Doc.* xviii.). The painting is now in the Municipal Gallery of Prato, No. 21. It is much damaged. See *infra*.]

We have seen him in Florence in 1439, complaining of poverty. In spite of his appointment to a chaplaincy in 1452, he seems to have been still in difficulties. A passage in the diaries of Neri di Bicci, under the date of 1454, refers to a deposit of gold-leaf made by Fra Filippo at Neri's ;[1] and, knowing, as we do, the usual distress of the Frate, the deposit betrays a wish to guard a valuable piece of artistic property from the grasp of urgent creditors.[2] The wants of the friar and the pursuit which he had to endure are clearly illustrated by the correspondence of which a part has already been quoted. On receiving from Giovanni de' Medici the order for a picture, he left the works of Prato, unwillingly, it is clear, and only after much pressing, and doubtless under tremor lest disobedience should lead him to incur the displeasure of a powerful patron. Having reached his shop at Florence in July 1457, he wrote from thence to Giovanni de' Medici a letter enclosing a pen-sketch of a Virgin adoring the infant Saviour between two kneeling saints, one aged, the other youthful, intended to represent S. Michael. In the letter he says, " he has done what his patron imposes upon him in the matter of the tavola. He describes the S. Michael as so far advanced that it only awaits the ornaments of gold and silver to its armour, respecting which gold, he adds, he has been to one Bartholommeo Martello, who informs him that he must arrange for it with Ser Francesco, and who reproaches him with the wrongs he had inflicted on his patron. Fra Filippo admits this wrong, humbly declares himself the slave of his protector, acknowledges an advance of fourteen florins, and asks for more, because the picture has much adornment and three days are past since he has been able to do anything. Finally he hopes that a hundred florins will not be considered too much for the picture which he promises to deliver on the 20th of August.[3] He concludes by expressing a wish to take a speedy departure."

The anxiety of Fra Filippo is clear in this letter. He wants money, and for a good reason, as appears immediately after. Ser Francesco Catansanto, who seems to have been the agent of the Medici, writes ten days later to say that he has been in Fra Filippo's shop to " make him work," and that, just as he was leaving, a creditor

[1] BALDINUCCI, *Opere., ubi sup.*, vol. v., p. 354, quotes this passage.

[2] Neri adds in another entry of the same diary, that he had returned thirty pieces of the same gold to Fra Filippo ; " who said he intended to apply it to a picture of S. Jerome executed for the Signore Gismondo on commission from Agnolo della Istufa." Neri's records, in *com.* to Vasari's life of Lorenzo de Bicci, vol. ii., p. 255. This Signor Gismondo may well be Sigismund Malatesta.

[3] *Vide* the original letter in GAYE, *Carteggio, ubi sup.*, vol. i., pp. 175–6. [*Cf.* CAVALCASELLE E CROWE (ed. le Monnier), vol. v., 162 *note* 1, and 163 *note* 1 ; and H. HORNE, *Sandro Botticelli* (Bell, 1908), vol. i., p. 6 *et seq.*]

caused a seizure to be made, the result being a sale, and the retention of some things for rent. It is no wonder under these circumstances that Fra Filippo should have been anxious to leave Florence. The year had not expired when he became "Rettore Commendatorio" of the church of S. Quirico at Legnaia.[1]

In 1458, Filippo's picture seems to have reached Naples, Giovanni de' Medici writing from Florence in May to Bartolommeo Serragli, to say: "I received your letters in the last days, from which I understand that you have presented the picture to the King's Majesty, and that it pleased him fairly; and I learnt also the mistake of Fra Filippo, at which we had some merriment."[2] It may be supposed by some, that the mistake of Fra Filippo has reference to the seduction of Lucretia Buti, which is said to have taken place at Prato about this time, but surely such an incident as that of the abduction of a nun would have been neither a subject of comment at Naples nor a theme for merriment at Florence.

As regards the pictures of Fra Filippo, thus despatched by the Medici to Naples, no trace of them is now discoverable. The legend of Vasari as to the friar's landing and painting for Alfonso finds a natural explanation in the incidents that have just been described. No picture by Fra Filippo exists at Naples unless one should assign to him a panel in the Museum representing the Virgin Mary seated, whilst two angels present to her the infant Christ,[3] a picture akin in composition to one in the Uffizi, and like others of the same subject in the church of the Ospedale degli Innocenti at Florence[4] and in the National Gallery.[5] The style of the latter, and that of the Naples piece are similar, and reveal the hand of a painter combining the manner of Botticelli and Filippino Lippi.[6]

The Transit of S. Bernard[7] executed for Geminiano Inghirami of Prato is a fine and well-preserved example of Fra Filippo's style, but less powerful than the earlier and much injured Coronation of the Virgin in the Academy of Arts at Florence, or the altarpiece of S. Spirito. Still the groups are well put together, the figures animated and in good action.

[1] See *antea*. [He became Rettore Commendatorio in 1442.]
[2] See the original in GAYE, *Carteggio, ubi sup.*, vol. i., p. 180.
[3] [No. 31 (by Amico di Sandro).]
[4] The picture is in a room contiguous to the sacristy.
[5] [No. 589, Nat. Gal. Cat.]
[6] Another picture in the Naples Museum which recalls the manner of Fra Filippo is one assigned to Domenico Ghirlandaio, representing the Annunciation between SS. Andrew and John.
[7] [This is a Death of S. Jerome, not of S. Bernard. *Cf.* C. GUASTI, *I quadri della Galleria del Comune di Prato* (Prato, 1888), pp. 42, 43.]

The saint lies on a richly ornamented couch, bewailed by monks in clumps at the head and foot and by a solitary friar in the centre of the farther side. In the middle of the foreground, a cripple stretches out his hand towards the bed, to be cured of his ailment, and at the sides kneel a monk (left) and Inghirami in prelate's robes (right). Numerous small episodes enliven the distance of hills; and in the air the Saviour, in a glory of angels, looks down, whilst the Eternal above Him gives a benediction.

About the time when this work was finished and before the frescoes of the choir were begun, Fra Filippo was employed, if Vasari's story be credible, in painting a picture for the high altar of the convent chapel of S. Margherita of Prato.[1] Whilst he was busy on this piece he saw and fell in love with Lucretia Buti, who had been sent there, either to be taken care of, or as a novice, by Francesco Buti, her father, a citizen of Florence.[2] Having ascertained her name, and seeing that she was graceful and of pleasant mien, he obtained permission from the nuns to take her as a model for a figure of the Virgin. He could not resist the opportunity thus offered to him, and after some wooing, he induced Lucretia to sacrifice herself to him and took her home after a visit to the exhibition of the Girdle. The sisters of S. Margherita did their utmost to recover Lucretia, but without avail; and the fruit of this illicit intercourse was Filippino Lippi, a painter of some fame after the death of Fra Filippo.

This story, as has been remarked, rests upon the sole testimony of Vasari, and, as such, requires corroboration. Contingent circumstances tend to create considerable doubts of Vasari's truth, and these facts may be stated in a few words. The Pitti Gallery at Florence[3] is adorned with one of the finest Madonnas of Fra Filippo.

It is a circular picture representing the half-length Virgin seated in a chair with the infant Saviour, all but naked, on her knee. In her left

[1] VASARI, vol. iv., p. 121. [MILANESI'S researches, *ubi cit.*, *sup.*, have established the essential truth of the Lucretia story, but see HORNE, *op. cit.*, p. 3 *et seq.* In 1456 Fra Filippo was appointed chaplain to the nuns. He was apparently living at that time in a house opposite the convent of S. Margherita. That he had known Lucretia before 1456 seems to be certain—at any rate her type appears, if not her portrait, in the Pitti tondo painted in 1452. (See *supra.*) The picture, however, which the Mother Superior of S. Margherita ordered, and for which Lucrezia sat, seems certainly to be that now in the Municipal Gallery of Prato, No. 11. It comes from S. Margherita, and represents the Madonna della Cintola. See *infra.*]

[2] [Lucretia and her sister Spineta were orphans; that they were "choral and professed nuns" in 1454 is proved by a document quoted by Milanesi and cited by STRUTT (*op. cit.*, p. 101). This is a report of a general meeting of the chapter held on April 8, 1454, in which it was decided to sell an estate at Cojano. Both Lucretia's and Spineta's names appear among the "choral and professed nuns." They renewed their vows in 1459. But see HORNE, *op. cit.*, p. 8 *et seq.*]

[3] [No. 388, Gal. Pitti.]

hand she holds a pomegranate which the Saviour grasps with His right, whilst, looking up, He holds a few of the red grains in His left. In the distance to the left, S. Anna lies in bed; and the infant Virgin is in the arms of one of the nurses. At the bedside, a grand figure, nearer the spectator, seems by a gesture to announce the arrival of a female servant behind him with a basket on her head. To the right, two females, with presents, and one accompanied by a child, ascend the steps leading to the apartments. On the distant flight at the same side is the meeting of Joachim and Anna.

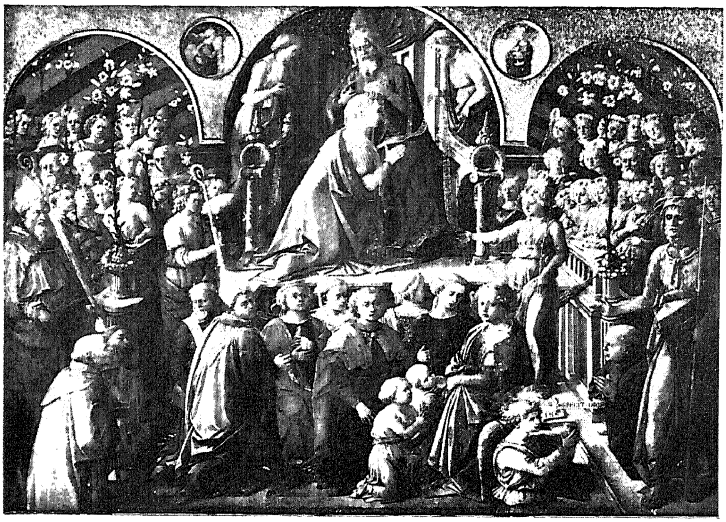
This group of the Virgin and Child reminds one forcibly of those by Donatello or Desiderio da Settignano. The type of the Virgin's head, like most of those of Fra Filippo, is oval and modelled broadly in a low and flattened relief. The neck is, as usual, slender, whilst the child is healthy, robust, and short-necked, a peculiarity of extreme infancy. The drawing and the modelling of flesh remind us that the age was one in which the laws of bas-relief were followed in painting. The group of Mother and Child, though noble and pleasing, is no longer conceived in the form of Angelico, or on the principles of the severely religious times. It is maternal, affectionate, but of earth—not vulgar, but also not ideal. It represents the phase of art which Fra Bartolommeo and Raphael carried out more nobly and with more experience in their creations of the same kind. Fra Filippo is more real than they were; but he already inaugurates a new phase. Family joys, the friendly greetings and presents of such an occasion are celebrated in the episodes of the distance, which at the same time illustrate again, by their arrangement and the distribution of the spaces, the vigour with which the laws of bas-relief grouping were applied by Fra Filippo. The head of the Virgin is said, on what grounds it is difficult now to say, to be a portrait of Lucretia Buti.

A Nativity once in S. Margherita of Prato, and now in the Louvre, is assigned to Fra Filippo Lippi,[1] and described as that in which the friar painted the likeness of Lucretia.

The Virgin kneels on the left before the naked infant, whilst S. Joseph kneels in meditation opposite to her. Two angels in horizontal flight survey the scene, and the Dove sends down rays to the Saviour. Lizards and a bird crawl or perch amidst the stones of the ruin in which Christ has been ushered to the world, and the ox and ass peer out from the centre of the building, over which are remnants of rafters and thatch. In the distance to the left, three shepherds rest with their flocks.

The truth in a few words respecting this picture is, that it betrays the education, the character, and the technical style, not of Fra

[1] [No. 1343.] An engraving of this piece is in the *Etruria Pittrice*, and in the *Pitture di Fra Filippo Lippi*, by BALDANZI, *ubi sup.*



CORONATION OF THE VIRGIN

FRA FILIPPO LIPPI. Academy, Florence.

ANNUNCIATION

FRA FILIPPO LIPPI. S. Lorenzo, Florence.

MADONNA AND CHILD

FRA FILIPPO LIPPI. Uffizi, Florence.

Alinari.

MADONNA AND CHILD

FRA FILIPPO LIPPI. Pitti Gallery, Florence.

Filippo, but of a painter belonging to the naturalist class of Uccello, Castagno, Baldovinetti, and the Peselli. It is in fact a work such as Francesco Peselli or Pesellino might have produced, and which was, probably, painted by him under the influence of the Carmelite.

Fra Filippo, whose works are reminiscent of those created by Masolino and Angelico, lost some of his early timidity as he felt his power increase. From first to last, however, even to the time when he executed the frescoes of Spoleto, he maintained the same technical style, the same principle of colouring. The Louvre altarpiece is painted in a style different in every respect from his. It is of a hard and high impasto, of a dull yellowish tint in flesh. The composition is marked by features common to many artists of the time, Fra Filippo included; but the picture may strike the spectator as more nearly akin in this respect to Baldovinetti's Nativity in the cloister of the SS. Annunziata at Florence;[1] and a close comparison of the two pieces will show that the resemblance may be traced further in a peculiar feeling which is common to the naturalists already mentioned. The composition is essentially one that might have been produced by Baldovinetti or the Peselli; and we shall see that the same verdict may be given as regards colour, drawing and action. There is a realism in the Louvre Nativity which precludes the exhibition of sentiment. The angel, partly foreshortened in the upper right corner of the picture, is as much in the character of that in the cloister of the SS. Annunziata, as it is foreign to the character of Fra Filippo. The draperies, the heads, the realistic nude, the colour, the tempera, and consequently the technical method and execution, are as different from those of Fra Filippo as they are like to those of the Peselli and Baldovinetti. The Louvre Nativity may thus be classed with some certainty amongst the works of the Peselli.

Vasari tells how Pesellino imitated the manner of Fra Filippo,[2] and mentions in terms of just praise a predella added by the former to an altarpiece by the latter.[3] This predella is still in existence and reveals something of the technical style of the master, with more of the manner of Pesellino.

A predella representing the Massacre of the Innocents, the Adoration of the Magi, and the Presentation in the Temple is preserved in the Municipal Gallery of Prato[4] and described as belonging to the Louvre altarpiece. The compositions are good, and there is more of

[1] Dr. Waagen, a long time since, had assigned this picture to Baldovinetti. See Louvre Cat. (1849), where his opinion is contested.

[2] VASARI, vol. iv., p. 180. [3] Ibid., vol. iv., pp. 182–3.

[4] [No. 22.]

Fra Filippo's manner in them than in the Nativity. Still this is no reason for assigning to the Carmelite a picture like that of Paris displaying none of his characteristic features.[1] As regards Lucretia Buti, it is clear that no arguments can rest on an uncertain painting. But be this as it may, no resemblance is apparent between the Virgin at the Pitti and that of the Louvre. The Gallery of Prato boasts of a genuine though not very favourable example of Lippi's style, whose subject tends to confirm the suggestion of numerous critics, that it may have once belonged to the convent of S. Margherita of Prato.[2] The Virgin enthroned, in an almond-shaped glory carried by angels, gives the girdle to S. Thomas. A canonised bishop and the archangel leading Tobit attend to the right; and to the left stand S. Gregory and a fine figure of S. Margaret presenting to the Virgin a kneeling Franciscan nun. Tradition does not assign to the latter the name or the features of Lucretia Buti; but there is no doubt of the genuineness of the picture, although a coarse execution attributable to a pupil may be remarked in the figures of the bishop, the anchangel and Tobit.[3]

These, however, are not the only pictures which prove the length of Fra Filippo's stay in Prato and the demand for his creations in that place. A family altarpiece, once in the Ceppo, and now in the Municipal Gallery,[4] represents the Virgin and Child on gold ground, between SS. Stephen and John the Baptist, whilst in front to the left, Francesco di Marco recommends to the Virgin four of the poor members of the Ceppo, of which he was the founder. This is a piece in which much of Fra Filippo's feeling still remains, though it is discoloured by exposure "above a well in a court," says Vasari.[5]

But the finest altarpiece of Fra Filippo at Prato is the Nativity in the refectory of S. Domenico, where the Infant lying on the ground is adored by the Virgin and S. Joseph, between SS. George and Dominic in a rocky landscape in which the shepherds play, whilst six magnificent angels sing canticles in the sky. The head of S.

[1] The Lombardi collection at Florence possesses two angels similar to those in the Nativity of the Louvre. They are assigned to Fra Filippo. A much injured fragment of a predella representing the Adoration of the Magi is in the same collection. The style is similar to that of the predella [No. 22] in the Municipal Gallery at Prato.

[2] VASARI, vol. iv., *note* to p. 130. The same suggestion is made by the compilers of the Prato Gallery Catalogue, where this picture is numbered [No. 11].

[3] The execution is like that of a picture that shall be mentioned presently in possession of Signor Berti at Prato, attributed to F. Diamante; see *postea*.

[4] [No. 21] noted by VASARI, vol. iv., p. 122. [See *supra*, p. 328, *note* 4.]

[5] VASARI, same page. The grey under preparation has been laid bare. The figures are all but life size.

Dominic is turned upwards towards a miniature apparition of the infant Redeemer in a corner of the sky.[1] The colour of this fine altarpiece is low in consequence of long exposure to dust, but it was no doubt originally in Fra Filippo's best style, and the type of the Virgin is a fine one even amongst the master's best.[2]

When Fra Filippo undertook to paint the choir of the Pieve of Prato, he was asked to illustrate the lives of S. John the Baptist and S. Stephen, the first being the protector of the Florentine rule under which Prato was included, the second being the titular saint of the church and the special patron of the town. When he began the work entrusted to him in the early part of 1456, he naturally gave his first attention to the story of S. John the Baptist, which covers the lunette and lower courses of the right side of the choir.[3]

The lunette is divided into two rooms, the farthest of which contains a majestic figure of S. Elizabeth on her couch. A servant at the bedside hands the infant to the nurses to be washed. The nearest presents to us Zacharias, seated in the middle of the space writing the name, whilst the infant is held by a nurse in a stooping attitude at his knee, in presence of a standing figure on the right holding an ink-bottle.

In the next lower course is S. John's Parting from his Parents, with a distant episode in which he kneels near a bridge on a stream in a distance of rocks. A tree and the stream part this episode from the next portion of the same course, in which the Baptist appears in benediction approaching from the distance, and again, may be seen erect on a rock in the act of preaching to a multitude partly seated, partly standing.[4] The next course, beneath the foregoing, occupies not only the side, but part also of the end wall of the choir, and represents, in a succession of divisions from

[1] In the distance also is the pent-house, the ox and the ass. The figures are two-thirds of life size. This picture is noticed by VASARI (vol. iv., p. 122), who adds that the church of S. Domenico at Prato possessed two altarpieces by Fra Filippo. [This picture is now in the Municipal Gallery.]

[2] The manner of Fra Filippo or his school may likewise be discerned in a Presentation at the Temple belonging to S. Spirito of Prato, and assigned there to Botticelli. This church was formerly that of the Convent de' Servi di Maria. The altarpiece comprises ten figures of almost life size. The Virgin in the centre presents the Infant to Simeon between S. Bartholomew, two canonised bishops and another saint. Nearer the foreground at the sides are two brothers of the Servi. The picture is in a very bad state from repainting in oil and subsequent neglect.

[3] [See *supra*, p. 328, *note* 4. As we have seen, Fra Filippo began to work in the Duomo in 1452. In 1456 he was interrupted, possibly by his adventure with Lucretia. In 1457, as we have seen (*supra*, p. 329), he was in Florence working for Giovanni de' Medici. In this year Filippino, his son by Lucretia, seems to have been born. In 1458 Lucretia returned, as we suppose, to the convent. In 1461 she was restored to him by the Papal dispensation. *Cf.* MILANESI, *ubi sup.*, and IDEM, *Sulla Storia dell' Arte Toscana* (Siena, 1873), p. 297; ULMANN, *Fra Filippo und Fra Diamante als Lehrer Sandro Botticelli's* (Breslau, 1890); and HORNE, *op. cit.*, p. 8 *et seq.*]

[4] The auditory is in part damaged by an eruption of salt on the wall.

left to right, the Decapitation, the Transfer of the Head to the Daughter of Herodias, and the Dance. In this composition, the board is disposed in perspective on three sides of a rectangle, with numerous guests behind it. Salome, on the right, kneels as she presents the head to Herod, who sits shrinking, with Herodias at a special table, whilst two very handsome females in the foreground have fallen into each other's arms in a close embrace. To the left of the space, Salome dances with great dexterity.[1]

One may note as particularly admirable, in the first fresco of the series, the arrangement of the persons and the distribution of the space. With great nature and truth in the action and attitudes, the figures, in their grand lines, form a composition on the pyramidal principle, a principle carried out with equally good effect in the neighbouring episode of the Imposition of the Name. The female with the ink-bottle, Michaelangelesque in stature, motion and drapery, forms as it were the apex of a composition admirably distributed in reference to the retreating perspective of the apartment. But the group which best illustrates a practice familiar at a later time to Fra Bartolommeo and Michael Angelo, is that of the Parting of S. John. Elizabeth stoops to grasp her son for the last time to her bosom. Zacharias looks down upon them and rests himself on a pole, and the pyramid is completed by the servant in rear looking on. The resulting form of the combined contours might arouse the envy of a sculptor of bas-reliefs, so perfect is its arrangement. Divide the group as one will, the result is always a beautiful harmony of lines. In each figure, Lippi lavished the feeling proper to the development of its character, casting it in a large though slender mould and giving it grace of motion and of form.[2]

Less important but equally characteristic peculiarities of the master may be traced in the fresco of the Dance. Lippi's usual stamp of features, pinched types, angularly cut eyes, and flattened planes of flesh may be noticed in the two females embracing each other. Their richly ornamented and embroidered costume, studded with precious stones—their remarkable head-dresses, illustrate a tendency usual in Lippi, and at the same time give an insight into the fashions of the period. Michael Angelo, whom Vasari[3] describes as an imitator and admirer of Lippi in many things, was clearly partial to the friar's mode of ornamenting female heads. The surprise of some

[1] The colour is injured by restoring rendered necessary by damage incurred from damp. The fresco is indeed in a bad condition generally, and some figures of musicians almost obliterated.

[2] One may note as a fine figure also that in thought on the right foreground of the Sermon of S. John.

[3] Vol. iv., p. 126.

of the guests at the tables, the musicians playing in the distance,[1] the springy activity in the Dance of the Daughter of Herodias,[2] give a restless animation to the scene, whose brilliancy is increased by the richness of the dresses—the wealth apparent in the architecture and accessories of cupboards crowned with vases. Yet the composition, in spite of its grandeur, is marked by a certain want of equilibrium and decorous simplicity.

The opposite side of the choir is devoted to the life of S. Stephen.

The Birth in the lunette has been excellently described by Monsignor Baldanzi as follows:[3] "Inside a room the mother reposes in a dignified attitude on her couch. Between her and the spectator stands a dame whose ample draperies and dignified mien reveal an elevated condition. To the left, by the chief entrance, a youthful female carries presents in a basket on her head. At the foot of the opposite side of the bed is a maid-servant. In the foreground is a cradle for the new-born child. But the moment is that when a phantom with large black wings and feet like claws has removed the child from its bed, and holding it in the left hand substitutes with the right another infant. The suspicious motion of the figure suggests a fraudulent exchange. A nurse sleeps with her head on the end of the cradle, and a boy who sees the wonder is too much afraid to cry out." The next fresco shows the spectator the recovery of the child, abandoned by the demon, but saved by a deer. In the next lower course, S. Stephen goes through the rite of ordination. He kneels and embraces the hand of the bishop. A fine figure in front to the left holds the crozier before a group of spectators. More to the right, S. Stephen is embraced by the owner of a house who seems about to lead him into an apartment where a madman lies bound and surrounded by devils. Finally, to the right, S. Stephen disputes in the synagogue. In the third course the Death of S. Stephen is represented. The saint lies in state in the centre of a church, bewailed by two females who sit in grief at his head and feet. On the left, the clergy perform the funeral service, on the right is a standing group of prelates and churchmen, prominent amongst whom is Carlo de' Medici, superintendent of the Prato cathedral after the death of Geminiano Inghirami in 1460. These groups stand on a platform, at the side of which to the left are the words:

FRATER FILIPPUS OP.

In a corner to the right of this fresco Fra Filippo introduced the episode of the Stoning of Stephen, which has been greatly damaged by damp and by, perhaps, necessary restoring.[4]

The end wall of the choir, lighted by a window, is adorned with figures of SS. Giovanni Gualberto and Albert. The glass of the window, repre-

[1] In the distance to the left.

[2] The costumes, curling locks, types, and character recall the works of Sandro Botticelli.

[3] *Pitture di Fra Filippo Lippi, &c., ubi sup.*, p. 31 and following.

[4] A group much praised by VASARI, vol. iv., p. 124.

senting the Virgin's Gift of the Girdle to S. Thomas, was executed in 1459 by Prete Lorenzo da Pelago,[1] from designs which seem to have been furnished by the Frate, so much do they remind one of his style. In the segments of the ceiling, the Four Evangelists and their symbols are depicted, each being seated on clouds under prismatic arches on a star-bespangled sky and in the midst of choirs of angels.

The frescoes of this side are not better preserved than the rest, if we except that of the Death of S. Stephen. The Four Evangelists of the ceiling are well placed in the spaces; and their colossal frames remind one much of those of Angelico. But their forms and action prove them to be of Fra Filippo's latest time.

One of the interruptions caused to this great work has already been noticed. Another occurred in 1461, when Fra Filippo proceeded to Perugia to value the frescoes of Benedetto Buonfigli in the chapel of the Palazzo del Comune.[2] But these were not the only instances in which the friar neglected his duties at Prato. In November 1463,[3] the representatives of the town met for the purpose of resolving in what manner Fra Filippo could be forced to complete the work for which he had already received part payment;[4] and again, in April 1464, the four deputies elected to audit the painter's accounts reported to the "Magistrato" that there was little chance of his completing the contract unless Messer Carlo de' Medici should interfere and fix the absolute limit of time in which the work should be finished. These incidents have led at least one writer to insinuate[5] that the irregularities of the painter and the natural irritation of the authorities were caused by the consequences of the seduction of Lucretia Buti; but it is only necessary to remark that two facts are clear in the life of Fra Filippo. He was burdened with relatives, and hence, in spite of large earnings, in continual debt. These are fair reasons for charges of irregularity. It is hard indeed to conceive that the protection even of the Medici should have availed to protect Fra Filippo in Prato from the revenge of the nuns of S. Margherita, or of Francesco Buti, if he had been really guilty of the offence which is laid to his charge. It is obvious that, either with or without the interference of Carlo de' Medici, Fra Filippo was finally induced to complete the work of the choir, and thus, that, if justly accused, he must have braved the anger of his enemies.

The last and finest fresco of the series in the Prato cathedral is

[1] BALDANZI, *Pitture di Fra Filippo, ubi sup.*, p. 20.
[2] MARIOTTI, *Lettere Pittoriche, ubi sup.*, p. 132.
[3] November 21. *Diurno della Comunità*, in BALDANZI, *ubi sup.*, p. 13.
[4] Ibid.
[5] BALDANZI, in *Pitture di Fra Filippo, ubi sup.*, p. 14.

clearly that which contains the portrait of Carlo de' Medici, and may have been executed after that prelate had been induced by the representations of the auditors to require of the painter the fulfilment of his obligations. It is the least injured of all those which adorn the walls of the choir, and is one in which the master exhibited in the fullest measure his feeling for colour, his power in the conception and design of majestic forms, his breadth of pictorial treatment. There is a conscious mastery of hand in the bold throw of the colossal figures on the wall, a life and power in the action and in the expression of the faces which reveal the exuberant nature of the artist. The wide nostrils, the tumid lips are depicted by one advanced in the study and reproduction of form. The groups are bound together with some art. But Fra Filippo is still inferior to Giotto and Masaccio in unity of distribution, the quality for which Ghirlandaio after him was grand. The figure of Carlo de' Medici is excellent, and foreshadows the great manner of the sixteenth century, so rich is its nature, so grand and distinguished its mien, so individual the portraiture. The draperies, too, are broad and admirable. "In the group of men who mourn over S. Stephen, Fra Filippo," says Vasari, "painted his own likeness in the black dress of a prelate, with his disciple Fra Diamante."[1] The engravings of this group[2] generally point out the painter as standing at the extreme left rear of those who surround Carlo de' Medici in the fresco described by Vasari. This figure wears a violet skull cap, a black flowered silk mantle, and appears rather to be the chief of the chapter of Prato. Behind this personage, whose right hand is open and raised, whilst his left grasps the end of the cloak thrown over his shoulder, is another, whose head is alone visible, but whose cap is also of violet colour. This is usually declared to be a portrait of Fra Diamante. The costumes alone might suggest a doubt in this respect. But there are other reasons for believing that the portraits are not properly described. The so-called Lippi at Prato is not like the portrait in the altarpiece of S. Ambrogio, now in the Florence Academy of Arts. It is not like the bust on the monument erected to Fra Filippo's memory at Spoleto. There is one figure in the Prato fresco, however, which satisfies all these requirements. It is that of a man at the extreme right of the whole composition, showing to the spectator a full face, a head covered with a black skull cap, and a black dress. This figure is like one in the fresco of the burial of the Virgin at Spoleto, and stands in the same

[1] VASARI, vol. iv., p. 125.

[2] See an engraving of it in *Pitture di Fra Filippo*, by BALDANZI, *ubi sup.*

attitude. Both resemble the bust on the painter's monument at Spoleto. Here, therefore, is the true portrait of Fra Filippo.[1]

The last days of our painter were spent at Spoleto, where he adorned the apsis of the cathedral with scenes from the Life of the Virgin. The same spirit which dictated his arrangement of S. Stephen's Death-bed in the Duomo of Prato was evinced by him in depicting the Death of the Virgin in the hemicycle of the choir of Spoleto. The recumbent Mary on her couch, the apostles reciting the funeral service at her head, the groups of churchmen[2] and angels at her feet, the two mourning females between the couch and the spectator were arranged in the symmetrical form already carried out before. At Spoleto, however, the scene is laid in a platform of rocks, whose spurs extend to the distance, in which the Saviour, in an almond-shaped glory, receives His Mother as a youthful girl to His bosom. The skeleton outlines of this group,[3] which was evidently painted over the distance, suggest some observations as to the technical methods which the artists of Fra Filippo's century, himself included, commonly employed in covering large wall surfaces. They merely applied on a large scale the system familiar to them in the execution of panels. Their mastery in both was due to their constant practice in mural and in panel painting. At a later period the use of oil and varnish mediums confined the activity of most painters to smaller spaces, imposed upon them new cares and minute rules, and accustomed them to leisure. It deprived them of experience in the handling of colours, moistened with fluids other than oil; and thus curtailed their chances of success when they were entrusted with wall spaces to adorn. Buon fresco, it is true, became more general, but its difficulties were greater than those of wall tempera. Still the Florentines were those who most excelled in the practice of buon fresco, because their previous experience had partly initiated them to its difficulties. The Venetians, who confined themselves more especially to oil, were unable to develop their talent in a similar ratio, when they attempted fresco, and were *a fortiori* inferior to the Florentines.

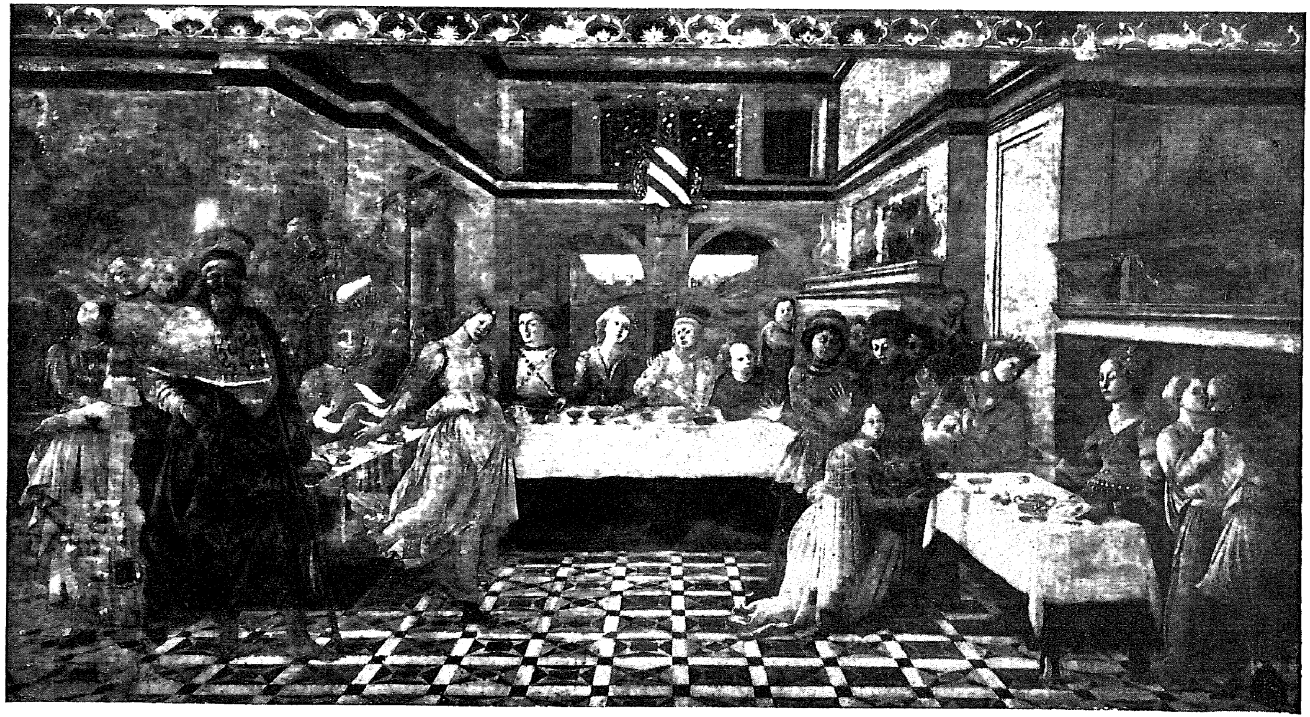
At the sides of the picture of the Virgin's Death in the choir of Spoleto, Fra Filippo depicted the Annunciation and the Nativity.[4] The first is in the spirit of Angelico's conception of the same subject,

[1] As regards Fra Diamante we have no means of judging.

[2] These are four in number. That which is most in front is one to which allusion has been made in foregoing remarks as to the portrait of Fra Filippo Lippi.

[3] The group is in fact obliterated, with the exception of the outlines.

[4] The Annunciation to the left, the Nativity to the right.



DANCE OF SALOME

Brogi.

FRA FILIPPO LIPPI.

Duomo, Prato.

THE NATIVITY

Alinari.

THE DEATH OF THE VIRGIN

FRA FILIPPO LIPPI.

Duomo, Spoleto.

and his pictures are conjured up before the beholder's eyes, when he looks upon the angel presenting himself in the mouth of a portico in the form of those common to the Dominican and to Masolino at Castiglione d' Olona,[1] upon the Virgin's graceful surprise as she receives the message, or upon the Eternal, whose rays fall upon her through a window that lights the gallery. A certain coquetry of surprise, however, brings one back to the reality and to Fra Filippo.[2]

The Nativity recalls to mind the composition of the Louvre altar-piece.[3] It has the same incidental accessories, but the style, being that of the friar, is different. The three angels, kneeling on the clouds, are in the spirit of the Dominican of Fiesole; and the shepherds are not realistic like those of Baldovinetti or of the Peselli.[4]

The semidome of the apsis is filled with a group of the Saviour crowning the Virgin on a throne, in a circular glory, and attendant groups of angels, sibyls, and prophets. The sun which shines above the centre of the composition parts two large figures of angels who overlook the whole scene. Injured by damp, and impaired in value by the loss of entire groups and the repainting of the two angels, whose position has just been described, this fresco is overcharged with figures: yet the mode of placing the principal group, and of introducing the prophets and the sibyls kneeling in the lowest course of the hierarchy, found imitation amongst the painters who soon after signalised their talents in Spoleto and its neighbourhood. Spagna repeated the Coronation at S. Jacopo of Spoleto in 1521, and in company with Vincenzo da S. Gimignano, commonly called "Tamagni," copied the Death of the Virgin in the frescoes at S. Maria of Arone. Fra Filippo's stay at Spoleto may thus be said to have inaugurated an epoch in the Papal State, whilst, on the contrary, the later Umbrian school, which shows no trace of his influence, was impressed unmistakably with the stamp of the inferior talent of Benozzo Gozzoli, a fact which can only be explained on the supposition that the inferior art of Benozzo was more within the reach of the Umbrians than the nobler style of the Carmelite.

After Spagna had moulded his manner in a measure upon that of Fra Filippo, Bernardino Campilius of Spoleto followed his example

[1] A small and pretty Annunciation, in the style of Fra Filippo, is in the sacristy of the collegiate church of Castiglione d' Olona.

[2] The distance is a garden whose trees are seen above the wall of the court. The wings of the announcing angel are gone, as are likewise the blues of the Eternal's and Virgin's draperies.

[3] [No. 1343.]

[4] The blues here also are all injured. The angels are finely preserved; but the green dress of the central one is repainted in the lights.

and displayed a mixture of the styles of Fra Filippo and Spagna. Later painters all followed the latter.

But in conclusion, and before leaving the frescoes of Lippi at Spoleto, one may say of the whole series that it was produced to a certain extent under unfavourable circumstances, arising out of the inevitable curves of the spaces which form the apsis. Still, though the compositions might have been better, there are many groups, in the Coronation especially, which are well conceived, and many pretty incidents, amongst which those of angels handing flowers to each other may be numbered. Lippi's special charm of colour is not to be found in paintings whose state is more than usually bad. But some parts have been sufficiently preserved, to show that the execution was more hasty than usual. Fra Filippo, it must be remembered, did not finish these frescoes; and Fra Diamante is known to have received two hundred ducats for his share in completing them in 1470.[1] Means are not at hand for deciding the part taken by each of the artists individually, but it is evident on a consideration of the whole series that it is inferior to that of the Prato Duomo.

Fra Filippo died at Spoleto in 1469,[2] poisoned, according to Vasari, by the relatives of a lady who had already taken the place of Lucretia Buti in the affections of the amorous friar;[3] and (to celebrate his vices ?) a monument was erected some years later by Filippino Lippi at the expense of Lorenzo de' Medici, in the cathedral of Spoleto. The epitaph of a monk supposed to have been guilty of infamous moral conduct was written by the witty Politian.

Before parting, however, with Fra Filippo a duty still remains to be performed. We must bring together a concise catalogue of such of his works as have not found a place in the narrative of his life. This catalogue may begin with notices of his pictures in Italian galleries :—

Florence. Academy of Arts. [*No.* 55.] Originally in S. Croce, with a predella by Pesellino, and therefore executed before 1457, the date of Pesellino's death. Subject, the Virgin and Child, between SS. Francis, Damian, Cosma and Anthony of Padua. This work is not one of the best of the master.

[*Nos.* 263, 264.] Fragment representing the Virgin Annunciate and S. Anthony, the angel and S. John the Baptist.[4]

[1] *Note* 2 to VASARI, vol. iv., p. 128.

[2] The register of his death is in the books of the Carmine, where it seems to have been written after the erection of the tomb at Spoleto. See the original record in *note* to VASARI, vol. iv., p. 128.

[3] VASARI, vol. iv., pp. 128–9.

[4] [No. 54] in the same collection, representing a S. Jerome, is not by Fra Filippo. It has the character of [No. 91], a S. Jerome [No. 89], a S. John the

Florence. Uffizi. [*No.* 1307.] Originally in the chapel of the Casa Medici.[1] A very fine example. The Virgin, half life size, is seated on the left, and with joined hands, adores the infant Saviour, held up to her by two angels. This picture is composed on the pyramidal principle already described. The types are as choice as the composition is fine, and there is much feeling in the expression of the Virgin. The colour is bright, soft and clear.

An admirable drawing of this picture, by Fra Filippo himself, is in the Uffizi collection on coloured paper, with lights touched in white. The same composition, with the exception that the Infant is presented to the Virgin by one angel, and that the Virgin is not in prayer, but in the act of taking the Child, is in the *Chiesa degli Innocenti (sacristy) at Florence.*[2]

Florence. Casa Alessandri, Borgo degli Albizzi. Here is a round (originally a square) representing S. Lorenzo enthroned between SS. Cosma and Damian. In front to the left are two youths kneeling. In front to the right an aged person kneeling. The gold of this picture is new and the figures are more or less restored. Two full-length saints, originally part of the picture in its old state, are in the rooms of the same gallery, in a very bad state.[3] The picture is that noted by Vasari[4] as painted by commission of Messer Alessandro degli Alessandri for his chapel at Vincigliata.

Florence. Gallery of Prince Strozzi. A picture by the master representing the Annunciation, arranged in the style of Angelico, with the usual portico and a pretty landscape. A small but injured example.

Florence. S. Lorenzo. The Annunciation, noted by Vasari,[5] is one of the fine works of the master, but injured and necessarily restored. In the predella are three scenes from the Life of the Virgin. This altarpiece in the Cappella Martelli is mentioned by Albertini.[6] Another picture in the same church, mentioned both by Vasari and Albertini, is not now to be found.[7]

Rome. Doria Gallery. Here is an Annunciation with figures three-fourths the life size, executed with some religious feeling, but somewhat

Baptist, assigned to Andrea del Castagno (see *antea*). All three, however, are in the style of the decline of Filippino. [Mr. Berenson ascribes the S. Jerome (No. 54) to Alunno di Domenico. See *infra*, p. 471, *note*.]

[1] [See *supra*, p. 324, *note* 4.]

[2] [No. 1179], at the Uffizi, representing S. Augustine in study, is certainly not by Fra Filippo, but is either by Filippino or Botticelli. The subject is that of a picture mentioned by VASARI (vol. iv., p. 126). Two other pictures at the Uffizi Gallery assigned to the school of Fra Filippo—a Virgin and Child and a bust picture of the same subject—will be noticed later in Botticelli.

[3] [S. Anthony Abbot and a Bishop. All these are genuine works of the master.]

[4] Vol. iv., p. 126.

[5] Vol. iv., p. 120.

[6] *Memoriale, ubi sup.*, p. 126.

[7] Ibid., ibid. Vasari notes an Annunciation executed at Fiesole, which he praises highly (vol. iv., p. 112), another executed for Jacopo Bellucci at S. Jacopo of Pistoia (vol. iv., p. 125), and mentioned by Tolomei as in Casa Braciolini at Pistoia (*Guida*, p. 17), and since sold. Another in the convent of the Murate (VASARI, vol. iv., p. 119), for which see text *postea*.

slight in execution. The flesh tones are a little flat; and the work may have been executed in Fra Filippo's atelier with the aid of pupils.[1]

Turin. Academy of Fine Arts. [*No.* 140.] Two bishops. [*No.* 141.] A bishop, S. Anthony abbot, all but life size, assigned to Giovenone (part of a picture). These pieces are much injured, but are by Lippi, some of whose defects are prominent enough.

Munich Gallery. [*No.* 1005.] A life-size Annunciation in the spirit[2] of Angelico, much injured.

Munich Gallery. [*No.* 1007.] The Annunciation is here again represented in the same feeling as the foregoing. The angel kneels before the Virgin, the Eternal sends down the dove of the Holy Ghost, and to the left a figure appears about to enter. This much damaged piece may be an early creation of Fra Filippo. It answers Richa's description of an altarpiece in the convent of the Murate at Florence.[3]

Munich Gallery. [*No.* 1006.] Half-length Virgin and Child almost life size, a genuine work of the master.

Berlin Museum. [*No.* 58.] A half-length of the Virgin and Child in an arched niche, a picture of Fra Filippo which corresponds with Vasari's description of one at Florence in the "Magistrato degli Otto."[4]

Berlin Museum. [*No.* 95.] A Virgin of Mercy, with numerous figures under her cloak, whose sides are held up by two angels. A genuine work of the master.

Berlin Museum. [*No.* 1131.] A mutilated piece of a picture representing S. Francis handing a book to a kneeling nun, with four kneeling companions (nuns) on one side, and five more on the other. A picture of feeble execution.

Berlin Museum. [*No.* 94.] Meeting of the youthful Christ and S. John, feeble landscape picture, perhaps produced in the school.[5]

London. National Gallery. [*No.* 589.] The Virgin Mary is seated, and an angel presents the infant Christ to her. This fine picture, whose composition is akin to that of the Uffizi [*No.* 1307], and to that in the Chiesa degli Innocenti at Florence, is drawn and coloured differently from those of Fra Filippo. Its style shows it to be by one who issued from the school of the Carmelite, and who wavers between the manner of Filippino and that of Botticelli.

London. National Gallery. [*No.* 586.] This altarpiece, lately in the Ugo Baldi Collection, was there, erroneously, asserted to be by Fra Filippo and once in S. Spirito of Florence (a fact asserted also by the annotators of Vasari.[6] It may have been originally in S. Spirito, but it is not by Fra Filippo, and is therefore not the Barbadori altarpiece.

[1] [This is a very charming work—certainly by Fra Filippo himself.]

[2] [An early work.]

[3] Richa, *Chiese, ubi sup.*, vol. ii., p. 109.

[4] Vasari, vol. iv., pp. 125–6.

[5] [No. 72] of this Gallery, a Coronation of the Virgin, with the usual choirs of angels and saints, is not by Fra Filippo. It displays the style and manner, the colour and tempera of a follower of Botticelli and Filippino. It is of the class usually called Cosimo Rosselli in galleries.

[6] Vasari, vol. iv., p. 119, *note* 4.

It bears the stamp of the school of Fra Filippo, with a mixture of characteristic features peculiar to the manner of Benozzo Gozzoli. We shall revert to this work when treating of certain subordinate painters who acted as assistants to divers masters.

London. Mr. Barker's Collection. Circular picture, representing the Adoration of the Kings. The Virgin, to the right, is seated in front of a pent-house on the top of which a peacock suns itself. One of the kings kisses the Infant's foot and the procession extends into the distance, where various incidents are depicted.[1] The composition is exceedingly rich and varied, and reveals in the artist a great proficiency in rendering nude. The manner is quite that of Fra Filippo, whilst the searching manner in which flesh parts are studied, reminds one of the efforts of Pesellino when he made an approach to Fra Filippo's manner, supposing always to be true the statement, that Pesellino's works might at times be taken for the friar's. Further we find here a luxurious use of episodes which might inspire such a painter as Benozzo Gozzoli.

Lord Ward's Collection. Dudley House. Here is a Virgin adoring the Child, probably by a pupil of Masolino. Indeed, the work is assigned at Dudley House to the latter.

Oxford Gallery. A Pilgrimage of the Virgin to the Temple of Veii is much in Fra Filippo's manner, but bears marks also of his school.

The following works in the hands of English collectors may be noticed because they are catalogued under Fra Filippo's name. They are, however, only Florentine of the period, akin more or less to the productions of the Carmelite, of Benozzo Gozzoli, and Botticelli.

Mr. Maitland. Originally in the Ottley Collection, and No. 43 *at Manchester Exhibition.* SS. Peter and John Healing the Lame.

Sir John Boileau. Manchester, No. 44. Story of Jupiter and Calisto.

Liverpool Institution. Manchester, No, 45–46. Predellas with scenes from the legend of S. Sebastian.

Mr. J. W. Brett. Manchester, No. 47. Virgin, Child and Angels.

Rosini engraves as a work of Fra Filippo a picture in the gallery of Pisa representing the Virgin and Child between two angels and four saints (life size), with the bust of a female in foreground. This is a creation due to a painter of the close of the fifteenth and rise of the sixteenth century, of whom a few words may be said at a later time. Vasari says that pictures by Fra Filippo were preserved at Padua,[2] and the "Anonimo" confirms this, describing a fresco of the Coronation of the Virgin, on the first pilaster to the left of the portal in S. Antonio of Padua, and frescoes

[1] This picture seems the same which DR. WAAGEN, *Treasures,* vol. iii., p. 3, notices in the collection of Mr. Maitland, and omits in the collection of Mr. Barker.

[This very beautiful picture, one of Fra Filippo's earlier works, is now in the collection of Sir Francis Cook, at Richmond. In the same collection are two fine figures of SS. Michael and Anthony Abbot. There Morelli notes, as more strongly visible than in any other picture by the master, the influence of Fra Angelico. (*Cf. Della Pittura Italiana,* Rome, 1897, p. 75, *note.*) Morelli insists upon Fra Angelico and Masaccio as the real masters of Fra Filippo.]

[2] Vol. iv., pp. 120–1.

in the Cappella del Podestà.[1] Were these statements of the "Anonimo" confirmed, it would appear that the Fra laboured in Padua. But the absence of the frescoes in question, and, indeed, of every trace of the friar's presence, leaves the matter uncertain.

A number of productions in existence at Vasari's time, or noticed by earlier and later writers, are lost to us. Of these a short list may be made as follows: Florence, Carmine, a S. John Baptist and a S. Martial.[2] Convent of the Murate, altarpiece representing scenes from the lives of SS. Benedict and Bernard.[3] SS. Apostoli, Virgin and Saints.[4] Casa Lodovico Capponi, Virgin and Child.[5] Guardaroba del Duca Cosimo, S. Jerome in prayer.[6] Fiesole, S. M. Primerana, Annunciation.[7] S. M. Nuova, two altarpieces.[8] S. Trinità, an altarpiece.[9] S. M. de' Candeli, Annunciation.[10] S. Croce, Cappella de' Pazzi.[11] Perugia, S. Domenico Vecchio, Virgin between SS. Peter, Paul, Louis and Anthony Abbot.[12] In S. Domenico now are four figures of SS. Peter, Paul, Peter Martyr and Catherine in two panels, further a panel representing the Virgin and Child and four injured angels playing. These works, in the feeling of Fra Filippo, are by Benedetto Buonfigli.[13] A picture assigned by Orsini to Fra Filippo[14] is by Fra Giovanni.[15] Rome, two small pictures.[16]

Fra Diamante, one of Fra Filippo's assistants and contemporaries, survived the friar and took charge of Filippino Lippi. He had been a novice in the Carmine of Florence, and spent his life apparently in the same connection with Lippi as Mariotto Albertinelli with Fra Bartolommeo. We have seen that he finished the frescoes of Spoleto. It is on record also that he worked at Prato, and Vasari declares that he took part in the adornment of the cathedral choir and left numerous works behind in the Carmine.[17] It is of interest to note that early in 1463 (old style), Fra Diamante was ordered to Florence and confined there by order of his superior. Such an incident in the life of Fra Filippo might not have caused surprise to the reader. Is it possible that the anecdotes which relate to Fra Diamante should be told of his brother friar? If Fra Diamante were then an assistant to Fra Filippo, his forced absence in 1463 may have been the true cause of the delay incurred by the latter in finishing the frescoes of the choir. In January 1463 (old style) the Commune of Prato petitioned the Patriarch of Florence to set Fra Diamante at liberty, but we cannot tell whether this petition was granted. The friar afterwards joined

[1] ANONIMO, ed. Morelli, *ubi sup.*, pp. 5 and 28.
[2] VASARI, vol. iv., p. 116.
[3] Ibid., p. 119.
[4] Ibid., p. 120.
[5] Ibid., p. 126.
[6] Ibid., p. 126.
[7] Ibid., p. 119.
[8] ALBERTINI, *Mem.*, p. 13.
[9] Ibid., p. 14.
[10] RICHA, *Chiese*, vol. ii., p. 294.
[11] Ibid., vol. i., p. 109.
[12] VASARI, vol. iv., p. 126.
[13] See *postea*.
[14] See *Guida di Perugia*.
[15] See *antea*.
[16] VASARI, vol. iv., p. 121.
[17] Ibid., vol. iv., p. 127.

Fra Filippo at Spoleto, as we have seen, and returned after finishing his work there to Prato, where (1470, May 24) he completed a portrait with the arms of the Podestà, Cesare Petrucci, in the portico of the Palazzo de' Signori.[1] It is not possible to distinguish this painter's hand in the frescoes of the choir of Prato or in those of Spoleto, nor is the fresco of the Palazzo preserved. We may assume, however, that the assistant had worked himself into a style not unlike that of his master; and one picture, which hung of old in the Cappella Dragomanni of the Carmine at Prato, and is now in possession of Signor Grissato Berti, may have been produced by him. This piece represents a full-length S. Jerome beating his breast with a stone, whilst, at his sides, half concealed by the rocks of the middle distance, stand S. John the Baptist and another saint.[2] This is a piece of spare, flat, and light, though dull, colour, reproducing Filippo's manner in an inferior degree, and exhibiting the development of defects of which the germ only can be found in Lippi. The forms and draperies are feeble and rudely drawn, the best figure being that of S. Jerome. If the picture be a genuine production of Fra Diamante it shows that he possessed little but subordinate capacity. We note, however, at this time the frequency with which artists, entitled to lead as chiefs of schools, employed assistants who attached themselves to any painter who consented to employ them, and who adopted for the time the manner of the painter in whose employ they remained. Under the influence of their superiors, these wanderers sometimes produced pieces superior to their usual creations. Such an artist is Zenobio Macchiavelli, long assistant to Benozzo Gozzoli, whose works prove him to have studied in the shop of Fra Filippo, and whose career may be noticed later. Of Jacopo del Sellaio, who was, according to Vasari, one of the Fra's aids, no works are known. Some incidents of his life may be gathered from the commentators of the last edition of Vasari.[3] As for Botticelli and Pesellino, they are men whose career deserves special attention.

[1] See the facts and records in *Gior. Stor. degli Archivi Tosc.*, *ubi sup.*, vol. ii., p. 248.

[2] The first to the left prays; the second, to the right, holds a palm and a heart.

[This picture is now in the possession of Mr. E. Waldo Forbes, at Cambridge, U.S.A. (See PERKINS, in *Rassegna d'Arte* (Milan), for May, 1905, pp. 65, 66).]

[3] *Note* to vol. iv., p. 128. On Sellaio, *cf.* MARY LOGAN, *Sellajo*, in *Gazette des Beaux Arts*. A list of Lippo's pictures is given by MR. BERENSON, *Florentine Painters* (1907), p. 123. To this I would add the pictures at Prato spoken of above, a Virgin and Child recently discussed by Pozzi, and Sir F. Cook's Adoration of Magi (Horne, *op. cit.*, p. 37).

CHAPTER XVI

THE PESELLI

We have traced the progress of innovation in the Florentine art of the fifteenth century through some of its most important phases. The peculiarities of Uccello Castagno and Domenico Veneziano have been noted as far as the natural difficulties of the subject would allow. We have watched the development of Fra Filippo's career, and illustrated the variety of his style as affected by the tendencies of his age; and we have sufficiently described the technical processes of his art to show that, whilst he perfected the old system of panel-painting, he kept aloof from those who strove to supersede the old system by a new one. The poorness of the materials for a life of Domenico Veneziano forbids the historian to venture on the task of explaining the substance of the efforts made in the fifteenth century to alter the old systems of panel painting. But this task is only adjourned, and claims performance when the natural lapse of time brings us to the consideration of the works of the Peselli, Baldovinetti and the Pollaiuoli.

We shall presently attempt to clear the lives of the first of these painters from some obscurities, dwelling on the peculiar obstacles which impede the critic in assigning a series of remarkable productions to the one or to the other of them. But before proceeding to the performance of this duty, the complex of the works of both may be embraced in a general view for the purpose of laying down certain broad and general facts which follow from a critical analysis of them.[1]

In the first place we discern that the technical mode of proceeding which these artists employed, partook at once of the nature of the old one familiar to the painters of the fourteenth and earlier centuries, and a new one, remarkable for the introduction of oils or varnishes as vehicles for colour. It was a method which naturally enough sacrificed some of the advantages of the old system without possessing those which were but gradually won from the application of the new, so that the panel pictures of Fra Filippo and others, executed, as we shall see, by Pesellino in the system of the Frate, are more pleasing

[1] [For all that concerns the Peselli, see Weisbach, *Francesco Pesellino* (Berlin, 1901).]

to the eye than those of Peselli, Baldovinetti, or even, as improved, of the Pollaiuoli.

It will further appear from a careful study of examples that the use of the new vehicles was at first visible more particularly in draperies, accessories, and landscape, the difficulties attending the extension of them to flesh parts being at first almost insurmountable; because the imperfect nature of the method and of the substances used did not afford the same amount of time or of ease for stippling and fusing the parts as were to be found in tempera, and because the system of glazing with transparent or semi-transparent colour which came into use subsequently was not as yet thought of. The first innovators were therefore obliged, on account of the imperfect means at their command, to prepare and to apply for flesh parts a tone of the exact tinge which they required, and which was to remain afterwards comparatively unaltered. This tone, impregnated with a medium, hard to manipulate because of its viscous texture, was laid on at one throw, and when dry, was covered in the necessary parts with darker ones of a liquid and transparent nature after the manner practised in tempera; hence a raised surface, betraying the fatigue of manipulation. The same cause which created a high surface in flesh parts naturally worked with still greater force in draperies, in landscapes, and other accessorial parts, where the superposed tones, instead of being liquid, were laid on, especially in shadows, with impasto. We shall thus find in the works that shall be noticed, flesh tints of a hard, horny, yet translucid substance evidently so tough that they could not be brought perfectly to cover the parts within the outlines, and therefore allowing the preparatory coloured sketch to be seen; and the general result will appear to be the production in flesh parts of an equal yellowish colour of a low key, frequently lacking light and transparence, and unrelieved by sufficient rounding because of the difficulty incurred in the attempt to model the parts.

The imperfection visible in the flesh was equally apparent in the hair, to produce which the painter, anxious for the preservation of a necessary lightness in order that he might give the head rotundity and relief, used either the white or lightly-tinted ground of the panel as a local tone over which he minutely drew a succession of lines strengthened in the darker parts by deeper and more marked ones engraved in the surface. Landscapes betrayed the imperfection of the system in a slighter degree, as they required less light. The sky was frequently painted in tempera, but when executed in the newer system exhibited the same defects as the flesh. Draperies, always

of lower tones than the flesh, were coloured in strong primaries, as much for the purpose of giving light by contrast to the nude parts as for any other reason; and they show the imperfection of the system less than others. They were painted at once of half body with high surface shadows and often with high surface lights.

The peculiar technical process of the Peselli being thus generally defined, we may now pass to the discussion of the facts connected with their lives, and to a more precise description of the works which they produced.

Amongst the painters whom the generous Cosimo de' Medici protected, Giuliano d'Arrigo di Giuocolo Giuochi, commonly known as Pesello,[1] is well worthy of arresting the attention of history.

Born at Florence,[2] in 1367, before Masolino or Fra Giovanni, before Brunelleschi, and earlier than any of the naturalists he was the contemporary of Agnolo Gaddi, with whom he was adjoined in 1390 by the superintendents of S. M. del Fiore, for the purpose of designing a funeral monument to Pietro da Farnese.[3] He was a child of the fourteenth century. He might have witnessed the death of Taddeo Gaddi, have heard the praises of Giovanni da Milano or of Orcagna. He lived and laboured in the Giottesque period. On these grounds alone one might class him amongst the Giottesques. But the records in which his name has been preserved point to works of architecture and sculpture as well as to works of painting. He took the freedom of the Grocers' Company in 1385.[4] A marble figure of S. Jerome, carved in 1398 by Piero di Giovanni for the front of S. M. del Fiore, was valued by him, by the goldsmith Simone, and by the painter Neri d'Antonio.[5] The frieze of the tabernacle of the Arte di Calimala in a pilaster of Orsanmichele was modelled by him in 1414–16.[6] He competed for the erection of the cupola of S. M. del Fiore in 1419, and presented a model of his scheme, which was not accepted,[7] but in 1420 the superintendents of the edifice recognised his talent as an architect by appointing him Brunelleschi's substitute in the office of *provveditore*, in the event of that great artist's death, resignation or removal. He was thus retained for eventual service during several

[1] Giuliano's return to the income-tax for 1427, published in *Giornale Stor. degli Archivi Toscani*, 1862, p. 31, contains as an item on the debtor side, 14 flor. due to Cosimo de' Medici, being part of a sum advanced by that nobleman for the marriage of one of Giuliano's daughters.

[2] *Vide* his own statement in income-tax return of 1427, *ubi sup.*

[3] Baldinucci, *Opere, ubi sup.*, vol. v., p. 198.

[4] June 27. See the record in *Giornale Stor., ubi sup.*, p. 13.

[5] *Giornale Stor., ubi sup.*, p. 14.

[6] Ibid.

[7] Cesare Guasti, *Cupola di S. M. del Fiore illustrata* (Florence, 1857), pp. 25, 26–33.

years; and made a model of the Catena of the cupola in 1424.[1] On the other hand he executed some commissions as a painter, furnishing the flags for the interior of S. Giovanni in 1414–16,[2] and a standard for the Arte di Calimala in 1424,[3] and finishing, in 1430, an Annunciation which Giovanni Toscani had commenced on commission from Simone Buondelmonte.[4] His name, however, only appears on the register of the Florentine Painters' Guild in 1424.[5] His return to the income-tax for the year 1427 has been recently discovered; and this record is of importance, as it rectifies much that Vasari relates respecting one whom he calls Francesco Peselli.[6] Giuliano lived in the Via di Borgo San Frediano, but his shop was in the Corso degli Adimari. His wife, Mona Bartolomea, had given him but two daughters, one of them having lost her husband, the painter Stefano, previous to 1427, the other, Caterina, aged eleven at the time of the return. Giuliano's son-in-law left his widow in bad circumstances, and their son Francesco di Stefano, a child five years old in 1428,[7] remained in the family of his grandfather. When he grew up he became known as Pesellino, a painter of some fame. Vasari confounds the names, the relationship, the works of the two painters; and the confusion which he thus created is all but inextricable at the present day. The shop from which the pictures assigned to the Peselli were sent out into the world was that of Giuliano. The works known to have been executed by Giuliano are, however, not preserved, and history contains no source from which the student can derive any certainty as to the authorship of paintings executed either separately or jointly by him and his grandson. All that is certainly known amounts to this: that Francesco di Stefano remained in the family shop till the death of Giuliano in 1446[8] (new style), and that he carried on business in the same atelier till June 29, 1457, when he died at the early age of thirty-five.[9] The kindly Giuliano, who thus brought up his grandson to his own profession, can hardly have derived much benefit from Francesco's services till he reached the age of eighteen or twenty, so that Pesellino's active duties in the shop may date from the year 1442 or

[1] CESARE GUASTI, *Cupola di S. M. del Fiore illustrata*, pp. 36, 72. See also MORENI, *Vita di Brunellesco*.

[2] *Giornale Stor., ubi sup.*, p. 14. [3] Ibid. [4] Ibid.

[5] [He was inscribed among the painters of the Campagnia di S. Luca in 1421. *Cf* MILANESI, in Vasari, 1876, vol. iii., p. 41 *et seq.*]

[6] *Giornale Stor., ubi sup.*, p. 29.

[7] Thus Francesco di Stefano, commonly called Pesellino, was born in 1422, the year of Baldovinetti's birth.

[8] He was buried in the Carmine of Florence.

[9] He was buried in S. Felice in Piazza, leaving behind his widow Mona Tarsia and children of tender age. For this and the previous note, see register of deaths, in *Giornale Stor., ubi sup.*, p. 15.

thereabouts. Giuliano then celebrated his seventy-fifth birthday. It is therefore but fair to suppose that such works as were completed at that time were by the younger of the two artists under the direction of the older. This belief, suggested by the great age of Giuliano, might perhaps be confirmed, if it were possible to find the dates of the paintings assigned to the Peselli. These dates are not to be obtained, but it is remarkable of such works, as may now be noticed, that they bear the clear trace of innovations in art extensively carried out only about the middle of the fifteenth century under the auspices of Paolo Uccello and Andrea del Castagno. They may be in a measure the creations of Giuliano. But in this case we note the uncommon phenomenon of an artist bred up when Giottesque maxims were in vogue, turning with apparent ease to the naturalism of later painters of an innovating class. Such a phenomenon may have appeared; but it would have been highly interesting to watch its development, and, in the absence of means to that end, we obviously remain deprived of a key for explaining Giuliano's career. We are in the dark as to his original teacher; and Vasari is wrong when he gives that title to Andrea del Castagno.[1] But what is clearly untrue of Giuliano may be partially true of Francesco. As regards him in particular, Vasari is right when he says he imitated Fra Filippo.[2] He is in the truth, if we accept as works of Francesco the predella of Lippi's altarpiece, now divided between the Florence Academy of Arts[3] and the Gallery of the Louvre.[4] Vasari is confirmed in his judgment as to the authorship of this piece by the older authority of Albertini,[5] whose memorial, addressed to the sculptor Baccio da Montelupo, neglects Giuliano altogether. In this, however, he is followed by Giovanni Santi, who mentions in the same line,

"*Frate Filippo e Francesco Peselli,*"[6]

Whatever may have been Giuliano's deserts in the advancement of painting, it is clear, from the expressions of contemporary artist-writers that they were overshadowed by those of his grandson. The pictures which Vasari assigns to either, prove that he had justly criticised their style and execution; and his observation as to the truth and life apparent in the reproduction of animals may be echoed at the present day, as they were of old by Filarete,[7] who assigns to

[1] VASARI, vol. iv., p. 181. Born 1390, twenty-three years after Giuliano.
[2] VASARI, vol. iv., p. 180.
[3] [No. 72, Florence Academy.]
[4] [No. 1414, Louvre Cat.]
[5] VASARI, vol. iv., pp. 182–3; and ALBERTINI, *Memoriale, ubi sup.*, p. 14.
[6] *Vide* PUNGILEONI'S *Elogio Stor. di Gio. Santi, ubi sup.*, p 73.
[7] MS. *Trattato del Architettura, ubi sup.;* but see also VASARI, vol. iv., *note* 3 to p. 183.

Giuliano a special mastery in representing quadrupeds. The first picture to which Vasari alludes is an Adoration of the Magi commissioned for the Palazzo de' Signori at Florence and long considered lost.[1] Lanzi's assertion [2] that it was preserved in the Uffizi is correct and the student may still see it in the first passage,[3] a long piece containing about thirty small figures of the Magi and their suite, knights on horseback in rich costumes of the time, servants, hawkers and dogs, in a landscape simulating a rich country. The right-hand group of the Virgin and Child, with the adoring king on his knees before her, and S. Joseph in front of the pent-house, displays some vulgarity, and is not improved by the dulness consequent on restoration.[4] The kings and their immediate retainers carrying presents, gesticulating or conversing, are followed on the extreme left by the knights and pages of the suite with all the cumbrous accompaniments of princes in the fifteenth century. We see, in fact, in this work of the Peselli the gradual alteration of a time-honoured composition from its typical and, so to speak, sacred form into a modern scene, in which the scriptural nature of the subject merges into a sort of genre-picture where the country, the people, the manners and customs of the Florence of the period are represented. The landscape is remarkable also for its excessive study of details and for the minute drawing of trees whose leaves are defined and painted in with the relief colour peculiar to the first Florentine efforts for the introduction of oil vehicles in tempera pictures.

The general tone is darkened and altered by time and necessary restoring; and single heads in their primitive state are scarcely to be found; but the remains prove a most careful execution. The chief merit of the picture, however, is the portrait character of the figures, which are faithful imitations of nature, and exhibit the germ of the defects peculiar to the realists who, like Andrea del Castagno, substituted studied but unselect forms for the more dignified but less studied ones of older times. Hardly one of the figures in this Adoration of the Magi but displays imperfect proportions, a heavy head, short waist, and long coarse legs. But this could scarcely be otherwise, unless a painter idealised; for to the usual imperfection of the human frame, the disadvantage of a peculiar dress was superadded. The animal world was better or more happily rendered by the Peselli, whose study of the horse or dog was clearly fortunate in its results.

[1] VASARI, vol. iv., p. 181. [2] Vol. i., *His., ubi sup.*, p. 80.
[3] [No. 65 in the Sala di Leonardo. This is a work of Cosimo Rosselli, to whom it was first ascribed by Morelli.]
[4] This part is the most restored of all.

We thus possess a picture corresponding to the idea of the Peselli which a reader might derive from the narrative of Vasari.[1] If it be by Giuliano d' Arrigo, we must assign it to the close of his career. He may then justly claim the honour of having been one of the best animal painters of his day, and of having given an impulse which was imparted to other Florentines. The education of Benozzo Gozzoli, who mingled the simplicity of Angelico with the pomp of the naturalists, may thus be explained.

A series of frescoes, representing scenes from the lives of SS. Benedict and Joseph, in the loggia of the Palazzo Rucellai at Florence,[2] has a natural connection with the foregoing picture. They are slight, bold works of hasty execution and animated movement thrown on a ground of light verde which forms the semitones, shadowed with deeper verde, touched with white in the lights and darkly outlined. They produce an impression similar to that which might be created by a work on coloured paper. The subjects are composed with some ease and spirit, and the figures are grouped familiarly as if in converse, without a rigid regard for grandeur of distribution. Individually, the persons represented are realistically drawn with carefully studied, but coarse muscular limbs and extremities, short waists and long legs. The curly locks and caps of the time, involved zigzag draperies inferior to similar ones in Castagno and Uccello, may be noticed, together with some types of head reminiscent, as regards character, of those in Fra Filippo's pictures. The painted architecture in some of the scenes is not without perspective; and some panelled ceilings chequered in black and yellow remind one of the manner of Uccello, and reveal the progress of the science in the fifteenth century. Whether by Giuliano or not, this is at least interesting as a wall painting of his school.

The altarpiece of the Annunciation mentioned by Vasari[3] is still in the sisterhood of S. Giorgio (now Chiesa dello Spirito Santo) at Florence.[4] The meeting takes place under a double arch, screened off by a wall of coloured marble from a garden whose orange-trees and cypresses overtop the entablature. A bed of roses ornaments the

[1] A picture in the late Bromley Collection, assigned there to Cosimo Rosselli, and exhibited at Manchester (No. 63), may be taken as an inferior work in the style of the foregoing, and considered as of the school. It represents the Virgin and Child between SS. John the Baptist and Andrew (life size) and is inscribed: "MCCCCXXXXIII DIE XXVIII NOVEMBRIS, SS. BARTHOLOMMEO ZENOBIUS."

The figures have the slender length of those of the Uffizi, with still more vulgar types of face. The colour is sombre and the execution common. The date alone shows the name of Cosimo Rosselli to be false. He was only born in 1439.

[2] Via di Vigna Nuova. [3] Vol. iv., p. 182. [4] [Now in Uffizi, No. 56.]

base of the screen, in front of which the Virgin appears before the spectator and turns from a stand-desk before her to greet the Angel Gabriel, who with his arms crossed on his bosom, strides in with a long step.[1] The composition and the figures seem the conscientious work of a youthful artist; and the angel's darting movement, fine profile and crisp curling locks remind one of Raphael's in the predella at the Vatican. The juvenile Virgin is less pleasing, and a certain triviality prevails in expression as in features.[2] The drawing of the figure, the meandering curls and transparent veil are peculiarities to be found in the works of Alesso Baldovinetti. A characteristic feature in the picture is, however, its technical execution. The high surface colour, of a translucid substance, has a tough texture and is bounded by outlines which define every part, however minute, down to the leaves and fruit of the trees. Pure colours give a decisive key of tone. The hair is minutely lined on a very light undertone. The flesh, requiring a greater fusion of different tints, is least successfully carried out and appears of a yellowish coffee tone. The treatment and vehicles differ from those in previous use, and seem to preclude the practice of stippling; and it is only on very close inspection that one sees the lines of a minute brush in the flesh tints. A viscous medium is obviously used. The picture discloses, in fact, something of the effort which Vasari ascribes to the Peselli and Baldovinetti in view of altering the old practice of panel painting.[3] It proves that Italian artists were already seeking to discover the course pursued with unwavering certainty and success by the Van Eycks.[4]

A more developed art, but a style and system similar to those of the S. Giorgio altarpiece, are displayed in a beautiful predella, representing three scenes from the legend of S. Nicholas, in the Buonarotti collection at Florence. Vasari noticed it in its original resting-place, the Cappella Cavalcanti in S. Croce. And its interest is great as showing not only the advance made by the Peselli, but the different mode in which subjects often treated by the Giottesques were conceived by the painters of the fifteenth century.[5] The father and two

[1] The Virgin holds up her blue mantle with her left hand; a transparent veil is on her head. The angel wears a red tunic and yellow buskins. The figures are about a third less than life size.

[2] The hands too are cramped and uneasy.

[3] VASARI, vol. iv., p. 74.

[4] The drawing of every part in the picture of S. Giorgio is firm, fine and precise. [This picture is now in the Uffizi, No. 56, Sala IV., Tuscan School. It is by Baldovinetti. *Cf.* MORELLI, *Italian Painters* (Murray, 1900), vol. i., p. 257. Dr. Bode and Mr. Berenson agree with Morelli.]

[5] [This is an early work by Francesco Pesellino. *Cf.* MORELLI, *Italian Painters*[2] (Murray, 1900), vol. i., p. 255, who says it is his earliest. BERENSON and WEISBACH, *ubi cit.*, agree.]

of his daughters sleep on seats or on the ground in various parts of a large enclosed space, whilst the third daughter, standing behind her parent in surprise, witnesses the miracle performed by the youthful S. Nicholas, who throws the pieces from outside. The form and action of the saint, his fine head decked with curly locks, are admirable. Considerable movement marks the figures in the reprieve of the three youths, in which are some fine forms of soldiers in armour on horseback, and a breeze is seen playing in the folds of the flags. The third scene illustrates a phase of the same reprieve, S. Nicholas, followed by his suite, and spectators, being visible on the left,[1] receiving the thanks of the youths, who have not taken time to resume their dresses. There may be a want of balance in the arrangement of this compartment, but the nudes exhibit a more advanced study of anatomy than that of previous examples, although the unselect character of the nature reproduced is as apparent as ever.[2]

Another predella originally in S. Piero Maggiore and now in Casa Alessandri at Florence, representing four scenes from the legends of S. Benedict and other saints, has been too much injured and repainted to justify a decided opinion. The remains would suggest, however, a hand and method different from the foregoing and more akin to those of Benozzo Gozzoli.[3]

The progress of a style which we now justifiably call that of the Peselli may be further traced in a Trinity, fortunately secured for the National Gallery, and last in the collection of the late Mr. Bromley. Originally, as is believed, in a church at Pistoia, and shorn of the side panels,[4] it displays an advance on the character of the Annunciation

[1] The bishop is in benediction. The figures holding up his cope are a fine group. The forms are precise as if chiselled in bronze.

[2] The feet are coarse, the outlines of muscles minutely defined. The proportions are imperfect, but the execution is more than ever careful, and the study of models is perfectly clear. The translucid and viscous colour shows the persistence of the efforts for reforming the system of panel painting. The predella is in perfect preservation. A series of grey paper sheets are exhibited in the Uffizi at Florence, in which numerous studies from nature in pen and point may be observed. These are assigned to Maso Finiguerra. Something in the character and design of aged heads might point to the hand of Fra Filippo; but the drawing and the forms which it renders are in the manner of the foregoing pictures, suggesting the names of the Peselli or of Alesso Baldovinetti.

[3] This picture is in Casa Alessandri in Borgo degli Albizzi, and is mentioned by VASARI in his lives of the Peselli (vol. iv., p. 182). The subjects are: 1, Totila's Interview with Benedict; 2, The Fall of Simon Magus; 3, The Conversion of S. Paul; 4, The Widow's Son Restored by S. Zenobius. [MORELLI, *op. cit.*, p. 255, gives these panels to Pesellino; WEISBACH, *op. cit.*, does not; and BERENSON gives them to Benozzo Gozzoli.]

[4] Vasari describes a Trinity between SS. Zeno and James in the church of S. Jacopo (? Duomo) of Pistoia (vol. iv., p. 182). TOLOMEI (*Guida, ubi sup.*, p. 97), describing the church della Congregazione dei Preti at Pistoia, as now reduced to a private house, adds in a note: "Here was a picture by Pesello of

in the church of the Spirito Santo and of the Buonarotti predella; but its interest is further increased by the exhibition of an art in the same path as that which characterises the predella, executed, as Vasari says,[1] by Pesellino in the style of Fra Filippo. As usual in such pieces, the Eternal, in a purple tunic and yellow mantle and wearing a conical mitre, floats on the clouds in a prismatic almond-shaped glory attended by cherubs and seraphs, and holding up to adoration a Cross, to which the Redeemer is nailed. The searching nature of the drawing in the head of the Eternal, reminiscent of the works of Sandro Botticelli, draperies less in the involved style of Andrea del Castagno than near the finer and simpler style of Fra Filippo, the gentle character of the heads of cherubs and seraphs, are remarkable. The figure of the Redeemer is still imperfect in proportions and in the *ensemble* of the parts. The short arms are slender, and the hands small; the body is broad, the legs and feet coarse, but the form is not unnoble in its realism, and proves the artist's assiduity in the study of nature's models. The brown-toned landscape is adorned with dark trees laid in with viscous colour on a lighter ground, and strikes the spectator as an approach to those of the Pollaiuoli. The colours are like those of previous examples, high in surface, equal in the flesh, minutely lined in the hair, and confined by positive contours throughout.

A less perfect, but still similar technical system is apparent in the Nativity of the Louvre,[2] assigned to Fra Filippo, and previously the subject of remark in these pages.

Assigned to Fra Filippo also, a Virgin and Child between SS. John the Baptist, a bishop, Anthony the abbot and Francis, in the ex-Campana Gallery,[3] reveals a style now sufficiently illustrated, and at least the school of the Peselli. Though injured in some parts by retouching,[4] this piece shows considerable boldness and practical skill

whom Vasari and Baldinucci speak, and which they erroneously describe as in the Duomo." It was sold at the suppression of the church. The Trinity, without SS. Zeno and Jacopo, is said to be the centre of the picture noticed by Vasari. It was in the Ottley collection before coming into the hands of Mr. Bromley.

[MORELLI, *op. cit.*, p. 257, denies that this altarpiece (Nat. Gall. Cat., No. 727) is by Pesellino, suggesting his assistant Piero di Lorenzo Pratese as the author. FRIZZONI (*Arte Italiana del Rinascimento*, pp. 233–4) and BERENSON, *op. cit.*, are of the same opinion. WEISBACH, *op. cit.*, however, agrees with the authors.]

[1] Vol. iv., pp. 182–3.

[2] [No. 1343, Louvre.] See *antea*. This picture is, however, inferior to that of the Bromley collection.

[3] Now at the Louvre.

[4] The Virgin's head especially is injured. The type of the Virgin and Child, common, with something less of vulgarity in the former than in the latter. The white ground appears through the flesh tone.

of handling, and affords a contrast of careful execution and study of nude with common types.

Amongst the Florentine customs of the fifteenth century, that of adorning family chests with paintings of a superior class, is curious and interesting. Vasari's statement that the Peselli were often employed to paint such articles of furniture with battle-pieces,[1] seems confirmed by the existence, in the present day, of two *cassoni* in the Palazzo Torrigiani at Florence, in which the Encounter of David with Goliath and the Triumph of David are depicted.[2] The figures in both pieces are about a foot high and are formed, in the Triumph, into a well-ordered composition of natural groups in motion and converse. The noble gravity of a company of females, on the left side, is not impaired by the luxury of the costumes. It is a picture of a cheerful kind. The encounter with the Philistines, more episodic and less ably arranged, illustrates in a greater measure the passion for representing Bible scenes with the pomp of circumstance and of dress familiar to the upper classes of the time, of introducing familiar incidents, and the details of rich and varied landscapes peopled with all kinds of animals, of African as well as of European races. These are panels whose perfect preservation enables one to mark the deep study of nature in human, animal, and still life, described as peculiar to the Peselli. The fine, firm style of the drawing, the searching manner in which the details of nude parts are defined, the fair distribution of the various planes in pleasant landscapes, a fine colour of strong impasto, approximating to the improved methods now coming into practice, all point to the Peselli, whilst, in some types, an approach is made to the models of Fra Filippo Lippi. At a first glance, it is true, certain creations of Benozzo Gozzoli, in the Campo Santo of Pisa and in the Riccardi Palace at Florence rise in the memory of the beholder. But the manner and technical method of colouring dispel this first impression; whilst further consideration creates the conviction that Benozzo's works of this class are of a lower order. The natural conclusion is that these *cassoni* are by one of the Peselli and most probably by Francesco di Stefano commonly called Pesellino.

Vasari and Albertini[3] assign without any hesitation to this painter, the grandson of Pesello, a predella originally forming part of Fra Filippo's Santa Croce altarpiece, and of which three parts are in the

[1] VASARI, vol. iv., pp. 181–2.

[2] [These pictures are now in the possession of Lord Wantage at Lockinge, Berkshire. BERENSON, *op. cit.*, and WEISBACH, *op. cit.*, p. 68, agree with the authors in assigning them to Francesco Pesellino.]

[3] VASARI, vol. iv., p. 182; ALBERTINI, *Memoriale, ubi sup.*, p. 14.

Academy of Arts at Florence, and two in the Louvre.[1] The most interesting of these fine compositions is that of the miracle of S. Anthony of Padua at Florence. The saint preaches from a low wooden pulpit attended by a friar, on the right. The body of an usurer in a coffin is on a tressel in the middle of the picture, and the bearers gaze on his side to ascertain the absence of the heart. Between this group and the spectator, three females sit looking on; and inside a room, on the left, a man finds the heart in the money chest. A gentle and natural animation pervades all the figures. The females on the foreground are in good proportions and the whole is drawn and executed with neatness, precision, and freshness, and without vulgarity. A certain realism and less dignity of mien mark the S. Francis at the Louvre, which is, like its companion, well preserved. The panel preserved at Florence has lost much of its original brightness of colour and harmony of tone and a consequent loss of unity in the tints by abrasion. Some heads, indeed, are bared to the preparation. The soft melting nature of the impasto, however, is that which is characteristic in the works of Fra Filippo.[2]

In the same class as the foregoing we may note two predella scenes in the Doria Gallery at Rome, representing incidents from the legend of S. Sylvester,[3] composed in a lively style and carried out with feeling, the scenes being distributed and drawn like those of the S. Croce predella and coloured in clear fused and pastose tones akin to those of Fra Filippo. The action of the figures is natural and their proportion good, with much freshness and power in the rendering of some of them. Many of the heads have a clear individuality, and some of the types are in the mould of Fra Fillipo. These are creations in which we may trace the progress of the artistic hand which carried out the panels of the previous predella.[4]

With these works as guides, one may assign to Pesellino a somewhat injured Virgin and Child attended by two angels, in possession of Signor Gaetano Zir at Naples. Some immobility and rigidity in the Saviour, erect on His mother's lap, reveal the germ of similar

[1] [Florence Academy of Arts, No. 72.] The Nativity, the Martyrdom of SS. Cosma and Damian. Anthony of Padua's Miracle of the usurer's heart. [Louvre No. 1414.] S. Francis receiving the Stigmata and SS. Cosma and Damian visiting a sick man.

[2] [BERENSON, *op. cit.*, and WEISBACH, *op. cit.*, agree that these paintings are by Francesco Pesellino.]

[3] [Nos. 29 and 30] of Doria Gallery Catalogue. No 29, Sylvester before Constantine on one side, and in a second division of the same panel, Sylvester in confinement. No. 30, Sylvester restoring the two Magi to life, and closing the mouth of the monster.

[4] [MORELLI, *op. cit.*, p. 255, finds himself in agreement with the authors as do BERENSON (*op. cit.*), and WEISBACH (*op. cit.*, pp. 43–48).]

defects in Benozzo Gozzoli. A certain tenderness and softness in the Virgin, and in the angels in prayer behind her, the curly locks which adorn their heads and necks, the simply-lined draperies, a translucid colour, a little hard perhaps in this example, may justify the nomenclature of the picture.[1]

Having thus classed, as far as is now possible, the works of the Peselli, and concluded with those which may, with most certainty, be assigned to Pesellino, one feels inclined to ask, is it possible that he should have produced so little? No doubt, creations that are due to him lie concealed under other names; and some which suggest themselves might at once be mentioned, but in the uncertainty under which the critic labours, it is perhaps best to pause, and note such works under the names of those to whom they are assigned.

In summing up the results of the examination to which the works attributed to the Peselli have been subjected,[2] one sees that, from the Annunciation of S. Giorgio, which bears the character of a youthful production, back to the first, given to Giuliano d'Arrigo, a development in one clear path of art is obvious. From these to the last, assigned to Pesellino, a further development in the same road may be observed. A natural conclusion might be to affirm that the first series was executed by Pesellino in his grandfather's atelier, and that the last were produced after the death of Giuliano.

A few final lines may now be devoted to certain Virgins classed under the name of Pesello and Pesellino in divers galleries.

Berlin Museum. A fine Virgin and Child, No. 108, assigned to Pesello.
Frankfort. (*Stœdel Gallery.*) A Virgin and Child, No. 40, assigned to Pesello.
London. Collection of Mr. Barker. A Virgin and Child, inferior to the foregoing, assigned to Pesello.

These three pieces are such as to suggest at least the name which they bear. Amongst persons capable of critical judgment in matters of art, a general impression prevails that the name of the Pollaiuoli

[1] [Neither Mr. Berenson nor Herr Weisbach speak of this picture, which I have been unable to identify.]

[2] We find that these pictures are all in the new method more or less, except the predella added by Pesellino to Fra Filippo's altarpiece, the predella in the Doria Palace at Rome, the predella in Casa Alessandri, Borgo degli Albizzi, in so far as its injured state warrants a judgment, and, in part, the Adoration of the Magi at the Uffizi. The rest, besides being in the innovating manner, are marked by minute study of landscape episodes and details, and represent exactly that species of works which Vasari describes in the life of Antonello da Messina when treating incidentally of the Peselli and Baldovinetti, and in the life of Baldovinetti himself.

would be more appropriate. Another name, however, that of Verrocchio, presents itself, and may be discussed hereafter.[1]

We must erase distinctly from the list of Pesellino's works, a Virgin and Child in Lord Ward's Gallery, Dudley House, which bears the clear impress of the hand of Sebastian Mainardi, the best of the pupils of Domenico Ghirlandaio.

In conclusion, another class of Madonnas of inferior merit, but characterised by a gentle, slender and somewhat feeble nature, and marked by a partiality in the artist for roses and other flowers as accessory ornament, may be noticed, and may be given, in the absence of any real claim to the name of Pesellino which they bear, to Graffione, a pupil of Alesso Baldovinetti, not forgotten by Vasari.[2] A fresco by this painter remains, in part damaged, above the door of the Chiesa degli Innocenti at Florence, and represents the Eternal amongst angels.

An " Exhibition of a relic " in the Liverpool Gallery, assigned to Pesellino, is a work which, if the memory of it be not treacherous, betrays the character of a Sienese painter, either Francesco di Giorgio or Nerroccio.[3]

A Nativity in the Dresden Gallery (No. 10) is assigned to Pesellino, but has no peculiarly marked character. It is, however, a feeble production neither by Pesellino nor by Paolo Uccello.[4]

[1] [None of these pictures seem to be by Pesellino. *Cf.* WEISBACH, *op. cit.*]

[2] VASARI, vol. iv., p. 106.

[3] [This is by Vecchietta, according to Mr. Douglas and other critics.] A short list may be made of works assigned to the Peselli of which no trace is at present discoverable. This list includes: *Cassoni* in Casa Medici at Florence (VASARI, vol. iv., p. 181), a Virgin and Child between two saints, in S. M. Maggiore (*ibid.*, p. 182), a Crucifixion in S. Giorgio Maggiore (*ibid.*).

[4] [Francesco Pesellino, says MORELLI, *op. cit.*, p. 253, was born in 1422 and died in 1457. He was the follower of Fra Filippo Lippi and Masaccio, and an extremely able painter, who has been much underrated. He ascribes to Pesellino fourteen pictures, viz.:

BERGAMO.	*Morelli Gallery.* S. Jerome before a Crucifix. This picture is more in the style of Fiorenzo di Lorenzo, as we shall see later.
	No. 9: Florentines Arraigned.
	No. 11: Story of Griselda.
FLORENCE.	*Academy.* No. 2: Three predelle.
	Casa Buonarotti. Life of S. Niccolò da Bari (earliest work).
	Palazzo Alessandri. Three panels: Simon the Sorcerer. S. Zenobio's Miracle. Conversion of S. Paul.
LOCKINGE, BERKSHIRE.	*Lord Wantage's Coll.* Two panels: David's Victory and Triumphal Procession.
PARIS.	*Louvre.* No. 1414: Two predelle.

Note 4 *continued*—

ROME.	*Doria Palace.* Two panels: Pope Silvestro before Constantine, and Pope Silvestro subduing a dragon.

MR. BERENSON, *op. cit.*, p. 130, accepts all these save the S. Jerome at Bergamo and the three panels in Palazzo Alessandri at Florence. He adds some eight pictures, viz.:

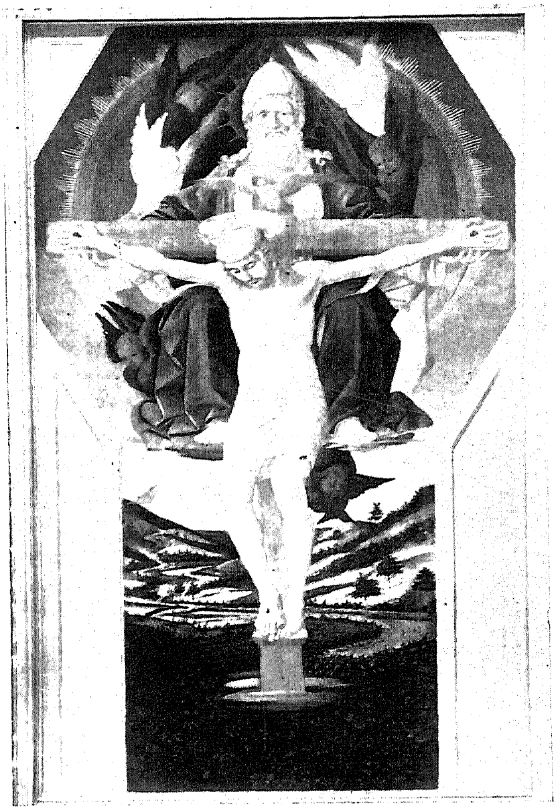
ALTENBURG.	*Gallery.* No. 99: SS. Jerome and Francis.
BERLIN.	*Hainauer Coll.* Madonna and Saints.
BOSTON, U.S.A.	*Mrs. J. L. Gardner.* Triumphs of Petrarch (two cassone pictures).
CHANTILLY.	*Musée Condé.* Madonna and Saints.
LONDON.	*Dorchester House.* Madonna and Saints.
MILAN.	*Poldi-Pezzoli.* No. 10: Pietà.
MONTPELIER.	*Gallery.* No. 619: Nativity and Adoration.
OXFORD.	*University Museum.* No 12: Meeting of Joachim and Anna.
HIGHNAM COURT, GLOUCESTER.	*Coll. of Sir H. Parry.* Annunciation. (*Rassegna d'Arte.*)
RICHMOND.	*Cooke Coll.* Madonna and Child and Angels.

To these two lists WEISBACH, *op. cit.*, adds:

FLORENCE.	*Academy.* Nos. 257, 258: SS. Cosma e Damiano.
	Uffizi. Madonna and Child with S. Catherine.
LONDON.	*Nat. Gallery.* No. 727: Trinity.
PARIS.	*Louvre.* No. 1415: Dead Christ.
PERUGIA.	*Pinacoteca.* Story of S. Niccolò da Bari.
PISTOIA.	*Cav. Ant. Galli.* Miracle of S. Zeno.
VIENNA.	*Wittgenstein Coll.* Panels of twenty-eight small figures of Arts and Virtues.

MR. RANKIN would add a Madonna and Child and Saints in the Metropolitan Museum of New York, U.S.A. See *Rassegna d'Arte* (Milano), March, 1908.

On Pesellino and Compagna di Pesellino, see MARY LOGAN, *Gazette des Beaux Arts.*



TRINITÀ

PESSELLINO. National Gallery.

THE ANNUNCIATION

ALESSO BALDOVINETTI. S. Miniato, Florence.

MADONNA AND CHILD

ALESSO BALDOVINETTI. Louvre. Paris.

Anderson.

SANTA CONVERSAZIONE

ALESSO BALDOVINETTI. Uffizi. Florence.

CHAPTER XVII

ALESSO BALDOVINETTI

AMONG the artists whom Vasari specially distinguishes as the authors of tentative efforts for the improvement of vehicles, Alesso Baldovinetti occupies a prominent place. Born in 1422,[1] he lived to the very close of the century, gaining a name for the minuteness with which he studied still life in nature, the boldness, more than the success, with which he introduced the old tempera varnish amongst the mediums employed in wall painting, and the cleverness with which he executed or repaired mosaics. The number of his works preserved at this time is in marked contrast to the uncommon length of his career, and it is difficult to name more than two or three productions entitled to be called his.[2] That his father, who was in trade, should have yielded reluctantly to Alesso's inclination for artistic studies, proves the painter's early enthusiasm and perseverance. Whether he followed the precepts or frequented the workshop of more than one painter is not ascertained. The master to whom he owed his early education is not even known; and Baldinucci only conjectured that that master was Paolo Uccello.[3] Some foundation may be admitted for this belief; because Baldovinetti displays affinity to him, to Andrea del Castagno, the Peselli, and even Domenico Veneziano. He may, indeed, being registered in the Florentine Guild of S. Luke in 1448,[4] have taken a part in the adornment of the S. Egidio Chapel in S. Maria Nuova, whose walls were painted at intervals during ten consecutive years (1441–51) by Andrea and Domenico. The name of Baldovinetti, it is true, has not been discovered in the accounts of the

[1] GAYE, *Carteggio, ubi sup.*, vol. i., p. 224, publishes in full Alesso's income-tax return for 1470, in which he declares his age to be forty. The same author quotes, however, another income-tax paper returned by Alesso's father, Baldovinetti d'Alessandro Baldovinetti, in 1427, in which he states that his son Alesso is five years of age. We may assume, therefore, that Alesso had forgotten his birthday, and accept in preference the statement of his progenitor. [Baldovinetti was born in 1427, as is now proved by documents.]

[2] [As we shall see, we can now certainly name thirteen.]

[3] BALDINUCCI, *Opere, ubi sup.*, vol. v., p. 318. [That he was the pupil of Domenico Veneziano seems certain. *Cf.* BERENSON, *Study and Criticism of Italian Art* (London, 1902), vol. ii., p. 31 *et seq.*]

[4] GUALANDI, *ubi sup.*, ser. vi., p. 177.

hospital,[1] but Vasari's assertion that he worked there[2] is confirmed by the earlier authority of Albertini, who says: "The chapel is half by Andreino, half by Domenico, although some figures in front (*dinanzi*) are by Alesso Bal."[3] The few records which have reference to Alesso's career all prove that he was looked up to as a master of some station in Florence. It is well known that, during the greater part of the fifteenth century, the Florentines were accustomed to visit churches not merely to hear mass, but to listen to lectures on the poetry of Dante. In S. M. del Fiore these lectures were frequently delivered by an exponent paid out of the coffers of the state. It was natural that such churches as were selected for this purpose should have a likeness of the poet in a prominent place. In S. M. del Fiore, the Franciscan Antonio, public lecturer on Dante in the early part of the fifteenth century, had placed such a likeness. To this, which may have become damaged, the superintendents of the edifice added another in 1465. The design for the likeness was given by Alesso Baldovinetti and executed by Domenico Michelino; and it is characteristic of the confidence which was reposed in the former by his employers, that he was appointed to value the work which Michelino had carried out from his model.[4] We find Alesso again valuing an altarpiece painted by Neri di Bicci for S. Romolo in 1466.[5] His income-tax returns are dated 1470 and 1480, and from these it appears that he was married and lived in Florence in the "popolo di S. Lorenzo" outside the Faenza gate.[6]

The works which may be safely assigned to Baldovinetti are few. The best known are a fresco in the cloister of the Annunziata at Florence described by Vasari,[7] an altarpiece originally in the Villa of Caffaggiolo, now at the Uffizi, and a Trinity with saints executed for the chapel of the Gianfigliazzi in S. Trinità at Florence. Not one of

[1] *Giornale Stor. degli Archivi Toscani*, 1860, p. 9; 1862, pp. 4, 5.

[2] VASARI, vol. iv., pp. 102 and 144.

[3] ALBERTINI, *Memoriale, ubi sup.*, p. 13.

[4] See the original commission dated January 30, 1465, in GAYE, *Carteggio*, vol. ii., p. 5, and the valuation dated June 19 of the same year. Ibid. The price paid to Michelino was 155 lire.

["In the collection of Christ Church, Oxford, is a pen drawing of the figure wrongly attributed to Ant. Pollaiuolo. It seems too strong to be by Domenico himself, and may possibly have been drawn from the model furnished by Alesso Baldovinetti mentioned in the document." MAUD CRUTTWELL, *A Guide to the Paintings in the Churches and Minor Museums of Florence* (Dent, 1908), p. 118.]

[5] BALDINUCCI, *Opere, ubi sup.*, vol. v., pp. 185 and 317.

[6] GAYE, *Carteggio, ubi sup.*, vol. i., pp. 224–5. His wife was called Mona Daria, whose dowry is recorded to have been paid to Alesso in 1479, after he had been many years married and had a daughter of thirteen.

[7] VASARI, vol. iv., p. 104.

these interesting productions but is injured by scaling or by the abrasion of the colours.

Baldovinetti's fresco in the SS. Annunziata is on the wall to the left as one enters the church from the cloister. The Virgin kneels in prayer on the left before the Infant, who lies naked on the rough ground of the pent-house. S. Joseph, in thought, sits to the right with his hands clasped over his right knee. Two shepherds advance towards the group from the right. Behind the Saviour, the ox and the ass near the manger; and close to the stone wall of the ruin, a pomegranate and other trees are growing. A serpent, crawling up the stones behind the first shepherd, seems to symbolise the sins of our first parents and of the world. The apparition of the angel is represented in a landscape to the left, where one of two shepherds who lie on the ground looks up inquiringly towards heaven. The perspective of the distance is improved by the retreating lines of a road and a bridged stream. In the air above the scene, four angels are in part preserved, one of them displaying some foreshortening, the whole composition being framed in a painted border interrupted by medallions, in some of which half-bust portraits still exist.

The condition of this work is such that a most minute examination of it is necessary; and even then the character of the master is to be traced only by a comparison of the remains with the injured picture at the Uffizi.[1] It affords no clue to Baldovinetti's talent as a colourist, the tones being in part scaled off, in part abraded, so that the eye wanders over a dull surface of dead preparation. But one may still perceive that the work was not executed in the usual method of Florentine wall painting, and one may assume that the same means which Baldovinetti employed in the frescoes of S. Trinità in the last years of his career were used at the SS. Annunziata. The painting is described by Vasari as "sketched in (*abbozzato*) in fresco," and retouched "a secco" the colours being tempered with a mixture of yolk of egg and heated *vernice liquida*.[2] "Baldovinetti thought, adds Vasari, "that this tempera would guard the painting against wet, but it was in such a measure strong that, where too heavily laid on, it scaled off; and whereas he thought he had discovered a rare and most useful secret, he found himself deceived." Apart from

[1] Injured, because it is not free from restoring.

[2] It is evident that the method described by Vasari was faulty; because colours so treated had not the necessary hold on the wall; and being besides of a fat substance and mixed with dryers, must fall when exposed, as we see they did in the SS. Annunziata and in S. Miniato al Monte. For the materials with which *vernice liquida* was made, consult Sir C. Eastlake's work *Materials*, *ubi sup.* A reference to Cennini's treatise will also show that heated *vernice liquida* was only used for varnishing tempera pictures, when the operation was performed indoors and out of the sun. *Vide, Libro dell' Arte*, by Cennino Cennini, ed. G. and C. Milanesi, *ubi sup.*, pp. 108–9. [*Cf.* Mrs. Herringham's translation of Cennini's *Trattato* (London, 1899).]

its durability, however, the vehicle seems to have had some charms for Baldovinetti, for it enabled him to give such minutiæ that, as Vasari further states,[1] he painted the pent-house so that one could number the stems and joints of the straws, the roughened surface of stones worn by rain and ice, and the roots of an ivy bush whose leaves were coloured of different tints at each side as in nature.[2] Alesso was in fact not only one of those who tried innovations in technical preparations requisite for artists, but a student of still life, of detail, "depicting from nature, rivers, bridges, stones, herbs, fruits, roads, fields, towns, castles, squares, and other similar things." His labour in this work of detail at the Annunziata was lost, however, because the medium he employed caused parts to scale away and parts to become darkened and blistered. Yet one may still discern in his landscape some power in the imitation of natural objects, a power which Piero della Francesca possessed in a still higher degree, and which strengthens the impression that Baldovinetti was of the same class of realists which already numbered Paolo Uccello, Andrea del Castagno and the Peselli. Nor would this impression be weakened by the analysis of figures, in which "the charm of reproducing nature," as Rumohr has it, led Baldovinetti to copy, not any ideal of form or proportion, but the humble and coarse reality of peasant nature.[3] This tendency, with which we are familiar in the Flemish or German schools, is more marked in Baldovinetti than in any of his contemporaries, although one may freely grant, at the same time, that in composition he showed no lack of the balance proper to the great schools. His mode of rendering action, however, was hard, his draperies angular and broken, and we thus have enough to justify the classification of his talent by the side of that peculiar to the men whose names have been enumerated. Great precision in outlines and in the rendering of minute forms, an involved system of curling locks in the heads, a Virgin not without beauty in contour and action, remind one of similar peculiarities in Domenico Veneziano or the Peselli. His Nativity at the SS. Annunziata is, on the whole, an approach to that of the Louvre,[4] in which we have traced, less the manner of Fra Filippo, to whom it is assigned, than that of the family which might boast of Francesco Pesellino as its latest illustration, and point to him as a contemporary of Baldovinetti.

[1] VASARI, vol. iv., p. 102.
[2] Ibid., pp. 104–5.
[3] The feet and hands of his figures are large and coarse.
[4] This is true not only of the general form of the composition, but of the execution. The angels at the SS. Annunziata, too, are hard and unnoble, as in the so-called Fra Filippo of the Louvre.

The picture at the Uffizi [1] explains still more of Baldovinetti's artistic character, as it reveals that he was familiar to a certain extent with the mixed style of colouring panels now customary.

The Virgin, seated in a Roman chair, occupies the middle of a space, at the sides of which six standing saints gravely adore the infant Saviour,[2] extended horizontally on his mother's knee, whilst, nearer the spectator kneel SS. Francis and Dominic. The sky and trees peep over a screen of tapestry at the back of the group. A carpet under the Virgin's feet decks a meadow sprinkled with flowers, on whose petals the feet of the saints seem to make no impression. Though injured by restoring,[3] the flesh tint still betrays the imperfection of the medium substituted as in the Peselli to the old one of tempera. Viscous and difficult to manage, it is of an even yellow tone, stippled with most minute lines, even in the lights. The result is a general flatness, and little contrast of light and shade; and with this, one marks the now usual high surface colour, through which the eye plunges to a certain depth.[4]

The careful minuteness with which an altarpiece of all but life-size figures is thus carried out, seems to have lamed the spirit of the artist, whose figures are feeble, thin and of sharp bony forms, and clothed in spare draperies. A polished cleanliness in the outlines, in the modelling of the forms, and in the tones of the draperies reminds one of the tendency common to the age of taking chiselled objects for imitation, of the lustrous character given to his work by Verrocchio's pupil Lorenzo di Credi. The curling and puffed-out locks are those noticed in the creations of the Peselli, and still characteristic later in Verrocchio, Botticelli, and Filippino Lippi. The head of the Virgin is in character like that of the SS. Annunizata, and her figure the best in the picture.

Baldovinetti varied his labours at the easel by working in other branches.[5] He is known to have repaired, in 1481, the mosaic over

[1] [No. 60, Sala IV., Tuscan School.]

[2] These saints are (left) SS. Cosma, Damian and John the Baptist, (right) Anthony the abbot, Lawrence and a monk.

[3] The left half of the Virgin's face is restored.

[4] This is true of the draperies also, whose tones are of a lucid hardness, and flat from want of relief by light and shade.

[5] Baldovinetti, it might seem, took much pains to discover means for the proper execution or restoring of mosaics. The tendency in him seems to have been to make experiments; and perhaps, in searching to solve chemical problems, it happened to him as occurred to Uccello when he gave himself up to perspective. He perhaps spent the greater part of his time in this pursuit. The works of Baldovinetti indeed show us less an artist than a chemist; and we may find in this a true cause for the paucity of works produced by him. But he may, on the other hand, have done good service to art by studying the technical parts of it, particularly in mosaics, in which he claims the merit of having taught Ghirlandaio.

the portal at S. Miniato al Monte.[1] But his chief efforts in that direction were expended on the Baptistery at Florence, the piece above the portal facing S. M. del Fiore having been repaired in 1482, and the tribune in 1482–3.[2] It was not till 1496 that he completed the Gianfigliazzi Chapel or choir in S. Trinità, in which he depicted numerous scenes from the Old Testament, introducing into his subjects, according to an old and time-honoured custom, the portraits of many men of note in his time.[3] The manner in which these wall paintings were executed has been described. They had already lost much of their beauty in Vasari's time—still existed in 1755,[4] and were destroyed in 1760.[5] They must have been originally a fine ornament to the edifice in which they were executed; and our interest in them is increased by the knowledge that they were valued on the 19th of January 1497/1496 by four artists of acknowledged fame, Benozzo Gozzoli, Pietro Perugino, Filippino Lippi and Cosimo Rosselli.[6]

The altarpiece painted by Baldovinetti for the same chapel, representing the Trinity between the kneeling SS. Giovanni Gualberto and Benedict, and long supposed to have perished, is obviously the injured picture of that subject in the Florence Academy of Arts.[7] Its colour has been, however, so abraded that the ground of the panel is in some parts bare. The rest is darkened and hard, but still displays characteristic features of Alesso's style.

Of certain paintings in S. Miniato al Monte, assigned by Vasari to the Pollaiuoli, we shall have occasion to speak in the lives of those painters. It may be sufficient here to note that they exhibit a character and method similar to that of Baldovinetti; and this view may be maintained with some force, because Albertini who mentions both the wall paintings and the altarpiece of S. Miniato, attributes the first to Alesso the second to Piero Pollaiuolo.[8]

[1] VASARI, vol. iv., *note* to p. 107. [2] *Vide* RICHA, *Chiese*, vol. v., p. xxxvi.
[3] VASARI, vol. iv., pp. 102–3, gives a catalogue of the persons portrayed.
[4] RICHA, *Chiese*, vol. iii., p. 177. [5] VASARI, vol. iv., *note* 4 to p. 102.
[6] The price they valued the frescoes at was 1000 florins in gold. The original valuation in the Arch. Centr. is printed in *Alcuni Documenti artistici non mai stampati* (per le Nozze Bianca Gentile Farinola—Luigi Vai; Florence, 1855), p. 18.

[The frescoes on the ceiling of the choir in S. Trinità still exist; they were painted in 1472–74, and represent Noah, Moses, Abraham, David, and in the lunette the Sacrifice of Isaac.]

[7] [No. 159.] Vasari omits the S. Benedict, but the full subject was noted by Francesco di Giovanni Baldovinetti in a *Memoriale* MS., known to Baldinucci and to the annotators of the latest edition of Vasari. A garland of cherubs surrounds the Trinity, two angels holding back the curtains.
[8] ALBERTINI, *Memoriale, ubi sup.*, p. 17. The altarpiece is now in the Uffizi. See *postea*.

[Albertini was right. The frescoes in the Portugal Chapel of S. Miniato

Another work not marked by Vasari, but classed amongst the youthful creations of Domenico Ghirlandaio, is a lunette fresco in the sacristy of S. Niccolò at Florence, representing S. Thomas receiving the girdle from the Virgin attended by two angels and surrounded by an almond-shaped glory held up by cherubim. The saint kneels before a richly ornamented sarcophagus simulating bronze, and bearing the repainted date M.CCCC.L.[1] A landscape, angels, in movement and type like those of Baldovinetti, draperies of a hard, dry, angular kind, recall to mind the fresco of the SS. Annunziata. But the work is painted in the old method of fresco, not in the new one noticeable in the only authentic wall painting of Alesso or in the paintings of S. Miniato.[2]

A pleasant picture, in a style which wavers between that of Baldovinetti and Domenico Veneziano, is one in the collection of Mr. Duchatel in Paris, in which a half-length Virgin adores the Infant resting on a parapet before her, in a landscape of trees and hills. The style of the latter is that which we find in works of Piero della Francesca, to whom the picture is therefore not unaptly assigned. But the type and character of the figures is not that of Piero, whose manner was ever consistently the same, and rather exhibits in the features and accessories of drapery the development of the style of Alesso.[3]

Baldovinetti may have met both Domenico Veneziano and Piero della Francesca, if he laboured in S. Maria Nuova at Florence, where they were both employed, one as master, the other as pupil. It is certain that his pictures embody something of their manner.

We may conclude this notice of the works of Alesso by mentioning

al Monte are the work of Baldovinetti, save three on the altar wall. They are painted, as was usual with him, in an unfortunate mixture of tempera and oil and dry plaster—not frescoes at all then really. On the arch angles are two prophets holding scrolls, and by the window, Evangelists and Fathers, two in each arch. Below the architrave is a frieze of stemmi, and below in the arch angles, prophets holding scrolls. On the left wall is the glorious Annunciation.]

[1] The date is new. It may have been falsely copied on an old one, or added by a restorer.

[2] Three of the cherubs supporting the lower part of the Virgin's glory are in better preservation than the rest, which is retouched in most parts with oil colour. They are reminiscent of the style which characterises the picture at the Uffizi, and reveal an approximation to the manner of Ghirlandaio. If the work should be proved to have been executed by Domenico in his youth, we should have evidence of Vasari's statement that he was taught by Baldovinetti.

[3] This picture has been restored and has lost some of the firmness and precision which mark the works of the masters named in the text. [This picture is now in the Louvre, No. 1300A. *Cf.* BERENSON, *The Study and Criticism of Italian Art* (London, 1902), vol. ii., p. 33 *et seq.* It is one of the finest works of Baldovinetti.]

a fine Annunciation in the Dresden Gallery[1] assigned at one time to him, now attributed with a query to Pollaiuolo, but really by a painter of the Ferrarese school;[2] a Virgin adoring the Infant, with S. Joseph and three angels, in the Munich Gallery,[3] by a poor artist of the fifteenth century; and a Virgin with the Infant, adored by angels, originally in Cataio, now in the Modena Gallery,[4] which is not by the master.

Francesco Baldovinetti records the fact, that Alesso left a likeness of himself in his own wall paintings at S. Maria Nuova, and in the choir of S. Trinità,[5] but the portrait which Vasari engraved is taken from Domenico Ghirlandaio's fresco of the Expulsion of Joachim in the choir of S. Maria Novella (1490).[6]

Alesso died on the 29th of August 1499, and was buried in S. Lorenzo of Florence.[7]

His pupil Graffione has been sufficiently noticed in a few lines at the close of the lives of the Peselli.

The following is a list of works attributed to Baldovinetti, which may be classed as lost, obliterated or falsely assigned:

S. Benedetto fuor di Firenze. Frescoes. (Francesco Baldovinetti in MS. extr. Baldinucci. *Op.*, vol. v., *note* to p. 320.)

S. Croce Cloister. Flagellation (ibid.), assigned by Vasari (vol. iv., p. 143) to Andrea del Castagno.

S. Piero in Caligarza. Altarpiece (ibid.).

[1] No. 18 of Cat.

No. 19 in the same collection, representing the Nativity and inscribed "ANTONIUS [?] FLORENTINUS MCCCXXXIII," is a picture of the fifteenth century, of rude execution. The inscription seems forged, or altered. No. 20 in the same Museum, Children gathering Manna, is a copy of a fine picture of the Ferrarese school in the collection of Lord Ward at Dudley House in London.

[2] Whilst thus analysing pictures classed like the above under the head of works of the Florentine school, we may remark in the Dresden Gallery, No. 15—Archangel Michael, No. 16—Archangel Raphael and Tobit, both assigned to Gherardo di Jacopo Starnina. They are poor productions of the close of the fifteenth century.

[3] Cab. No. 568.

[4] No. 30.

[5] *Memoriale*, MS., excerpt in BALDINUCCI, *ubi sup.*, vol. v., p. 319.

[6] The third from the right side of the fresco shaven, and wearing a red hooded cap. Manni, however, cites a MS. by Lucca Landucci (vita di Domenico del Ghirlandaio), in which the portrait in question is said to be that of Domenico's own father.

[7] *Libro de' Morti*, in BALDINUCCI, *Op.*, *ubi sup.*, vol. v., p. 318. Vasari states that he died in the hospital of S. Paolo (vol. iv., p. 106). In the crypt of S. Lorenzo is the family grave, inscribed: "S. BALDOVINETTI ALEXII DE BALDOVINETTIS ET SUOR. DESCEND. 1480." VASARI, ed. Schorn, vol. ii., 1, p. 379. [Apparently Alesso died on the last day of August 1499. See a most interesting series of documents brought together by HERBERT HORNE, and published in the *Burlington Magazine* for June and July 1903.]

Canto de' Carnesecchi. Virgin and Child (ibid.), not by Baldovinetti, but by Domenico Veneziano.

Palazzo de' Signori, Florence. Two Nativities.[1]

[1] [It is MR. BERENSON who has taught us to value Baldovinetti's works as we ought. His essay in *The Study and Criticism of Italian Art* (London, 1902), vol. ii., p. 23 *et seq.*, is an invaluable study of this painter.

Besides the works named in the text I may mention a fresco in the Morelli Collection at Bergamo, No. 23, which is a portrait of himself. A panel, one of a series of thirty-five which were in SS. Annunziata, and which were for the most part by a pupil. The Academy panel by Baldovinetti (No. 233) represents the Marriage in Cana, the Baptism of Christ, the Transfiguration. In the Uffizi the Annunciation (No. 56) has been already spoken of. In the Rucellai Chapel in S. Pancrazio, there is a fresco of the Risen Christ, with an angel on either side, of the year 1467 (much damaged). In Mr. Berenson's Collection at Settignano, there is a Madonna, one of the master's finest works, formerly in the Panciatichi Collection, when it was ascribed to Piero della Francesca; and in Mme. André's Collection in Paris, there is another fine Madonna. The similarities to Domenico Veneziano's art are so evident in Mr. Berenson's picture, as even to permit of its being mistaken for a work by Domenico, to whom it has been ascribed by some critics—a further proof of the close and undeniable connection between the two painters. Mr. H. Horne and Mr. F. Mason Perkins, I believe, attribute to Baldovinetti the great Pianeta of Pope Sixtus IV. in the treasury of S. Francesco at Assisi. This was shown in the Mostra at Perugia (1907). In the Bargello of Florence there is a Madonna and Saints, by a close pupil of Baldovinetti (F. Mason Perkins), and at Brozzi, near Florence, a Crucifix from the same hand.]

CHAPTER XVIII

THE POLLAIUOLI

WE have reason to believe that the lives of Antonio and Piero Pollaiuolo have been, to some extent, falsely interwoven; and that, whilst history assigns the largest share of fame to Antonio as a goldsmith and painter, the claims of Piero to attention have been somewhat neglected.[1]

Antonio and Piero were the first and last born of four children.[2] Their father Jacopo d'Antonio was a goldsmith at Florence, the same perhaps whose name is recorded among the assistants of Bartoluccio and Ghiberti in the first gate of the Baptistery at Florence.[3] They were born severally in 1433 and 1443,[4] Antonio being articled to his father, and closing his apprenticeship in 1459,[5] Piero entering at

[1] [That the work of Antonio and Piero Pollaiuoli has been "falsely interwoven," but that Piero's share in the fame of the two brothers "has not been neglected," is amply proved by MAUD CRUTTWELL, *Antonio Pollaiuolo* (Duckworth, 1907). This excellent monograph is by far the best work on its subject. Miss Cruttwell calls Antonio "the greatest scientific artist of the Florentine school" and Piero "one of the weakest" (*op. cit.*, p. 25 *et seq.*) For a review of Pollaiuolo's work as a sculptor, see also VENTURI, *Storia dell' Arte*, vol. vi., p. 734 *et seq.*]

[2] [They were the eldest and youngest of six children, four sons and two daughters. *Cf.* MAUD CRUTTWELL, *op. cit.*, p. 3.]

[3] It is not certain that Jacopo d'Antonio who worked under Ghiberti, and whose name in records bears the addition of "da Bologna" (*vide Comment.* VASARI, vol. iii., p. 128), is the same as Jacopo d'Antonio, the father of the Pollaiuoli, but the identity of name and of profession suggests that they are one person. We might presume, if this were once admitted, that what Vasari relates as to the connection of Antonio Pollaiuolo with Bartoluccio and Ghiberti applies to his father, Jacopo. At all events, Antonio could not have taken part in the work of the Baptistery gates; as he was but fourteen years of age when the last of them was completed. VASARI, vol. v., p. 91. [Jacopo was a poulterer. Vasari tells us he was *assai basso e non molto agiato*. He seems, however, to have done well at his business. He possessed a shop in the Mercato Vecchio and a house in the country. His deposition to the Catasto of 1457 shows that he had considerable business. *Cf.*, MAUD CRUTTWELL, *op. cit.*, p. 2.]

[4] These dates are given by Jacopo d'Antonio in his return to the Catasto in 1457, and may naturally be preferred to those given by Antonio in his own return of 1480. *Vide* GAYE, *Carteggio, ubi sup.*, vol. i., p. 265.)

[Considerable doubt as to the dates of birth of Antonio and Piero still exists. MISS CRUTTWELL, discusses the question, and concludes that the most likely date for Antonio's birth is January 17, 1432 (*op. cit.*, p. 3, *note*), and for Piero's 1443 (*op. cit.*, p. 23).]

[5] This fact is stated by Antonio himself in the return of 1480. Ibid. [That he was not articled to his father is certain. MISS CRUTTWELL accepts in the

tender years, if at all, the atelier of Andrea del Castagno, and joining his brother a little later.[1]

Antonio, after his emancipation from articles in 1459, opened a shop as a goldsmith, situate (at least as late as 1480) in the Via di Vachereccia, Popolo S. Cecilia at Florence.[2] Contemporary journals, such as the family accounts of Cino di Filippo, record purchases from him of a silver girdle in open work and niello (July 7, 1461), "*tremolanti*" and gilt silver chains (April 6, 1462).[3]

The natural connection of painting with sculpture has been described in these pages, where antique art is shown animating the first Christian painters, the sculptors of the Pisan revival and Giotto. We have seen the models of the Greeks and Romans studied by Donatello, and we have marked the position of that sculptor at the head of a class which not only impregnated Christian themes with the Pagan style, but which even imitated the subjects of mythology. The tendency of the century to revive classic study in arts and letters produced a number of painters whose anxiety to realise the details of nature caused them to forget or ignore the necessity of selection. But even these, and others in whom realism was more select, were not unwilling to display the influence which they owed to emulation in rivalling as painters the works of sculptors or carvers in bas-relief.

The Pollaiuoli illustrate a kindred phase in the development of Florentine art, at a time when fashion had spread to articles of chiselled bronze and silver, representing figures and ornament, imitating still nature either really or after conventional designs. The spread of this fashion naturally gave an unusual importance to the goldsmith, whose business invaded that of the sculptor. As of old, the atelier of the latter was usually combined with that of the painter, it was now comprised in the workshop of the goldsmith, who thus carried on the most various branches of the same profession. The result of this combination was a subordination of sculpture to the necessities of the goldsmith and relief-caster. The composition and

main Vasari's story of his apprenticeship to Bartoluccio Ghiberti, the master of Lorenzo, whose attention he attracted while at work in the Baptistery gates (*op. cit.*, p. 4).]

[1] Besides Antonio and Piero, Jacopo had two other sons, Giovanni, who was born in 1439, and who carried on the paternal business in Florence as early as 1480, and Salvestro, born in 1435 and afterwards settled in Pisa. *Vide* GAYE, vol. i., p. 265, and Antonio's will in GUALANDI, *ubi sup.*, ser. v., p. 39 and following. We must remember that Andrea del Castagno died in 1457. See *antea*.

[2] See BALDINUCCI, *op. ubi sup.*, vol. v., p. 417; and GAYE, vol. i., p. 265.

[3] These accounts are published in full in GUALANDI, *ubi sup.*, ser. iv., pp 140–41.

the action of figures, their form and the lie of drapery, the arrangement of accessorial and ornamental detail in embroideries, jewels and head-dresses, all became subservient to that necessity. It presupposed straight or but slightly bent lines, and simple breadth in the masses, though it did not preclude any amount of minuteness in detail or ornament, and was necessarily allied to great neatness and precision in lines and extraordinary cleanliness and polish of surfaces. Painting, being carried on in the goldsmith's shop, was subjected to so much of these rules as might be properly applied; and pictures came to resemble, in colour and other features, imitations of silver and bronze works. The Pollaiuoli, Verrocchio, Botticelli and even Domenico Ghirlandaio were the exponents of this new fashion. It was carried so far, however, by the former that their works are altogether devoid of feeling or elegant form; and they seem to have had no other aim than to make pictures a pretext for illustrating the laws and mechanism of bronze. They were not unacquainted at the same time with the changes which had already been inaugurated by the Peselli, and favoured by Baldovinetti. In so far as they had been wrought, these changes have been described. We perceive in the pictures of the Pollaiuoli some further improvements to the system. To them we owe the introduction of glazes in draperies, which being prepared at first in a sort of dead colour approximating to the tone intended to be used, were afterwards passed over with a general transparent tint as may be seen in certain reds, and strengthened in the shadows with a still deeper colour. When they proposed to use the ground of the panel for lights, they glazed the whole extent of the drapery, so that the underground appeared, laid in the half tints and shadows with colour of greater body—and finally completed the latter with another layer, which thus remained high in surface. This mode of proceeding they varied with yet another. Glazing the ground of the panel to the colour of the semitones, they painted over the lights as well as shadows with more body, and thus left the half shades alone transparent. They sought to break the monotony of colour by introducing changing tones in the lights and shadows of dresses. They represented coloured marble and bronze articles, and copied the nature of their own goldsmith's work in order to define and give distinctness to the objects which they depicted. Their preference for this mode of reproducing light and shade may be said indeed to mar the flesh parts of some of their pictures, whose keys of tone and method of relief are too marked to be pleasing. Following the reverse of their practice in drapery, and seeking to give light as in nature, they painted the flesh and the hair with colour of

full impasto, thus giving to the parts a high surface, to locks the aspect of cords, and to their work generally the appearance of marquetry. There are exceptions to this, however, and some pictures, displaying much light and fusion united to vigour of colour, present a manifest improvement. The difficulties which the Pollaiuoli encountered in the use of the vehicles introduced at their time, were generally not less great than those which had been felt by their contemporaries. Their colour was of a general dull reddish tinge, rough in substance from the use of a viscous medium, too hard of manipulation to allow of easy handling, and, for the same reason, horny and high in surface. Raw contrasts were of frequent occurrence, and may be assigned to the same cause; and the comparative ease with which bituminous colour might be spread, caused them to adopt it in most parts of their pictures, but especially in landscapes. One may still trace, indeed, the presence of a general bituminous tone under some of their flesh tints.

It is clear that, although the Pollaiuoli added something to the practice of painters using the altered methods, they are no better entitled than other Florentines to claim the merit of having overcome the difficulties of oil, or of having perfected a subordinate part of painting to which much of the artistic development of the sixteenth century is due.

As regards drawing, we may listen to Benvenuto Cellini, who says, "Antonio was so great in it that all goldsmiths and many sculptors and painters used his designs;"[1] but these remarks apply perhaps specially to models of arrangement or distribution fitted for the wants of a class.

Whilst we admit in Giotto and the painters of the fourteenth century a certain neglect in the details of the outlines of forms, we find in the artists of the fifteenth century a reaction in the opposite sense, the details being thought of and the dignity or proportion of the whole to some extent forgotten. The Pollaiuoli were of their age. The outlines of all their figures give angular external blocks. Their drawing, though searching and rudely bold, is defective. It presents humanity without much grace of movement, without selection in the hands or feet, and often affected either in action or in dress. Yet one can see a great effort at realising muscular nature in the definition, often the cramped definition, of flesh parts which cling to and follow the forms of the bones—or of veins which run like cords beneath the skin. The Pollaiuoli were indeed most in their

[1] [Benvenuto Cellini, *I Trattati dell' Oreficeria e della Scultura* (ed. C. Milanesi, Firenze, 1857).]

element when they reproduced scenes in which muscular force was required, as in Hercules and Hydra or the death of Antæus, scenes which enabled them to display their qualities as students of muscular anatomy, and easier to copy from bronze than from nature.

The unanimous testimony of contemporaries assigns to Antonio Pollaiuolo the highest place amongst the goldsmiths of the time.[1] There is not a branch of his art, indeed, in which he does not seem to have shown his proficiency. Church ornaments, basins, helmets, chains, and Crucifixes, of most subtle workmanship, were either executed by him, or carried out from his designs. When Volterra rebelled in 1472, and was sacked by the Florentines under Federigo di Montefeltro, Lorenzo de' Medici, the prime mover of the war, was entrusted with the collection of presents to gratify the triumph of the successful general; and one of the presents was a silver helmet carved by Antonio.[2] The "Signori" required a large silver basin for their use in 1473; and they took it from Antonio. In 1480 he valued a relic-casket made by Jacopo of Pisa for the finger of S. Gimignano in the Collegiata of the city of that name.[3] The "consoli," in 1456, ordered a silver Crucifix for the Baptistery from Betto di Francesco, who finished the upper half of it and left the lower half to be completed by Milano di Domenico Dei and Antonio Pollaiuolo.[4] In the production of a Pax he is said to have rivalled the niello works of Maso Finiguerra.[5] Many of the reliefs in the silver dossale or altar table of S. Giovanni were furnished by him as early as 1477.[6] His constant relation and consultations with Lorenzo de' Medici on his peculiar art are testified by a letter of 1489, in which the latter, foreseeing the approaching departure of Antonio to Rome, informs his agent Giovanni Lanfredini that the artist will bespeak certain things with him.[7] The various commissions which he

[1] "Essendo stato dicto Antonio nostro cittadino, et huomo unico nella arte sua." Letter of the Florentine Signoria to their envoy Domenico Bonzi at Rome, Feb. 13, 1498/1497, in GAYE, vol. i., p. 340.

[2] GAYE, vol. i., pp. 570–71.

[3] PECORI, *ubi sup.*, p. 637, gives the original record, which is dated Feb. 7, 1480.

[4] RICHA, *Chiese*, vol. v., p. xxxi.

[5] A Pax by him is preserved in the Uffizi. [It is perhaps well to note here that he was the partner, not the rival of Finiguerra. MAUD CRUTTWELL, *op. cit.*, p. 10.]

[6] ALBERTINI, *Mem.*, *ubi sup.*, p. 9; VASARI, vol. v., pp. 92–3; and RICHA, *Chiese*, vol. v., p. xxxi. Yet GORI, *ap.* RUMOHR, *Forsch.* ii., p. 301, says, the works of Pollaiuolo must have been for some other monument in S. Giovanni than the "dossale." [The silver Cross of S. Giovanni was commissioned from him in 1457. *Cf.*, MAUD CRUTTWELL, *op. cit.*, pp. 49–60.]

[7] GAYE, vol. i., p. 341. [Antonio went to Rome in 1434. *Cf.* MAUD CRUTTWELL, *op. cit.*, pp. 10 and 189 *et seq.* He completed the silver cross for the altar of S. Giovanni before 1460.]

received at Rome from the Cardinal di Benevento and Monsignor Ascanio,[1] the funeral monuments of bronze which he cast and carved for Popes Sixtus IV. (1493) and Innocent VIII.,[2] show that his time was principally spent in the production of works of the chisel. The assertion of Vasari that he cut medals of good workmanship,[3] and that, after his death, models were found for an equestrian statue to Lodovico Sforza, prove that he was ready to execute the largest as well as the most minute undertakings.[4] Without entering into the analysis of the various works of this kind which remain, one may select for criticism the monument of Sixtus IV. in the Cappella del Sacramento at S. Peter's in Rome.

The pontiff lies at full length on the lid of a sarcophagus, on the corners of which are figures of Virtues and ornaments in relief.[5] The piece is remarkable for its successful distribution and the beauty of its ornamentation; but the rigid and exaggerated action, the searching study of the muscular developments of flesh, the realistic coarseness of the joints and extremities, the defective draperies, accuse an absence of the idea of severe sculptural simplicity, or prove that the hardness and angularity incidental to the casting of bronze were not to be overcome, when the artist attempted to realise too many of the details of movement in the limbs and extremities, or in the tendons and muscles.[6]

A Crucifixion in low relief, forming part of the collection of bronzes in the Uffizi[7] and assigned to Antonio Pollaiuolo, would illustrate other features of his talent as a sculptor.[8] Christ is crucified between

[1] *Vide* letter of the Signori from Florence, 1498/1497, to Domenico Bonsi, in GAYE, vol. i., p. 341. [*Cf.* also Antonio's letter in answer to a proposal of Gentile Virginio Orsini, Lord of Monterotondo, that he should make a bust of him. (In *l'Arte*, 1892, p. 208.) This document is reprinted by MISS CRUTTWELL (*op. cit.*, Doc. vii., p. 256).]

[2] This monument is in the Cappella della Concezione in S. Peter's at Rome. It represents Innocent at the top seated in benediction, with a dart in his left hand, lower recumbent on a tomb, on which are the Virtues.

[3] Vasari describes a medal by Antonio Pollaiuolo, struck in commemoration of the Pazzi conspiracy. It is engraved in LITTA, *Fam. cel. d' It.*, Medici fasc. vii., tom. i.

[4] VASARI, vol. v., p. 100. [Probably Vasari is mistaken. There is in existence a sketch made by Antonio for the monument to Francesca Sforza, which was as we know given to Leonardo. The competition took place probably about 1480–1, after Ludovico's accession. See MAUD CRUTTWELL, *op. cit.*, p. 17. The sketch is at Munich (Kupferstich Kabinet).]

[5] [Not precisely "the corners." The slab on which the figure of the Pope lies rests on a base where are represented the Seven Virtues. Round the sides are the Arts and Sciences, all in the highest relief.]

[6] This monument is inscribed: "OPUS . ANTONII . POLAIOLI . FLORENTINI. ARG . AURO . PICT . ÆRE . CLARI . AN . DOM . MCCCCLXXXXIII."

[7] No. 398.

[8] [This does not seem to be the work of Antonio Pollaiuolo.]

the thieves; the unrepentant, writhing and foreshortened, as the executioner strikes at his limbs. The foreground is animated by the usual groups, the distance carried out according to the laws of pictorial perspective usual in Ghiberti; whilst the character and forms of the figures, their drawing and modelling disclose a clear study of the antique and a vigour akin to that of Donatello. It is clear indeed that the artist had studied the great sculptors of his time and bowed to the superior style of at least one of them.[1] The most surprising feature, however, in this piece is the low nature of the relief; and the eye is lost in wonder at the cleverness with which the unrepentant thief is foreshortened on a surface of such slight projection.

In their pictorial efforts the two Pollaiuoli must be taken together, as men whose style was affected by their continuous labours in plastic art, and mainly in works of bronze and silver. Their model as painters is Andrea del Castagno. One naturally inquires what is the share of Antonio and of Piero in such wall-pieces and pictures as are extant; and a natural presumption arises that works which display most sculptural elements and study of the antique owe most to the hand of Antonio, whilst those, in which the pictorial element more certainly prevails, are by Piero.[2]

In the first class the small panels of the Uffizi,[3] representing the encounter of Hercules with Antæus and with the Hydra, are the most conspicuous. In the exertion of pressure on the waist of Antæus—in the act of striking at the monster, the life of the frames, their exuberance of projecting muscle, their prodigiously marked development and action, exhibit a great power in the reproduction of physical exertion in the human body; whilst the composition of the figures proves a study of the antique. The spirited drawing and the precision with which the parts are rendered, combined with other

[1] The figures are, however, less square than those of Donatello, of a slenderer build too. [This picture MR. BERENSON attributes to Jacopo de' Barbari (*cf. Venetian Painters*, 1898, p. 80). Miss Cruttwell agrees with him. It is certainly not by the Pollaiuoli.]

[2] [Of all the paintings that pass under the name of Antonio Pollaiuolo, not more than eleven, MISS CRUTTWELL tells us, are really his, and of these four are in part the work of his brother Piero. Again, four out of the seven oil paintings executed entirely by him "date from a time when Piero was still a mere apprentice" (*op. cit.*, p. 61). It is impossible to decide with certainty the chronological order of his works. None are dated, and documents are almost non-existent. The Portugal Chapel was dedicated in 1466, so that this work might seem to be of that time. It is the first of Antonio's pictures in which Piero's hand is visible, according to Miss Cruttwell. Antonio decorated the altar wall of the Portugal Chapel with two angels.]

[3] [No. 1153. This work must have been painted about 1460, Miss Cruttwell tells us. This is the work of Antonio. *Cf.* BERENSON, *Florentine Painters* (1900), p. 135.]

qualities, makes this a masterpiece well worthy of attention; and we can well conceive it to be true, as Vasari says, that the Pollaiuoli had studied anatomy by dissection.[1]

Had this been the only example of its kind, it might have sufficed to characterise the style of the artist. Others almost equally remarkable in sculptural features illustrate his genius; and these are the Virtues originally painted in the tribunal of the Mercatanzia at Florence, one of which, that of Prudence, exhibited at the Uffizi,[2] is not without grandeur. The whole series is that of a man accustomed to deal with models suited to the exigencies of bronze. The figures are all life size, each of them seated on a throne within a niche supported by feigned pillars, and adorned with feigned architectural ornament, the semidome of the niche itself being filled with a perspective of panelling and centre rosettes; and the bases being cut out into open work. The style of architecture, ornament, costume and drapery, as well as the selection of colours in the figure of Prudence, exemplify the tendency to plastic imitation in the Pollaiuoli. We see a female whose hair falls in tresses, clad in a variegated and complicated costume, and decked in a blue mantle adorned with borders of precious stones, holding a staff capped with a medal in her left hand, grasping a serpent in her right.[3] Her throne

[1] VASARI, vol. v., p. 97, describes these subjects as being executed for Lorenzo de' Medici and in Casa Medici. The size, which he gives at five *braccia*, will not apply to the pictures of the Uffizi which represent the same subjects in small proportions. The colour of the piece at the Uffizi is now a little embrowned. The landscape of hills and plain is minute and real.

[2] [No. 1306.] The rest of the series, in so far as it was executed by the Pollaiuoli, is stowed away in the private magazines of the Gallery. No. 1, Faith, is repainted in the flesh tints and much injured in the remaining parts. No. 2, Justice, No. 3, Charity, No. 4, Hope, are so damaged that only parts of drawing and painting remain. No. 5, Temperance, is likewise much injured. The 7th Virtue, Fortitude, also at the Uffizi, is by Botticelli; see *postea*.

[In the series of Virtues the work of Antonio is confined to a drawing in chalk for the Charity on the back of the picture, No. 73, and, according to MISS CRUTTWELL, to some "slight touches on the detail of the Prudence" (*op. cit.*, p. 126), which is by Piero. It may be well to note here that though Vasari attributes these paintings to the two brothers, Antonio Billi and the "Anonimo" Gaddiano and Albertini attribute them to Piero alone. The documents published by J. MESNIL in the *Miscellanea d'Arte* (1903), vol. i., p. 43 (*Les Figures des Vertus de la Mercanzia*), and reprinted by MISS CRUTTWELL (*op. cit.*, doc. xiv., p. 26), tells us that Botticelli painted the Fortitude in competition with Piero. *Cf.*, MAUD CRUTTWELL, *op. cit.*, p. 137 *et seq.* The pictures are now exhibited in the Uffizi. The Charity, No. 73, the Faith, No. 72, the Temperance, No. 71, were painted by Piero, according to the documents. Of the Prudence, No. 1306, the Hope, No. 69, and the Justice, No. 70, they say nothing, but they would certainly seem to be from Piero's hand. Antonio may have had some small share in the Prudence and the Charity. Miss Cruttwell, then, gives these six figures to Piero. Mr. Berenson agrees so far as the Prudence is concerned, but says nothing of the others.]

[3] Her sleeves are red, ornamented with gold. Her dress violet, with white

is of white, red, and green marble. A carpet decks the demi-hexagon of parti-coloured stone on which her bare feet rest. The fine head reminds one of some executed by Piero della Francesca; the nude, though fair in style, is still marked with the stamp of coarseness which necessarily results from large and common extremities. The draperies are amongst the best executed by the Pollaiuoli, and cleverly define the forms. The drawing is bold and strongly marked, the flesh tint bright and clear.[1] The whole is evidently coloured with tones moistened with an oil medium in the manner already observed in the Peselli and in Baldovinetti, and modified according to the custom described as peculiar to the Pollaiuoli.

The same phase of art is represented in a large S. Sebastian at the Pitti,[2] in the usual coarse forms, disproportioned in the parts, but still displaying a reminiscence of a study of the antique, and coloured with the same bright, well-fused tones, impregnated with much vehicle, which mark the Prudence at the Uffizi.

Less of the plastic element, a more pictorial style, will be observed in the altarpiece of S. James between SS. Eustace and Vincent, originally painted for the Cardinal di Portogallo in S. Miniato al Monte, and now at the Uffizi.[3] The three figures stand almost life size on a marble pediment in front of a balustrade, supported by pillars of bronze, through and behind which may be seen a landscape and sky, recalling those produced with such mastery and minuteness of detail by Piero della Francesca and the Van Eycks, Antonello and the Venetians.[4] The costumes are richly variegated in strong colours, glazed and painted in the manner described as characteristic of the Pollaiuoli, and ornamented with the minuteness and overflowing luxury peculiar to the "orafi." The bright, clear, and lucid flesh tints are fused with much viscous vehicle. The picture is a fine one, but is still marked by the broken outlines and coarse extremities usual in all the works hitherto noticed.

The frescoes of the Evangelists, Doctors and Prophets—a panel

lights, supposing the existence of a white net falling over it. The blue mantle is lined with green.

[1] And perhaps less rough in substance now than of old, in consequence of restoring.

[2] [No. 384.] The figure is characterised by a small head, a square thorax, long legs and large feet.

[3] [No. 1301.] S. James in the centre, leaning on a pole, wears a blue vest with yellow tracery, and is enveloped in a rich red mantle of strong tone glazed with lake. A green cap is at his feet.

[4] S. Eustace wears a greenish tunic painted of a high surface—red stocking hose, glazed with a full body of lake—sleeves, yellow with flowers touched white in the lights (high surface). The mantle is lined with white fur. S. Vincent is in a red dress adorned with borders stuffed with pearls.

of the Annunciation in the chapel of S. Miniato, for which the S. James was executed, have been assigned to the Pollaiuoli.[1] The damaged remnants of the former exhibit to the spectator fragments, chiefly of drapery, in a careful style, reminiscent, as to drawing and technical methods of colour, of Baldovinetti's fresco in the SS. Annunziata. They are, indeed, classed by Albertini[2] amongst the works of Alesso, and being, according to Vasari, "in oil," may possibly have been painted in the new and unsuccessful vehicle which proved so perishable in his Nativity.[3]

The Annunciation, a rude and blistered tempera on panel, appears to have been produced by means different from those peculiar to the Pollaiuoli or Baldovinetti. It seems to be the patiently elaborated piece of a young beginner, who could afford to lavish time and finish upon details of borders, pearls, jewels, locks, and feathers.[4] It stands clearly lower in the scale of art than the injured frescoes of the walls.

The masterpiece of our artists, according to Vasari, is the Martyrdom of S. Sebastian, an altar table completed in 1475 for Antonio Pucci, in the family chapel at the SS. Annunziata, and intended to immortalise Gino di Lodovico Capponi under the features of the saint.[5] Those who have daily occasion to see this picture in the National Gallery[6] may admit that it displays an activity and variety of life in the muscular action of the archers, in the sportive caracoles of horses, which remind one of Donatello's bas-relief for the pediment of the S. George at Orsanmichele. The figure of the martyred saint is a fine study of a fairly proportioned nude; but the imitation of a common nature in the coarse extremities and swollen

[1] VASARI, vol. v., p. 95.

[2] *Memoriale, ubi sup.*, p. 17. [See *supra.*]

[3] The chapel was consecrated, according to an inscription on the arch, on 11th October 1456. RUMOHR, *Forschungen*, vol. ii., p. 269. [This is a misreading; the chapel was dedicated in 1466.]

[4] Each lock of hair hangs in a twist by the side of the other, and the hairs are minutely lined. The feathers of the angel's wings are worked out with similar detail. The same may be said of the ornaments. The best part of the picture is the profile of the angel. (See *supra.*]

[5] VASARI, vol. v., p. 96, and RICHA, *Chiese*, vol. viii., p. 54. Antonio paid 300 scudi for the piece.

[The Sebastian is not a portrait of Gino Capponi, for he died before the birth of Antonio. Miss Cruttwell tells us the face is "merely stylistic." All sorts of opinions as to the share of the brothers in this work have been expressed. Vasari gives it altogether to Antonio; Mr. Berenson, among others, follows him. The Anonimo Billi and the Anonimo Gaddiano give it wholly to Piero. Morelli thought that the design was Antonio's, the painting Piero's. Miss Cruttwell gives the composition to Antonio as well as a "large part of the execution, namely, the two archers loading their bows in the foreground, the spirited groups of figures in the background, and the characteristic landscape." To Piero she gives the rest.]

[6] [No. 292.] It was purchased of the Marchese Pucci at Florence in 1857.

veins or muscles, is quite as apparent as the vulgarity of type and forms in the saint and his tormentors. It is a piece highly characteristic of the manner of the Pollaiuoli, but one in which the pictorial element is impressed with more force than upon foregoing examples. It is characteristic, not merely because of the life and action and the coarse realism which prevails in most parts of it, but because of the recurrence of the usual varied landscape with its abundant episodes and its classic Greek arch adorned with medallions, because of the rough surface, the reddish tones of the flesh, the glare and changing hues of the primaries, the absence of style in the draperies, and the obvious difficulty encountered in the use of the viscous medium. It is a fine work, but praised to exaggeration by Vasari.

A less perfect specimen of manner and execution, but an equally interesting example of the Pollaiuoli's peculiar methods of painting, is the Archangel and Tobit of Orsanmichele now in the Turin Gallery.[1] We need not pause to note the curious fancy which clothes the archangel in the antique costume, and dresses Tobit in cap, mantle, buskins and hose, or mark the recurrence of broken outlines, defective articulations, coarse extremities and angular draperies. We shall take this picture as an illustration of the technical method employed by the artists in painting one of their characteristic landscapes. A stream meanders from distant hills towards the foreground. A city, a castle and isolated trees dot the serpentine banks. There is a ferry near a castle, a couple of naked men contemplating a bath.[2] The whole distance is painted on a general brownish undertone of a liquid texture. Into this the blue hills are vaguely touched in a deeper bituminous brown of stiff and lustrous surface, defining, though with evident labour in the working of it, the trees, the castle and the men on the banks, projecting like islets of colour on the panel. The water too is high in surface, of a whitish tone mingling with the under colour and with reflections dabbed on in blue. All this, at one sitting, *alla prima*, in that bold effective scenic way which will not bear close inspection, but indicates all that is required for effect, a brownish and somewhat parched landscape, with a mysterious twilight about it such as Verrocchio gave to his unfinished Baptism of Christ, the clear forerunner of that melancholy but soft landscape, with its ideal labyrinths of hills and valleys and wandering streamlets, which charm

[1] VASARI, vol. v., p. 95. [No. 97.] [Miss Cruttwell gives "nearly the whole of the painting of the figures to Piero; the landscape to Antonio." Mr. Berenson is apparently of opinion that the work of the brothers cannot here be distinguished.]

[2] A shaggy dog trots before the archangel. The sky is decked here and there with fleecy clouds of high surface and lustrous vehicle.

in Leonardo's Mona Lisa.[1] Thus we find in the Pollaiuoli the spring from which the students of pure light and shade, as distinguished from the colourists, arose, and we trace a direct descent from them to the perfection of Leonardo da Vinci.

Next in order of merit, inferior to the Turin altarpiece, and exaggerating the defects of the Pollaiuoli, is the Coronation of the Virgin in the choir of the Pieve of S. Gimignano, inscribed :

PIERO DELL POLLAIUOLO FLORĒTINO 1483.[2]

It is a picture in which the manipulation seems more toilsome, the types and flesh are more common, the outlines more broken, and the draperies more unsatisfactory than those of any other production of the masters.

Descending still lower in the same scale, we notice the Annunciation in the Berlin Museum, whose general aspect is that of a piece of tarsia, and which is but a poor representative of the talent of the Pollaiuoli.[3]

Before concluding with a general list of the Pollaiuoli's works, we may sum up the experience of the foregoing pages in a few words.

The general impression created by their productions of chisel or of brush is that they are all consistently stamped with an uniform character. Antonio Pollaiuolo is the true carver and chiseller, and the more talented of the two brothers. But he is also a painter of no mean power, in whose pictures of Herculean combats one may trace the art of a sculptor accustomed to the models of antiquity, and tempering his study of them with a due knowledge of natural forms in their most varied expression. He is a man of excessive boldness in conception and in execution.

[1] This applies equally to the Virgin of the Rocks at the Louvre, and, as regards methods of preparation, to the sketched Adoration of the Magi by Leonardo at the Uffizi.

[2] PECORI, *ubi sup.*, p. 522, says, that this altarpiece was ordered of Piero by Domenico Strambi for his monastery of S. Agostino. But he gives no proofs in support. Ten angels dance or chaunt about the principal group, in front of which, at each side, kneel (right) SS. Gimignano, Jerome and Niccola da Tolentino, (left) Fina, Nicholas and Augustine. Some doubts arise as to the genuineness of the inscription.

[3] No. 73, assigned to Antonio. The figures are nearly life size, the Virgin seated and the angel kneeling before her, in a hall whose perspective leaves much to be desired. Outside is a view of the city of Florence. The difficulty of manipulation is very evident in the high surface colour of this work, whose yellow and raw flesh tone is vitreous and shadowed coldly and darkly. The broken outlines of the forms, the angular character of the draperies, the exuberance of ornament show us the bad side of the invasion made on painting by the art of the goldsmiths. The picture was originally in the collection of Mr. Solly. [This work is by Piero, according to Mr. Berenson; by Piero, assisted a little by Antonio, according to Miss Cruttwell.]

The pictorial element, in contradistinction to that of the carver and statuary, is more or less visible in the series which commences with the altarpiece of S. James, at the Uffizi, and ends with that of the Berlin Museum. We may conclude, therefore, that the Hercules and Hydra, and the Hercules crushing Antæus, are by Antonio and the other works by Piero. Vasari attributes the best creations to the elder, the worst to the younger brother; but an older authority gives to Piero the Virtues now at the Uffizi,[1] the altarpiece of S. Miniato (S. James [2]), and the Martyrdom of S. Sebastian, now in the National Gallery; [3] and the judgment of this author is confirmed by the general tenor of Vasari's remarks as regards Piero, whom he describes as a pupil of Andrea del Castagno, and who would appear to us as a mere second- or third-rate painter, or assistant, if he had nothing more to recommend him than the lowest productions of the series which has been reviewed.

One picture of much value requires some further remark. It is the S. Sebastian of the Berlin Museum.[4] This is a life-size figure of the martyr tied with his hands behind his back to a branching tree and looking up. A searching study characterises the nude. There is some elegance in the attitude. But the character of the figure is different from that of the Pollaiuoli, and suggests the name of Sandro Botticelli. We shall have occasion to note a resemblance between this painter and the Pollaiuoli—for instance, in a figure of Justice forming part of the series executed for the Mercatanzia.[5] It is therefore not improbable that he may be the author of the S. Sebastian at Berlin, which is a figure not painted in the innovating method of the time, and less in the style of the Pollaiuoli than the Fortitude by Botticelli, of which we shall have occasion to speak.

The following list may complete the series of works assigned or assignable to the Pollaiuoli :—

Florence. Academy of Arts. Assigned to Pollaiuoli (without Christian name), S. Augustine, S. Monica [*Nos.* 59, 60]. These are figures painted in the innovating method and in the style of the Pollaiuoli, with some study of nature and of a sculptural character in the draperies. There is much realism in the bony grieving face of S. Monica. The flesh tone is horny, the shadows roughly stippled over and high in surface, and the general colour dull.[6]

[1] *Memoriale, ubi sup.*, p. 16. [2] Ibid., p. 17. [3] Ibid., p. 13.

[4] No. 1128. [This is now admitted to be by Sandro Botticelli. *Cf.* BERENSON, *Florentine Painters* (1900), p. 206.]

[5] [The Justice is by Piero, according to Miss Cruttwell.]

[6] A Holy Nun, giving the rules of her order to twelve females, with two angels kneeling between them and the spectator. This is the subject of a panel of a

Florence. Galleria Torrigiani. A bust-portrait, three-quarters, of a beardless aged man, with a bold glance and full of life. His right hand, of coarse build, grasps the side of his red mantle. This is a rare work of the Pollaiuoli, of firm and impetuous design and astonishing realistic truth, the forms being well rendered, in the style of the foregoing figures of SS. Augustine and Monica, but with more power. The colour is low and dull, the verde shadows being stippled over the local tone. The shadows of the dress are high in surface like those of the flesh.[1]

Florence. Collection of the Duca Strozzi. A bust portrait in profile of a member of the Strozzi family, varying somewhat in character, style and execution from the foregoing. The face is beardless; the nose aquiline; dress, a red vest and yellow sleeves. This is a tempera piece of a yellowish tone, carefully drawn. It suggests the name of Botticelli.

Florence. Uffizi. [*No.* 30.] "Unknown." In the character of the foregoing, a profile bust-portrait of a man in a green cap and wearing a golden collar, life size.[2]

Florence. Corsini Gallery. Portrait of a youth with a growing beard. This portrait assigned to Pollaiuolo may be mentioned later, in the life of Antonello da Messina.

Munich Gallery. [*No.* 565, *Cab.*] Marriage of Poverty to S. Francis, a small unimportant work, of poor execution and a mixture of the styles noticeable in works of the school of Botticelli and Domenico Ghirlandaio. [*No.* 570, *Cab.*] SS. Sebastian and George. [*No.* 575, *Cab.*] A Virgin and Child with a bust of the donor in front. Same style as foregoing. All three in tempera.

Modena Gallery. [*No.* 57.] S. Sebastian, a very common picture in the above class.

Vasari states that Piero Pollaiuolo died at Rome in 1498.[3] But we possess the will of Antonio, written in 1496, in which he affectionately alludes to the death of his brother in the following terms: "Item, the testator declares that when his late brother Petrus, then still of this world, but infirm and at the hour of death, did freely and

lower class, but still in the style of the Pollaiuoli in the Cappella Capponi at S. Spirito in Florence. Another picture, apparently from the atelier of the Pollaiuoli is [No. 54] in the Florence Academy of Arts, representing SS. Michael, Gabriel, Raphael and Tobit in a landscape. It is a piece of a rude and dull colour.

[The S. Augustine and S. Monica, Academy, Nos, 59 and 60, are attributed by BERENSON, *Florentine Painters* (1900), p. 109, to Botticini, so are the splendid S. Monica giving the Rule of her Order to her nuns in the Cappella Capponi (2nd R. Transept), of S. Spirito, and the Journey of Tobias, No. 54, Academy, Florence. The last is still the subject of controversy, some giving it to Botticelli, some to Verrocchio or Antonio Pollaiuolo. The attribution to Verrocchio has been warmly pressed by Bode, and was as strongly opposed by Morelli (*cf. Della Pittura Italiana*, pp. 78, 79).]

[1] [I cannot find this work, nor the following; but neither Miss Cruttwell nor Mr. Berenson speak of them as from the Pollaiuoli.]

[2] [This is apparently a portrait of Galeazzo Sforza, Duke of Milan. It is mentioned in the Medici inventory as being the work of Piero.]

[3] VASARI, vol. v., p. 99.

of his own accord leave to him, the said testator, certain lands in the territory of Pistoia, commending at the same time to his, the said testator's, care Dona Lisa, natural daughter of the said Peter," &c.[1]

The death of Antonio in 1498 is proved by a letter of February in that year from the government of Florence to their agent in Rome, alluding to the recent demise of the sculptor, and recommending the widow's claims for the recovery of certain sums due from the Cardinals of Benevento and Ascanio.[2] The prosperous career of a goldsmith of that age may be inferred from the fact that Antonio's will leaves 5000 ducats of gold to each of his two daughters. His portrait in Filippino's fresco of S. Paul before the Proconsul in the Brancacci Chapel may be recognised from Vasari's engraving, and presents to the spectator the appearance of a square-browed, aquiline-featured, resolute person.

A list of works which are no longer to be traced includes :—

S. Miniato fra le Torri, Florence, a S. Christopher of colossal size.[3] For the "Capitani di Parte," Florence, a half round of the Virgin and Child with a garland of angels, in oil.[4] For the office "del Proconsolo," at the time situate at the corner of the Via del Proconsolo and Via de' Pandolfini at Florence (*note* to Vas. vol. iv., p. 217), a series of portraits,[5] S. Marco, Florence, a Crucified Saviour and S. Antonino.[6] Palazzo Pubblico, Florence, wall paintings (Nov. 1482), executed by Piero in "faciam putei" of that edifice.[7] Arezzo, Compagnia di S. Angelo, a processional flag with a Crucifixion.[8] It is proved (*Doc. Sen.*, vol. ii., p. 87) that Antonio did not take part in the baptismal font of the Duomo of Siena.[9]

[1] GUALANDI, *ubi sup.*, ser. v., p. 39 and following.
[2] GAYE, *ubi sup.*, p. 340.
[3] VASARI., vol. v., p. 96; RICHA, *Chiese*, vol. iv., p. 71; ALBERTINI, *Mem.*, *ubi sup.*, p. 14. The last-named author assigns the figure to Piero.
[4] VASARI, vol. v., p. 95.
[5] Ibid., p. 96.
[6] Ibid., p. 97; and ALBERTINI, *ubi sup.*, *Mem.*, p. 12.
[7] VASARI, vol. v., p. 97; GAYE, *ubi sup.*, vol. i., p. 578.
[8] VASARI, vol. v., p. 98.
[9] [I may add here a short list of pictures now more or less securely attributed to the Pollaiuoli which have not been mentioned in the text :—

FLORENCE.	*Uffizi.* No. 3450 : Portrait of a Lady (repainted)- Miss Cruttwell gives this to Antonio.
	Torre del Gallo. Fresco : Five nude dancing figures (repainted). Mr. Berenson and Miss Cruttwell give this to Antonio.
MILAN.	*Poldo-Pezzoli.* No. 21 : Portrait of a Lady. Miss Cruttwell says this is a portrait of the wife of Giovanni dei Bardi, and gives it to Antonio (*op. cit.*, p. 177 *et seq.*); Mr. Berenson thinks it may be the work of Andrea Verrocchio.

MARTYRDOM OF S. SEBASTIAN

ANTONIO POLLAIUOLO. National Gallery.

Anderson.

TOBIAS AND THE ANGEL

POLLAIUOLO. Gallery, Turin.

Note 9 *continued*—

STAGGIA (near Poggibonsi). *Pieve di S. Maria.* Communion of S. Mary of Egypt (panel in oils). This fine work, which was again rescued from an unjust neglect by Mr. Perkins, has been ascribed to Piero Pollaiuolo by MR. BERENSON, in an interesting article in the *Rassegna d'Arte.* Miss Cruttwell, however, considers it to be by Antonio, and Mr. Perkins is, we believe, now of the same opinion.

LONDON. *National Gallery.* No. 928: Apollo and Daphne (panel in oil). Mr. Berenson and Miss Cruttwell give this to Antonio.

BERLIN. *K. F. Museum.* David (panel in oil). Both Mr. Berenson and Miss Cruttwell agree that this is by Antonio.

NEW-HAVEN. *Jarvis Collection.* Hercules and Nessus. A fine work by Antonio. (See RANKIN, in *American Journal of Archæology,* and BERTHA HOWLAND, in *Burlington Magazine.* Berenson also gives this to Antonio.

NEW YORK. *Metropolitan Museum.* S. Christopher (fresco). MR. RANKIN considers this Piero's best work (see *Rassegna d'Arte* (Milan), March, 1908).

Mr. Berenson gives the altarpiece of the Assumption of the Virgin in S. Niccolò, Florence, to Piero. MISS CRUTTWELL, who omits it altogether from her list of pictures (*op. cit.*, p. 224 *et seq.*), tells us in her *Florentine Churches,* (Dent, 1908), that it is a fine work by Antonio.]

CHAPTER XIX

ANDREA DEL VERROCCHIO

We have marked the Pollaiuoli as the exponents of a new fashion in the art of Florence in the fifteenth century. We have noted Andrea del Verrocchio amongst those who form part of the talented group which comprises Antonio, Piero, Botticelli and even Domenico Ghirlandaio. The natural order of the narrative leads us to describe the share which Verrocchio took in the development of the artistic period which he illustrates.

He was born in 1432, of Domenico di Michele de' Cioni.[1] He kept a goldsmith's shop like that of his comrade, Antonio Pollaiuolo; and history preserves the following distinct marks of his artistic activity :—

1471 (new style). He founds the plate for the ball above the cupola of S. M. del Fiore at Florence.

1472 (n. s.). He completes the funeral monument of Giovanni and Piero de' Medici in S. Lorenzo of Florence.

1473 (n. s.). He values the pulpit of Mino da Fiesole and Antonio Rossellino at Prato.

1474 (n. s.). He gives the model for a monument to Cardinal Forteguerri at Pistoia, and founds the bronze bell adorned with bas-reliefs of the abbey of Montescalari.

1476 (n. s.). Executes the bronze of the youthful David now at the Uffizi.

1477 (n. s.), *circa*. Carves two of the compartments of the dossale

[1] His birth is only inferred. Vasari says he died aged fifty-six, and his death occurred in 1488. His father's name was copied from the inscription on the tomb in S. Ambrogio at Florence.

[Andrea was born in 1435, his father, Michele di Francesco Cioni, who was born in 1382, was a brick and tile-maker by trade, belonging to the Guild of the stoneworkers. Later he was a tax collector. He was over fifty when Andrea was born, the youngest child of his first wife Gemma, who died shortly after. Michele died in 1452. *Cf.* Maud Cruttwell in *l'Arte*, ann. vii. (1904), fasc. iii.–x., and for the best study of the artist, Idem, *Verrocchio* (Duckworth, 1904). Another interesting monograph on the artist is that by H. Mackowsky, *Verrocchio* (Bielefeld and Leipzig, 1901). See also Venturi, in *Storia dell' Arte*, vol. vi., pp. 706 *et seq.* At the age of seventeen, Andrea by chance killed Antonio di Domenico, a wool-maker, with a stone. The Council acquitted him of the charge of homicide. Is it possible that this unfortunate affair may be the real basis to the story that Andrea del Castagno murdered Domenico di Veneziano ? The similarity in the names is curious at any rate.]

or altar table of the Florence Baptistery in company with Antonio Pollaiuolo.

1478–79–80. He produces a candelabra with reliefs and ornaments for the audience hall of the Palazzo Pubblico at Florence.

1471–84 (n. s.). He completes certain apostles for the chapel of Sixtus IV. in the Vatican.

1483. He finishes the bronze of S. Thomas searching the wound of Christ, in a niche at Orsanmichele of Florence.

1488. He dies at Venice, after having furnished the model of the monument voted to Bartolommeo Colleoni.[1]

Vasari seems desirous of insinuating that Verrocchio was self-taught. Baldinucci refers his readers to a rare manuscript of the time to prove that Verrocchio was a pupil of Donatello.[2] It is obvious that his talent as a sculptor may have been stamped in a certain measure in the mould of the great artist in whose company he is said to have worked at S. Lorenzo of Florence;[3] and that he may have issued from the same school as Antonio Pollaiuolo, in friendly rivalry with whom he chiselled two of the reliefs of the altar-table of S. Giovanni at Florence. The solitary example of his pictorial style which we possess proves an acquaintance with the technical innovations and the types of the Pollaiuoli, but reveals a variety of feeling which may be searched out later with advantage.[4] Verrocchio, indeed, combines the peculiarities of two or three painters, of Fra Filippo in a slight measure, of Andrea del Castagno and Domenico Veneziano. Of a more noble artistic fibre than the second, he partakes more surely of the nature of the third, whose works are, however, so scarce that one cannot affirm anything with too great certainty. "He was a goldsmith, a master of perspective, a sculptor

[1] These facts and dates are all well known, and may be proved on reference to GAYE, *Carteggio*, vol. i., p. 367, and fol. 569–70–75, and VASARI, vol. v., p. 139 and following, with the notes of the commentators.

[For a full chronological table, see MAUD CRUTTWELL, *Verrocchio* (Duckworth, 1904), p. 224 *et seq.* The bronze candelabra was already begun on 29th June 1468. *Cf.* GAYE, i., p. 569; and M. CRUTTWELL, *op. cit.*, p. 246. There is nothing to corroborate the statement of Vasari that early in his career he made silver statuettes of the Apostles for the chapel of Sixtus IV., in Rome. It is extremely improbable that Verrocchio was ever in Rome. *Cf.* M. CRUTTWELL, *op. cit.*, p. 28.]

[2] VASARI, vol. v., p. 139; BALDINUCCI, *Opere*, vol. v., p. 422. Del Migliore's statement, for which he does not give sufficient authority, is that Verrocchio was apprentice to Giuliano Verrocchi, a Florentine goldsmith. *Vide* excerpt in VASARI, vol. v., p. 139. [That Verrocchio was a pupil of Donatello is asserted by the "Anonimo" Magliabecchiano. That he was apprenticed to Giuliane dei Verrocchi is now certain.]

[3] "In Fiorenza, nella sagrestia di S. Lorenzo, un lavamani di marmo, nel quale lavorò parimente Andrea Verrocchio." (VASARI, vol. iii., p. 259.)

[4] [We possess at least two pictures from his hand; see *infra*.]

and carver, a painter and a musician." These words of Vasari [1] seem appropriate to characterise the mastery of Leonardo, who grasped so many varieties of talent, and who issues from the atelier of Verrocchio. Yet if we test the man by his work, we find that Verrocchio was indeed not merely a goldsmith, but a sculptor and carver, a draughtsman, and a painter. It is true that his sculpture is mostly bronze, but he is almost unrivalled in that metal; and the Colleoni Monument testifies to this, whilst it proves his power as a designer, his knowledge of perspective, of form, motion and anatomy. These last acquirements are essentially prominent in the Pollaiuoli, and were therefore common to them and to their contemporary and rival; but Verrocchio rises above the art of the goldsmith, stands at a higher level than Antonio and Piero, and fitly represents that combination of science and art which was continued and perfected by Leonardo. In judging his remains it is necessary to examine and to keep in mind not only the creations of a contemporary or bygone time, but those of a subsequent period; and the productions of Leonardo as well as those of Lorenzo di Credi teach us to appreciate at their just value the attainments of their master, whose complex of works is confined to a few remarkable examples. It is characteristic and illustrative of this fact, that the drawings of Verrocchio, of Leonardo, and even in some cases of Lorenzo di Credi suggest doubts as to which of the three may be the real author; and the difference which appears on analysis seems only to arise from the stamp on some of them of a vaster genius and superior skill. Their style, which is original in Verrocchio, is the same. They all define form with extraordinary precision and finish, whilst their lights, shadows, and reflections possess the silvery clearness and polish natural to a carver in metal. A splendid profile of a horse in the collection of drawings of the Louvre, sketched with point on prepared paper and shadowed with light bister on the edge of the outline, may afford an appropriate illustration. It rests three legs on pillars, recalls the bronzes on the façade of S. Mark at Venice, and is properly assigned to Verrocchio, as it seems a study for the Colleoni Monument. But the style and the technical skill fitly represent the genius of Leonardo; and the drawing might be assigned to him without diminishing his fame. The drawings of this and other collections, but chiefly the most complete series brought together by Mr. Reiset and now in the hands of H.R.H. the Duc d'Aumale, offer the same peculiarity, and leave the student in doubt whether he is looking at works of Verrocchio, Leonardo, or

[1] Vol. v., p. 139.

Lorenzo di Credi. The forms of infants, for instance, are remarkably characteristic. Their prototype is in the beautiful bronze, originally cast and chiselled for a fountain in the gardens of the Medici's villa at Careggi, and transferred later to the court of the old Palazzo at Florence. A boy holds a struggling dolphin under his arm, and the pressure seems to produce the fall of water from the fish's nostrils. "Nothing," says Rumohr truly, in his happiest vein of description, "can be gayer or more lively than the expression and action of this infant, and no modern bronze can be named that combines such beautiful treatment with such perfect style. It is a picture of a half-flying, half-running motion, whose varied action is still true to the centre of gravity. With a happy feeling, the artist has given to the child a pleasing fulness of rounding, and to the wings a certain angular sharpness." [1]

The drawings of children to which attention is now directed produce the same impression as this bronze, and offer to the eye the perfection of the same type.[2] This, indeed, is natural, because the principles on which both are produced are the same. The pleasing fulness which Rumohr notes is carried to an exaggerated measure in the children of Lorenzo di Credi. He is not content with plumpness, but introduces pinguidity, the fat protrusions of parts being awkwardly apparent at the joints, which they reduce to lines compressing the flesh and forcing it as it were to bulge. The study of nature's realism at the same time affects the choice of forms; and short-necked, thin-chested, large-limbed infants assume an action proper to an over-fat condition.[3] But this was Lorenzo di Credi's favourite system of line; and he draws in successions of curves not only the flesh of the limbs and body, but the component parts of eyes and mouths, checking or stopping them with marked points at the necessary places.

These peculiar characteristics of Lorenzo di Credi may be noticed in a minor degree in some of the bronzes of Verrocchio, but are least visible in the David of the Uffizi.[4]

Verrocchio's idea of the shepherd champion is that of a young man whose forms have not attained the full development of man-

[1] RUMOHR, *Forschungen*, vol. ii., p. 304. He adds, and the remark is still true: "This model piece was lately deprived by cleaners of its beautiful 'patina,' the effect of time; and the result has been the creation of hardnesses which the spectator must not attribute to the artist, but to the barbarism of our day."

[2] [*e.g.*, the sheet of drawings with Putti now in the Louvre.]

[3] The elbows, for instance, are necessarily thrown out.

[4] [Now in the Bargello] life size. *Vide* VASARI, p. 142; GAYE, *Carteggio*, vol. i., p. 572.

hood, elastic and nimble in motion, and built on a promising scantling, but still lean and bony as may be seen in the narrow thorax and the long slender extremities. The attitude is free, the left leg at ease, the left hand on the haunch. The right wields the sword which has just despatched the head that lies at David's feet. A hip cloth and greaves, the only articles of dress, scantily cover forms worked out with great knowledge of nature and anatomy. The bare head with its copious locks is a little aged, in type like those which Leonardo prized and transmitted to the Lombard school of the Luini. The figure in its totality combines the adolescent character of Michael Angelo's David, with an attitude conceived according to the laws of modern art embodied in Leonardo's treatises. Less grand than that of Donatello, which is reminiscent of the old Greek, it is a truer imitation of nature and livelier in action.

The Incredulity of S. Thomas at Orsanmichele gives occasion for a fuller development of flesh parts. S. Thomas, in motion and probing the wound, is youthful and plump, but the fulness exaggerated by Lorenzo di Credi is already marked. The figure, however, is surprising for the advance in art which it proclaims, and the motion which it renders. The Redeemer raises His right arm and uncovers His side. The figure has some of the rigidity of bronze. The type is somewhat aged and pinched in the features, the flesh sparingly covering the skeleton of bone in the frame; but this is a peculiarity of Verrocchio in painting as in bronze, apparent in the Baptism of the Academy of Arts at Florence, and in Leonardo. Some coarseness and puffiness in the extremities are also to be noticed, but the group in its totality is a fine and beautifully polished bronze. The most remarkable point in the work is the involved nature of the drapery. It is no longer broken like that of the Pollaiuoli, but betrays the effort to obtain round and sweeping lines, combined with a method of closing the puff of the cloth above the eye of the fold. Searching detail sacrifices the planes of the flesh.[1] The stuffs have the appearance of being lined, or double like those of Lorenzo di Credi; and the drapery gains a material form similar to that which characterises the Umbrians, Fiorenzo di Lorenzo, Perugino and even Pinturicchio. The reader must pardon this minuteness of criticism. It helps us to test the value of Vasari's assertion that Verrocchio was one of the masters of Pietro Perugino, and enables us to admit that he may in this point be correct.[2] Had we not material proof that Lorenzo

[1] The embroideries in the mantles are chiselled with all the finish peculiar to bronze.

[2] This is clear, since we find a point of contact between Verrocchio, Perugino

di Credi was Verrocchio's pupil, we should guess the fact from the analysis of the bronze of Orsanmichele; and it is possible that Lorenzo, who was twenty-four years of age when the work was completed, may have been assistant to the master at that time.

Leonardo da Vinci was influenced by better models, such as the David, and started from ground of greater vantage than Lorenzo di Credi. He followed a progressive path in which Lorenzo remained stationary; and so the two pupils of Verrocchio parted on the road of art.

The last plastic creation of Verrocchio is the equestrian statue of Colleoni at Venice, which remained incomplete at the sculptor's death, and which Lorenzo di Credi would have finished, had the dying wish of his master been attended to. It is the masterpiece of its time, and affords us full compensation for the loss of those of Leonardo, whose talent for reproducing form, action, anatomy and the life of the horse it explains.

The creations of the master and of the pupils indeed combine to elucidate their several careers; and Leonardo's pictures help the critic to judge of Verrocchio's talent as a painter, in the absence of more than one certain example by the latter. It is obvious that Verrocchio's atelier could not sensibly differ from that of other men of his class and period. He devoted his time perhaps more exclusively to the duties of the sculptor and carver than to those of the painter; but his shop was like that of the Pollaiuoli, and we cannot conceive a man of his genius and varied accomplishments to have been less talented or less practised in one branch than in the other. The solitary picture which he has left behind[1] is not of interest only as showing what methods were in use in his *bottega*, what the tendency of his school might be—it is of value in many other ways. It introduces the student to the youth of Leonardo da Vinci, who is declared with all probability to have laboured there.[2] It not only characterises the style of Verrocchio, but it foreshadows and embodies the principles which are developed in the Virgin of the Rocks and which find their perfection in the Mona Lisa. It reveals finally that

and Fiorenzo di Lorenzo. Perugino is proved to have been in Florence in 1482, at which time Lorenzo di Credi was twenty-three to twenty-four years of age. The school of Verrocchio and that of Perugino may have had a connection together through Lorenzo, the latter and Perugino having a common tenderness and calm in their artistic nature.

[1] He painted in S. Domenico of Florence a picture which has since disappeared. It is difficult to say whether it was the same which is engraved under his name in the *Etruria Pittrice*, for that also is not now to be traced. But see VASARI, vol. v., p. 146. [But see *infra*.]

[2] VASARI, vol. v., p. 146.

Verrocchio had the same character, and employed the same technical processes in painting, as the Pollaiuoli, in so far as the variety of their respective natures allowed him. The contrast between men who enjoyed a well-earned reputation as contemporaries was neither curious nor unfrequent. A rough but powerful fibre, a vigour and energy which class the Pollaiuoli amongst the prototypes of Michael Angelo and Signorelli, were tempered in Verrocchio by the gifts of a higher nature. If Verrocchio's design strikes us as still realistic and searching, it is cleaner and more exquisitely perfected. If in bronze statuary he does not lose rigidity, his mind conceives and creates something animated by the greater and more universal laws inherent in sculpture. If his landscape varies little in style from that of the Pollaiuoli, if his technical mode of painting resembles theirs, the impression in the first place is greater, because he strove for more lightness and vapour; in the second, because, in spite of difficulty in manipulating the high surface colour, the result is less hard and less incomplete. Verrocchio's is a higher nature enriched by a more educated and general taste than that of the Pollaiuoli. His Baptism of Christ,[1] unfinished and injured though it be, offers to us a picture of calm and composure, of reverent and tender worship, which carries with it a special charm. The resigned consciousness of the Saviour receiving the water which S. John pours on His head, the questioning tender air of the two beautiful angels who wait on the bank of the brook to minister to the Redeemer's wants, the brook itself running in its bed of pebbles round a projection of rock crowned with trees from a distance of lake and hills, the palm-tree with the bird flying into it, the mixture of the mysteries of solitude and worship, are all calculated to affect the senses of the beholder.

Descending to a more critical analysis, we find the type of the Saviour not absolutely select, somewhat imperfect in proportion and form, but bony and drawn or modelled with a searching study of anatomical reality. The Baptist is unfinished.[2] He presents to us the stiff action and some of the vulgarity of a model. The curly-headed angel presenting his front face to the spectator is beautiful. His chiselled features, shadowed in light greenish grey over the bright local tone, are fair to look upon;[3] but he is surpassed in beauty and

[1] Executed for the brethren of Vallombrosa at S. Salvi. VASARI, vol. v., p. 146. Now in Academy of Arts at Florence [No. 71.]

[2] The flesh, particularly of the arms, is only prepared, the veins and muscles being already defined. The head is nearer completion than the rest. The red drapery is prepared with lake and shadowed with the same, the high lights being the ground of the table.

[3] He wears a blue tunic. His hands are bony and thin.

feeling by his fellow-angel, whose back is towards the beholder, whilst his head, gently bent and looking up to the Saviour, presents the rotatory lines of brow, cheek and mouth which illustrate the application of a law in rendering movement familiar to the great painters of the sixteenth century.[1] So fresh and innocent, so tender and loving is this angel, it strikes one as the finest ever produced in the manner of Verrocchio. The soft gaiety and grace in the play of the exquisite features, the pure silvery outlines and modelling of the parts, of the hair and lashes, the chaste ornaments which deck the collar of the bright green tunic damasked in brown at the sleeves, the edges of the lucid blue mantle[2] and the dress which is held ready for the Saviour: this all combines to form a total revealing the finish, the study, conspicuous in Leonardo. In type and in the expression of tender feeling the face and forms of this figure are equal to those of the Virgin of the Rocks, whilst the draperies by their broken nature, the colour by its impasto, recall the same example to mind. The force of chiaroscuro alone is not so great; but everything confirms the statement of Vasari that Leonardo helped Verrocchio to paint the picture.[3]

Da Vinci must undoubtedly have produced some fine and interesting pieces previous to the creation of the great ones which brought him fame. The angel in the Baptism combines the principles of Verrocchio's style with the laws of the art of the sixteenth century, the freshness of a youthful effort with its natural minuteness and carefulness of finish. It is the work of a budding genius comparable to Raphael at the school of Perugino, an outpouring from which we may trace the origin of Da Vinci's manner and the success of the pictures which he afterwards produced. Leonardo declares that the choice of form and the mode of rendering it should be such as to please less at first sight than on lengthened examination. The proof that he assimilated the painter's work to that of the bronze carver is in this angel of the Baptism, which reveals the germ of Leonardo's greatness as a searcher of the laws by which rotundity is produced with the aid of light and shade, and betrays his want of feeling for colour.

[1] This law is illustrated by Leonardo.

[2] The blue mantle is lined with yellow.

[3] [Mr. Berenson, *ubi sup.*, gives the Baptism to Verrocchio "in part," but does not actually attribute the angel or angels to Leonardo. Mr. Rankin believes there is good reason to think that Leonardo had a hand in it, especially in the landscape. Miss Cruttwell (*op. cit.*) is very strongly of opinion that the work is entirely by Verrocchio, though she adds that the angels seem to have been added later, "being painted in oil and with more technical facility." (*Cf. Florentine Galleries* (Dent, 1907), p. 240.)]

Technically considered with reference to methods of painting, the Baptism illustrates the general remarks made at the outset of this chapter. The colour, laid on with the impasto and high surface of that of the Pollaiuoli, is softer. Its manipulation is still difficult, because the medium has not yet been improved to complete absence of viscosity. Reflections are carefully introduced between the shadow and its outline. The reddish lights are sharp and dry. The lips have high contours and are touched with streaks at the highest parts, and the same principle is carried out in the articulations of the flesh parts generally.

Having now defined in a certain measure the various styles of Verrocchio, Leonardo, and Lorenzo di Credi, we may pass to the examination of certain pictures assigned to the master whose life is the more special object of this study.

A round of the Virgin holding on her knee the infant Saviour, who caresses the infant S. John, in the Museum of Berlin,[1] exhibits less the manner and drawing of Verrocchio than the features of Lorenzo, chiefly in the system of colour and its finish, in the exaggerated forms of the Child and in the style of draperies. The picture is indeed one which recalls Verrocchio's pupil after he had left the master's atelier, though in colour and execution inferior even to his creations.

A Virgin and Child with the infant S. John, in the Dresden Gallery, is assigned to Leonardo and bears the same character as the foregoing.[2]

A picture of Tobit and the three Archangels, in the Munich Gallery,[3] assigned to Verrocchio, may be classed amongst the works of some feeble pupil of Filippino Lippi or Botticelli. A Virgin and Child, in the same collection,[4] reminds one of a poor copy from Lorenzo di Credi.

There are other pictures which claim attention at this place, pictures usually classed under the name of Pesello or Pesellino, and giving occasion to conflicting judgments. Some critics, as we have said in the lives of the Peselli, are inclined to suggest the Pollaiuoli as the probable authors. It is of interest to study these works, bearing in mind what has been said of the manner of those painters

[1] [No. 104] Berlin Catalogue. [This, according to Mr. Berenson, is an early work by Verrocchio. Miss Cruttwell follows Morelli in denying Verrocchio any part in it.]

[2] Dresden Gallery. [No. 13.] [Morelli, whom Berenson follows, attributes this work to Lorenzo di Credi.]

[3] No. 542 of Catalogue.

[4] Cabinets. [No. 1040A.] [This Mr. Berenson gives doubtfully to Lorenzo di Credo.]

and of the variety which it presents when compared with that of Verrocchio.

A Virgin, holding before her the naked Infant, erect and flying a bird with a string, belongs to the collection of Mr. Barker in London, and is fairly assigned by him to the Pollaiuoli.[1] The Virgin exhibits the thin long shape, the broad forehead, and the pointed and scooped chin, the curvilinear system of rendering flesh, peculiar to the school of Verrocchio. The nude of the Child is in the bulging forms already described in this chapter, and is rudely executed. The colour is softer than that of the Pollaiuolo, and seems a medium between theirs and Verrocchio's.

The Virgin, holding the naked Infant erect on a balustrade, is a better picture under the name of Pesello in the Berlin Museum.[2] The type and character of the figures are similar to those of Mr. Barker's picture, but the colour has more impasto, is more lucid and fused, and the piece has much of the finish noticeable in the Pollaiuoli and Verrocchio.

Another picture of the same general character is the Virgin, holding the Infant erect on a balustrade, with His feet on a cushion, in the Staedel Gallery at Frankfort, where it is attributed to Pesello. The type of the Child reminds one of that expressed in the designs of Verrocchio and his school, and even of the bronze of the boy struggling with the dolphin. That of the Virgin displays the same principles. The outline is very precise, and the colour spare so as to show the underground through it.[3]

Superior to the foregoing, and one of the fine productions of the Florentine school of this time, is the Virgin adoring the Infant which lies naked on her lap, between two angels—a picture, the ornament of our National Gallery.[4] The artist's manner is akin to that which may be traced in the Baptism of Verrocchio. The stature and contours of the Virgin, the outlines of the head and hands are more like

[1] A curtain at each side is fastened back as it were to open out the scene, and the distance is a landscape.

[2] [No. 108 of Catalogue.] The Virgin has but little shoulders. Her green mantle is angular in fold, with a collar about the neck. Her tunic is red, the hand small and thin. The distance is a landscape.

[3] [No. 10.] Staedel Gallery Catalogue. The Infant holds a veil about His middle with His left hand. His right gives the blessing. The Virgin's mantle is blue, with angular folds like those of Verrocchio and Leonardo; a brooch fastens His dress. Her tunic is red with gold borders. Background: an interior and a landscape seen through a window.

[4] [No. 296] National Gallery Catalogue. Assigned to Domenico Ghirlandaio, and considered by some to have been painted by Piero della Francesca. A note to the Catalogue suggests that it may be a tempera by Antonio Pollaiuolo. [It is now assigned in the Catalogue to "Tuscan School." Mr. Berenson doubtfully gives it to Verrocchio.]

those of Verrocchio than those of the Pollaiuoli. If one should be required to describe an Infant by Lorenzo di Credi, he could not do so more appropriately than by sketching out this of the National Gallery, an Infant whose excessive plumpness of flesh, absence of neck and ponderosity of head, whose curves of outline are essentially an exaggeration of those in the sketches of Verrocchio and Leonardo. The angel to the right reminds one of that of Verrocchio. The angel to the left, with his upturned and sentimentally bent head, is foreshortened as Lorenzo di Credi might have done. The hand, though bony and slender, is designed with much finesse. The drawing of the forms generally is so precise and definite that it could not have been carried out with more care or minuteness. The ornamentation exhibits the richness of that of the goldsmiths. The draperies of the angels especially are like those of Lorenzo, whilst the cleanness and pureness of the gay colours and their polish indicate again the manner of Credi. The style, in fact, is such an one as starting from that of the bronze of S. Thomas at Orsanmichele, becomes developed in the pictures of Verrocchio's pupil.

Though a common art may be noticed in Verrocchio and the Pollaiuoli, a variety is clearly noticeable in their mode of thought and feeling. The Virgin of the National Gallery is less redolent of the nature and feeling of the Pollaiuoli than of that of Verrocchio and Lorenzo di Credi. The student may test this by comparing in the National Gallery itself a masterpiece by the first and two pictures by the last with the Virgin and Child under notice. He will surely admit a greater approach to the works of Lorenzo than to the creations of the Pollaiuoli. He will see that Lorenzo's style, execution, form, colour, drawing and draperies are derived from the school represented by the picture under review; and more like it than even the Baptism of Verrocchio. It is not impossible, therefore, that the panel of the National Gallery should be executed by Credi in the atelier of Verrocchio. This and the other works of the same class previously noticed are, it is true, painted in tempera, a system in which the extant productions of the Pollaiuoli and Verrocchio are not executed. Still they embody the features of Verrocchio's school, and this to a greater extent than those peculiar to the school of the Pollaiuoli.[1]

We may conclude this notice by a glance at two more works. A round of the Holy Family in the collection of the Marquis of

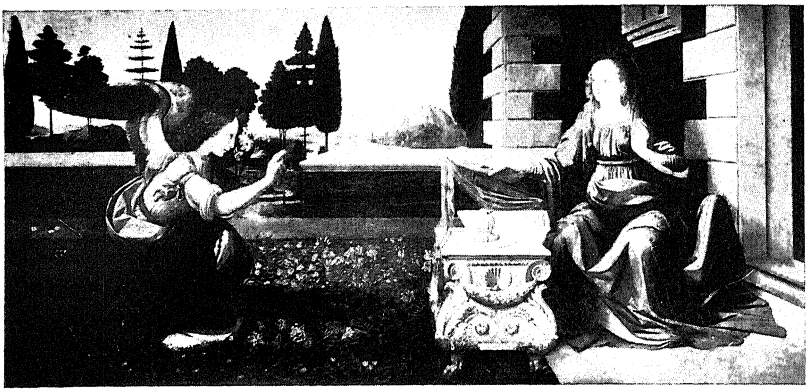
[1] The Catalogue of the National Gallery (ed. of 1863) admits that the Madonna (No. 296) may be by another master than Dom. Ghirlandaio, to whom it is assigned, and suggests Antonio Pollaiuolo as the probable author.

Anderson.

BAPTISM OF CHRIST

VERROCCHIO.

Academy, Florence.



Anderson.

ANNUNCIATION

VERROCCHIO. Uffizi, Florence.

MADONNA AND CHILD, WITH ANGELS

? VERROCCHIO. National Gallery.

Westminster, exhibited at Manchester,[1] is in the manner of Lorenzo di Credi.

A profile portrait (bust) of a lady [2] in a gold head-dress, successively in the galleries of Miss Rogers and Mr. Bromley, assigned at one time to Verrocchio, and later to Pollaiuolo, is stamped with the character of Filippino Lippi's style, and is, we believe, a fine work of the youth of Raffaellino del Garbo.[3]

[1] No. 69 of Manchester Catalogue.

[2] The long hair is adorned with a veil and pearls. On one side is a scutcheon. The picture was knocked down at Mr. Bromley's sale to Mr. Martin for 230 guineas.

[3] [Mr. Berenson ascribes to Verrocchio five pictures beside these, though four of them doubtfully. The picture he seems sure of is the Berlin Madonna and Angel (No. 104A), which he considers an early work. The four doubtful pictures—all, save the first, early works as he thinks—are the Portrait of a Lady, Uffizi (No. 3450), the Portrait of a Lady, Milan Poldo-Pezzoli (No. 21) (both of these Miss Cruttwell gives to Antonio Pollaiuolo), the Madonna and two Angels of the National Gallery (No. 296), and the Portrait of a Young Woman on a blue ground in the Berlin Gallery. The Uffizi (No. 463) possesses a magnificent portrait of Verrocchio by Lorenzo di Credi. MISS CRUTTWELL, in her excellent monograph on Verrocchio, already quoted, attributes but three pictures to him, viz., the Baptism of the Academy, the beautiful but repainted Annunciation in the Uffizi, No. 1288, and the Portrait of a Lady in the collection of Prince Lichtenstein in Vienna. This is a panel in oil. It has been mutilated, and "on the back is a design of bay leaves, juniper and palm, enclosing a scroll inscribed VIRTUTEM FORMA DECORAT."]

CHAPTER XX

SANDRO BOTTICELLI[1]

AMONGST the spectators of the Martyrdom of S. Peter painted by Filippino Lippi in the Brancacci Chapel, one on the right is a sullen and sensual-looking man in profile, whose head is remarkable for the salience of the nose, the deep set of the eye under the pent-house of the brow, the heaviness of the underjaw and the size of a large and fleshy mouth. A purple cap covers copious long flowing locks, a red mantle envelops the form; and the legs are encased in green hose. This, according to Vasari, is the portrait of Sandro Botticelli, the contemporary of Domenico Ghirlandaio, Benozzo, Verrocchio and Pietro Perugino, an artist who developed at various periods of his career the semi-religious, semi-fanciful feeling of Fra Filippo and the more realistic character of the Pollaiuoli and Verrocchio, and a vehement and passionate manner of his own at last, in which he combined power with fantastic exuberance of thought.

Born in 1447, he was the youngest son of Mariano Filipepi of Florence,[2] who apprenticed him to a goldsmith.[3] But his inclination favoured the study of painting, and Fra Filippo Lippi seems to have been the first artist upon whom he chose to model his style.[4] No

[1] [The following chapter was the first critical account of Sandro Botticelli ever written. In reading it the reader may find it interesting to turn to Sir Joseph Crowe's later essay on Botticelli, printed in the *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, in 1886. Most earlier writings on the master have, however, been outmoded by MR. HERBERT HORNE'S *Sandro Botticelli* (Bell, 1908); vol. i., *Sandro Botticelli*, vol. ii., *The School of Botticelli*. This work is in its own kind a classic. I cannot refrain from reminding the reader of the beautiful essay of Walter Pater in *The Renaissance* (Macmillan, 1873); and of MR. BERENSON'S splendid critical essays in his *Florentine Painters* and *Florentine Drawings* (Murray, 1905).]

[2] GAYE, *Carteggio*, vol. i., pp. 343–4.

[3] VASARI, vol. v., p. 110. [Sandro was at first probably placed in the care of his brother Giovanni, who was known as "Il Botticello." As early as 1472 Sandro was known as Sandro di Botticello. His brother Antonio was a goldsmith, and it is possible he was put to the craft in his workshop. *Cf.* HORNE, *op. cit.*, docs. ix. and xi., app. ii.]

[4] [MR. HORNE argues that Sandro was apprenticed to Fra Filippo not later than 1459 (p. 6). Lippo was then in Prato. The Denunzia of 1457 sufficiently controverts any suggestion that Fra Filippo was not the master of Sandro. His early work is entirely coloured by the influence of Fra Filippo and of Antonio Pollaiuolo.]

painter of the fifteenth century illustrates better than Botticelli the various changes which the art of the time had successfully undergone. Coming into the world when Angelico tottered on the brink of the grave, he saw Fra Filippo modify the purely religious feeling peculiar to the convent, and exhaust the practice of filling large wall-spaces in the old tempera manner. He was in a position to profit by the varying success or failure of men whose efforts were directed towards innovation in the use of mediums and vehicles. He enjoyed the fruits gathered with labour by conscientious students of perspective; and felt the influence of those who combined the experience of plastic and pictorial science. He personified the condition of the art of his time, and, being of an impetuous character, embodied most of its defects with some of its qualities. We can understand the consideration in which he was held, when we hear Vasari say,[1] that he was the best master in Florence, at the death of Fra Filippo. We can conceive that such an opinion might be held in the earlier period of Botticelli's career, when Domenico Ghirlandaio had not as yet enjoyed the full expanse of his power; though, even then, it would have been difficult to assign the palm to one more than to the other. In 1480, Botticelli painted a S. Augustine in fresco at Ognissanti, and spent upon it the vigour of conception and boldness of hand which were characteristic of his style. But his skill is marred by coarseness akin to that of Andrea del Castagno. Domenico Ghirlandaio competed with him in a figure of S. Jerome, which seems cold and somewhat motionless in contrast, but which is impregnated with more nobleness and decorum. Vasari, who could appreciate technical skill, might for that reason prefer the work of Botticelli to that of his rival, but we look in vain for the deep expression of thought and subtlety which the biographer discovers and praises.[2]

Botticelli was just past the age of twenty-two when Fra Filippo died.[3] We may assign to the immediately succeeding time some circular pictures bearing the impress of the Friar's influence, in conception and spirit, in character and action.[4] Still fresh, as it were,

[1] Vol. iv., p. 129.

[2] VASARI, vol. v., p. 112; ALBERTINI, *Mem.*, *ubi sup.*, p. 14.

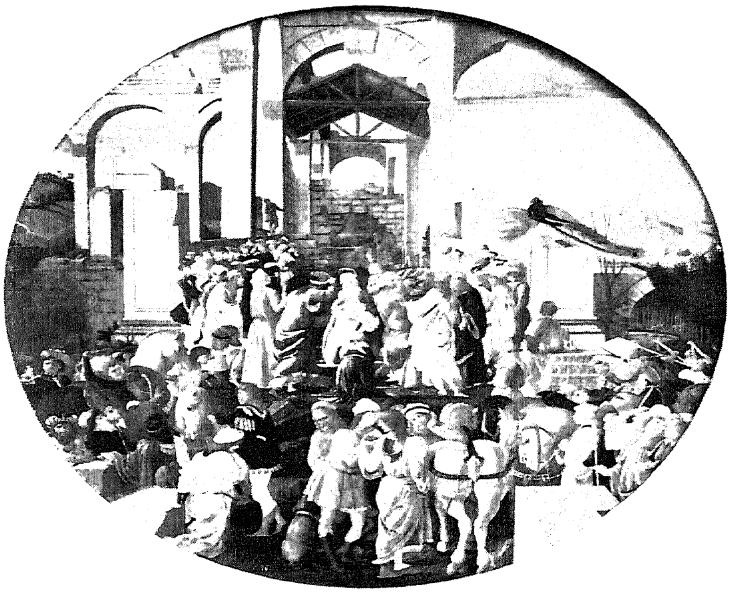
[3] He died, as has been seen, in 1469.

[4] [We have at least eleven works of Sandro's which must have been painted before 1480. Mr. Horne gives as his earliest extant work: (1) the Adoration of the Magi, in National Gallery, No. 892, which was painted clearly under the influence of Fra Filippo (HORNE, *op. cit.*, p. 14); (2) the Fortitude, in the Uffizi, No. 1299 (*c.* 1468–9), in which we see the influence of Fra Filippo in the draperies and of Antonio Pollaiuolo in the modelling of the head, hands and feet; (3) Holofernes Dead, Uffizi, No. 1158; and (4) Judith with the Head of Holofernes, Uffizi, No. 1156 (*c.* 1471). (*Cf.* VASARI, ed. Sansoni, vol. iii., p. 299; and HORNE,

from reminiscences of the Carmelite's manner, himself in an age in which feeling, if it exists at all, finds its way to the outer surfaces, he conceived Madonnas full of a naive tenderness. He supplied the lack of religious feeling and the absence of select types by affectionate maternity and silent melancholy in the face of the Mother of Christ, an eager service in childlike saints and angels attending for the performance of the simplest offices. Thus in a round at the Uffizi,[1] in which he imitated the style of arrangement, the mode of drapery carried out before by Fra Filippo, and already reminiscent in him of reliefs by Donatello or Desiderio da Settignano, he placed the Virgin on a seat, with the Infant on her knee, but intent on some holy thought about to be consigned to a book held up before her by angels. She dips a pen in the ink-bottle. A diadem is held up above her head; and through the centre of the group the eye wanders out to a distance of hill and vale. In a round at the Louvre, reproducing the same subject with a slight variation, he interests the spectator alike, and causes a fibre to vibrate, which often remains unmoved before the colder creations of the great Ghirlandaio. This phase of Botticelli's talent clearly received a wide support amongst the patrons of Florentine art; but the number of pictures embodying the same or kindred subjects produced by the master, or by the apprentices in his shop, must have created a surfeit at last, because they soon ceased to possess the freshness, or exhibit the care in technical execution, which were conspicuous in the earliest and best of them. Botticelli's

pp. 23–25). (5) Portrait of a Young Man holding a Medal, Uffizi, No. 1154, painted shortly after the Fortitude. As to the identity of the sitter, see ULLMANN, *op. cit.*; but Mr. Horne (p. 28) thinks it is a portrait of Giovanni de' Medici. (6) S. Sebastian, Berlin Gallery, No. 1128, painted, according to the "Anonimo" Gaddiano, in Jan. 1474 (n. s.); it was made for S. Maria Maggiore in Florence. The authors were the first to recognise this picture as by Botticelli (see *infra*). (7) Madonna and Child, in Rome, now in the possession of Mrs. J. L. Gardner, of Boston, U.S.A., first cited by Morelli. The picture like this in Naples Gallery, No. 32, is, according to MR. BERENSON, *Florentine Painters* (1900), p. 97, an early work by Amico di Sandro. These are, according to MR. HORNE, Botticelli's most characteristic early works (p. 36). (8) Adoration of the Magi, National Gallery, No. 1033. (9) Adoration of the Magi, Uffizi, No. 1286. This was painted *c.* 1477 for S. M. Novella. It contains many portraits of the Medici; for their identity, *cf.* HORNE, *op. cit.*, p. 41. This picture established Sandro's reputation in Florence. (10) Unfinished Adoration, Uffizi, No. 3436 (spoiled). (11) La Primavera, Accademia of Florence, No. 80. Mr. Horne tells us that this picture was painted *c.* 1478. It was painted for Lorenzo de' Pierfrancesco de' Medici, not for Lorenzo Il Magnifico. It hung in the villa of Castello. The Birth of Venus is of a later time. (12) S. Augustine; as to this fresco, *cf.* HORNE, *op. cit.*, p. 68 *et seq.*]

[1] [Uffizi, No. 1267, *bis*. This picture, according to Mr. Horne, was painted immediately before Botticelli's journey to Rome, 1481. It is badly repainted. The Louvre tondo, No. 183, is "coarse and crude in quality," a mere school piece (*cf.* HORNE, *op. cit.*, p. 120 *et seq.*).]



ADORATION OF THE MAGI

BOTTICELLI. National Gallery.

Anderson.

JUDITH WITH THE HEAD OF HOLOFERNES

BOTTICELLI. Uffizi, Florence.

THE MADONNA OF THE POMEGRANATE

BOTTICELLI.

Alinari.

THE MADONNA OF THE MAGNIFICAT

Uffizi, Florence.

position as a painter in Florence, ten years after Fra Filippo's death, may be appreciated by a fact which has but recently become known. The student of Florentine history remembers the tragic incidents of the conspiracy of the Pazzi (1478), the murder of Giuliano de' Medici, the marvellous escape of Lorenzo from a similar fate, and the complete revenge taken upon all who had shared in the treason. The custom of painting the effigies of conspirators on the front of the Public Palace had not yet been abandoned at Florence, and the traitor Pazzi were depicted by Botticelli on the walls of the Palazzo Pubblico, at the request of the "Signori Otto." [1]

Sandro had perhaps already modified his early manner at this time, and caught the impulse given to Florentine art by the goldsmith painters, the Pollaiuoli and Verrocchio.[2] This impulse, without depriving him of the characteristic features derived from the teaching of Fra Filippo, varied them in a certain measure, taught him to control the vehemence of his hand and the vagaries of his fancy, to devote more thought, and therefore attain more success, in the distribution of his subject or the grouping and action of his figures, and to simplify and improve his drawing. It enabled him to chasten some exaggerations of costume and ornament, and to improve his technical execution by the use of tones more bright and transparent, by colours more harmonious generally, better fused and more pastose in texture. We may consider him to have completed under this favourable influence the figure of Fortitude, in the series of Virtues of which the greater part had already been furnished to the Mercatanzia by the Pollaiuoli. Botticelli's figure, which has followed the rest of the Virtues to the Uffizi, combines his style with the technical methods—the architectural and ornamental accessories of theirs; and it shares their energy of movement, vulgarity of type and coarseness of extremities or articulations.[3] If in a single figure some doubt as

[1] July 1, 1478: "Item servatis, &c., deliberaverunt et stantiaverunt Sandro Botticelli pro ejus labore in pingendo proditores flor. quadraginta largos." Arch. Cent. di Stato di Firenze in *Gior. Stor. degli Arch. Toscani*, anno vi., 1862, *note* to p. 3.

[2] [Dr. Bode and Dr. Ullmann have insisted on this influence. It was suspected apparently by our authors, because they believed several pictures by Botticini, who was Verrocchio's pupil, to have been the work of Sandro. Mr. Horne (p. 36) will not allow that Botticelli came under Verrocchio's influence. He was, of course, strongly influenced by Antonio Pollaiuolo.]

[3] [No. 1299] Uffizi Catalogue. The figure is that of a female enthroned under a niche. She wears a winged helmet adorned with pearls, and wields a club. The embroideries, the parti-coloured marble, are the same as in the Virtues of the Pollaiuoli, and it would seem as if Botticelli tried to keep to the model of the figures already executed before his. This piece is noticed by

to the authorship remains, in consequence of the assimilation to some of the peculiarities of the Pollaiuoli, uncertainty is not permitted when we consider the allegory of Spring in the Academy of Arts at Florence,[1] in which Botticelli gives full play to his fancy, and embodies at once an exaggeration of the slenderness and *desinvolture* of Fra Filippo Lippi with the realism and partiality to ornament of the Pollaiuoli and the modelled types of Verrocchio, all this with a precision and finish of drawing in every part, whether principal or subordinate, which alone would declare the influence of the *orafi* on their contemporary.[2] The scene is a landscape of wood, orchard and flowery meadow. A man with a winged helmet like a Mercury, scantily draped about the hips, with a sword at his side and striking down the fruit from a tree, offers to the spectator a youthful form in fair movement and proportion. Three females near him (? the Graces) dance on the green sward in the light folds of transparent veils; a fourth (? Venus) stands in rich attire in the centre of the ground, whilst, above them, the blind Cupid flies down with his lighted torch. On the right a flying genius, whose dress flutters in the wind, wafts a stream of air towards a female in whose hand is a bow, and from whose mouth sprigs of roses fall into the garment of a nymph at her side. In the latter figure the beholder may trace one of those narrow-waisted, thin-ankled, long-toed forms, reminiscent of Fra Filippo, but recalling also the David of Verrocchio in the shape of the head, and the aged cast of features which the school of Leonardo perpetuated in Lombardy. The realism of the goldsmiths is united to their luxurious richness of ornament and superabundance of jewellery and pearls; whilst the method in which the piece is painted is that of the Pollaiuoli, improved by the use of perhaps less viscous and consequently lower surface colours. It is a picture whose freshness has not been thoroughly maintained, but of great interest as an illustration of the gradual growth of Botticelli's manner, and his characteristic treat-

VASARI, vol. v., p. 111, and ALBERTINI, *Mem.*, *ubi sup.*, p. 16. Two pictures in the Uffizi [No. 15], a Virgin and Child, No. 1286 [? 1303], the same subject in half-lengths, have been mentioned in the life of Fra Filippo, and are again noticed here, as they bear on the face of them a mixture of the styles of the Friar and of Botticelli in the figure of Fortitude. [Nos. 15 and 1303 are, the one a Tuscan picture of the fifteenth century, the other a charming work of the school of Botticelli.]

[1] [No. 80]. *Vide* VASARI, vol. v., p. 113. The picture was one of those originally in Cosimo's villa of Castello. [This picture, as I have already mentioned, was painted for Lorenzo di Pierfrancesco de' Medici, and hung in his villa of Castello. Castello never belonged to Cosimo Pater Patriæ, though it did to Grand Duke Cosimo later. The Primavera was painted, according to Mr. Horne, *c.* 1478.]

[2] [As I have already said, there is nothing of Verrocchio here.]

ment of half-heathen incidents in vogue at the time of Lorenzo de' Medici.[1]

The measure of his talent in the production of sacred subjects at this period may be taken from the Adoration of the Magi, executed for the Medici in S. M. Novella,[2] and intended specially to honour the deceased Cosimo, who kneels before the Virgin and receives the blessing of the Infant, whose foot he kisses. Behind him, persons of various ages, and in divers action, are well arranged in the space, a youth standing very nobly out in front. A kneeling group balancing this one, is lined with a rear rank of standing spectators;[3] and S. Joseph, just above and behind the Virgin, is relieved on the background, in which the pent-house rears its posts and beams. A tree and peacock enrich the subject; and the usual horizon graces the farthest planes. This altarpiece is a tempera, in which a certain animation pervades the well-arranged groups; great truth and individuality mark the portraits. The heads are well modelled and in fair relief; and some figures are grandly draped. The drawing is pure and the colour transparent, and the picture in its complete aspect is truly, though enthusiastically, described by Vasari as one of the best of the period.

About the time when Botticelli was called to Rome by Sixtus IV.,[4] to paint in the Sixtine Chapel, in competition with Ghirlandaio, Perugino, Cosimo Rosselli, and Luca Signorelli (1481–84), he had just executed the S. Augustine of Ognissanti, in which the slumbering fire, hitherto kept under and restrained by various checks, now burst

[1] [This passage, descriptive of one of the greatest and most consoling works of the fifteenth century, shows the "scientific critic" and his methods at their worst. The beauty and importance of the Primavera are, of course, now acknowledged by all. It is necessary to remind ourselves that the authors were writing more than forty years ago. Since then every sort of legend has grown up round this picture. Its subject has been found by some in Poliziano's *Stanze*, strofe 43, 44, 46, 47, 68, 72, 85, 94. *Cf.* ALBERTI'S *Opere Volgari* (Firenze, 1847), *Della Pittura*, lib. iii.; but MR. HORNE concludes, with Dr. Warburg, that it represents a *cento* of many ideas, especially from Lucretius (*op. cit.*, pp. 50–51). Again it has been said that the Hermes is a portrait of Giuliano de' Medici and the Venus a portrait of Simonetta Vespucci, his mistress; but we know that if, as Mr. Horne argues, this picture was painted *c.* 1478, Simonetta was certainly dead (1476). If the Birth of Venus and the Mars and Venus were painted later, as we suppose, it might seem that neither Giuliano nor Simonetta appear in any of these works]

[2] [Now No. 1286 at the Uffizi.] VASARI, vol. v., p. 116; ALBERTINI, *Mem.*, *ubi sup.*, p. 14. [Mr. Horne considers that this picture was painted just before the Spring, *c.* 1477. It is a most important work, a crucial test of his achievement. *Cf.* HORNE, *op. cit.*, pp. 38–41.]

[3] The two Magi are described by Vasari as portraits of Giuliano and Giovanni de' Medici. (Vol. v., pp. 115–116. [For the portraits contained in this picture see works cited, p. 400, *note* 1.]

[4] VASARI, vol. v., pp. 116–117.

out. He combined in that figure, to which allusion has already been made, some of the vulgarity and grimace of Andrea del Castagno with an impetuosity and freedom of hand essentially his own. It was a period of great activity in Botticelli, that in which he illustrated with designs an edition of Dante (1481), noted for the fancy and spirit with which some of the drawings are conceived.[1]

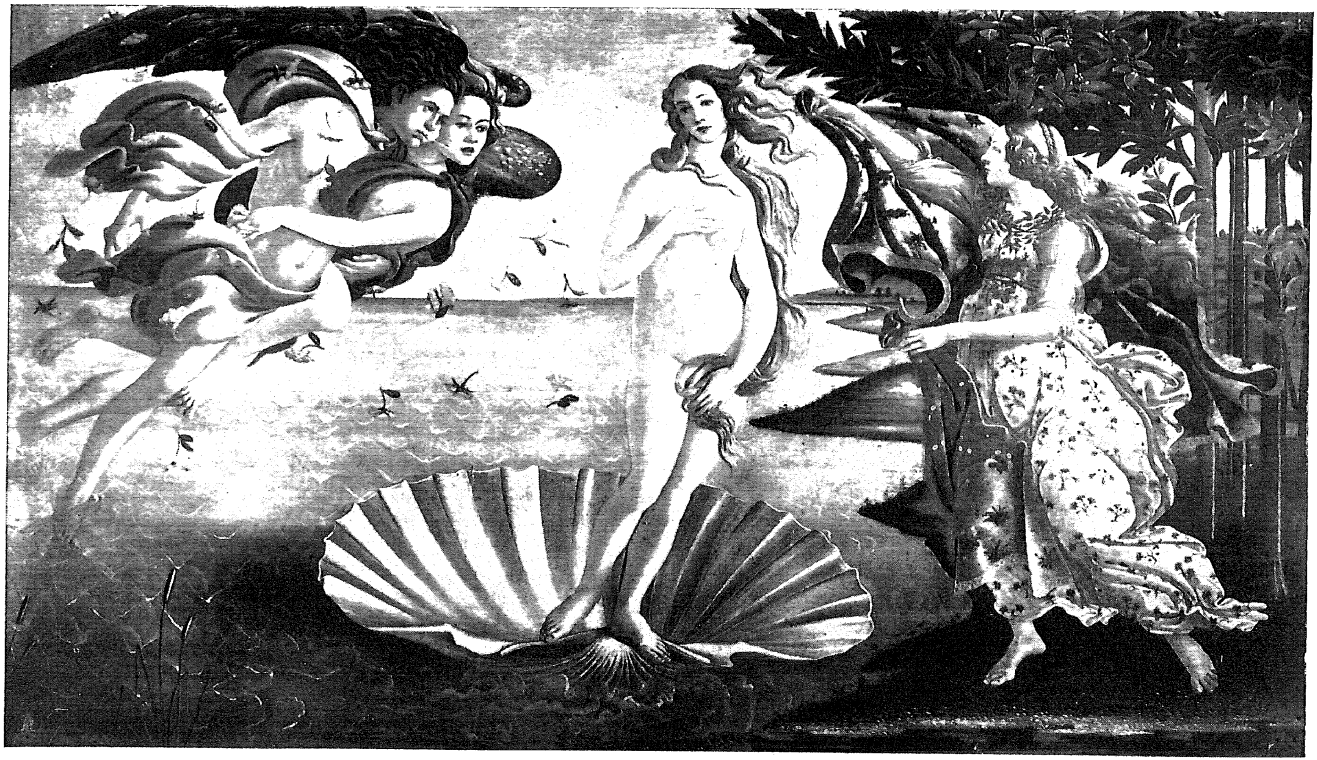
It was a period when he gave such scope to his vehemence, imagination and power, that the result often surprises the beholder into admitting that, in spite of coarseness in certain parts, and of want of perfectly decorous bearing in some figures, he produced something akin to the grandiose. His mastery of action in springing and dancing attitudes, his ability in rendering drapery in motion, and his comparative elegance and grace in female delineation are aptly illustrated in the great Coronation of the Virgin at the Florence Academy,[2] where he ably contrasts the humble and shrinking nature of a Virgin crowned by a severe Eternal in mitre and long flowing locks, with a choir of cherubs, a covey of angels passing flowers to each other or casting them on the floor of the heavens, a dance of celestial children encircling the group, and four dignified saints looking up or pensive on a meadow below.

Botticelli succeeds in realising at least the idea of infinity and space. The joy of the spirits of Paradise is not mystically conceived as it was by Angelico. It is expressed by elastic and mirthful motion, and by a certain grace which retrieves the want of nobleness in type. A balmy breeze waves through the locks and distends the draperies, and the eager angels who pass the flowers or cast them at the Virgin's feet, foreshadow the similar productions of Raphael and proclaim Botticelli as the creator of models perfected by modern art. The influence of Fra Filippo may still be traced, however, in the slender-

[1] According to Vasari, he also commented Dante. One of his illustrations, he adds, was an Inferno (vol. v., p. 117). The edition of Dante is described in PASSAVANT'S *Peintre Graveur* (8vo, Leipzig, 1860), vol. i., pp. 130, 237–238, as published in 1482 with engravings, partly from drawings of Sandro, cut by Baccio Baldini, partly by Sandro himself.

[Botticelli went to Rome *c.* March 1481. He was appointed, Mr. Horne tells us, *capo-maestro* of the work of decorating the Sistine Chapel (*op. cit.*, pp. 95, 96). The engravings for the Dante were designed apparently after returning from Rome. These must not be confused with the series he made later—the drawings now in Berlin and in the Vatican.]

[2] [No. 73.] The picture was originally painted for S. Marco. The front figures are much injured and the surface is scaling. The predella in the same collection represents the Annunciation between four scenes from the lives of SS. John Evangelist, Augustine, Jerome and Eloisius. [It is numbered 74.] Consult VASARI, vol. v., p. 112; and ALBERTINI, *Mem., ubi sup.*, p. 12. [MR. HORNE find this picture of the year 1490 (*op. cit.*, p. 169). In connection with this altarpiece, *cf.* the drawing in the Uffizi, Frame 55, No. 188.]



Anderson.

BOTTICELLI.

THE BIRTH OF VENUS

Uffizi, Florence.

Alinari

BOTTICELLI. SPRING Academy, Florence.

ness of the Virgin, in the dresses and lithesome action of the angels, whilst the realism and partiality to ornament of another school are revealed in the finely-proportioned S. Augustine who meditates, in the heavily-bearded S. John Evangelist who looks up and holds an arm aloft, in the contemplative S. Eloisius who gives the blessing, and in the shaven Jerome in his cardinal's robes.

In the Sixtine Chapel, where Botticelli, previous to 1484, painted scenes from the Old and New Testament,[1] the features of his later style are all distinctly visible; but his compositions betray the absence of command over the essential laws of distribution, and illustrate in this respect a lower level of art than that of Fra Filippo. He instinctively supplied this deficiency by throwing into the arrangement of his groups, and into the action of the figures which overcrowd them, an extraordinary amount of life, activity and motion; into the draperies, the flutter of a strong breeze; and into the ornament, excessive richness. The Destruction of Korah, Dathan and Abiram [2] is a pregnant example of these remarkable features in the master's style, which are repeated in a certain measure in the fresco of Moses at the Well.[3] Setting composition altogether aside, the third wall-piece, devoted to the Temptation of Christ,[4] contains groups which entitle the picture to claim a place amongst the best that Botticelli ever executed. Of these, one to the spectator's left combines the beauty and character of that which adorns the Adoration of the Magi at the Uffizi, and would alone suffice to prove that the author of that piece, so long falsely assigned to Ghirlandaio, was by his contemporary and competitor. We have had occasion to compare the two men in their works at Ognissanti. The comparison may be renewed in the Sixtine Chapel, where we find Sandro inferior to Domenico and to Perugino, and only preserving superiority over Cosimo Rosselli, whilst the fire and vehemence of his action makes a near approach to that which the spectator enjoys in the creations of Signorelli.

The Calumny of Apelles,[5] which seems to have been of this time,

[1] "And figures of Popes," adds VASARI (vol. v., p. 117). He was called to Rome by Sixtus IV., according to the biographer; and we know that Sixtus died in 1484. [For all concerning Botticelli's work in the Sixtine Chapel, see HORNE, *op. cit.*, p. 95 *et seq.* Also E. STEINMANN, *Botticelli* (Bielefeld and Leipzig).]

[2] The second to the left as one enters the Sixtine Chapel.

[3] This fresco is also on the wall to the left of the entrance.

[4] This fresco is on the wall to the right of the entrance.

[5] [Uffizi, No. 1182.] The picture belonged to Fabio Segni. The verses quoted by Vasari are no longer on the basement. *Vide* VASARI, vol. v., pp. 122–3. [Painted *c.* 1495. MR. HORNE, *op. cit.*, p. 256, thinks the subject is derived from Lucian direct; but see ALBERTINI, *op. cit.*, vol. iv., p. 75.]

and whose subject is known by prints, adds another feature to the character of Botticelli. It shows him a student of classic statuary and of ancient architecture; whilst the figures in their gipsy wildness, although they are here and there admirably draped, remind us that vehemence of action may be carried too far.

During his later career, Botticelli no doubt produced many more fine works. He certainly received great commissions. That entrusted to him and to Ghirlandaio to paint in the Sala dell' Udienza of the Public Palace at Florence in 1482, is on record,[1] though it is not ascertained that he carried out the work intended for him. It *is* ascertained with sufficient certainty that he executed four panels illustrating Boccaccio's Fable of Nastagio degli Onesti for the wedding of Pierfrancesco di Giovanni Bini with Lucrezia Pucci in 1487; and these pieces are described by the annotators of Vasari as a happy mixture of difficult conceits, beautiful colour and natural elegance in the figures.[2] An honourable commission in every respect to Botticelli was that entrusted to him in 1491 by the influence of Lorenzo de' Medici, in company with Domenico and David Ghirlandaio, to execute the mosaics of the Cappella S. Zanobi in S. M. del Fiore; and it is sincerely to be regretted that the obliteration of that work, which was interrupted at Lorenzo's death, should preclude our judging Sandro's ability in a branch of art which he had hitherto not been known to practise.[3] His continued presence in Florence is, after this time, proved by casual circumstances—by a letter addressed through him to Lorenzo de' Medici by Michael Angelo in 1496[4]—his income-tax paper of 1498, in which he describes himself as residing with his brother Simone in the Popolo S. Lucia of Ognissanti,[5] and his opinion given in 1503 as to the place best fitted for Michael Angelo's David.[6] But from that time till 1515, when he died in comparative poverty,[7]

[1] GAYE, vol. i., p. 578.

[2] VASARI, vol. v., pp. 113–14. The panels were at his time in Casa Pucci. [Mr. Horne tells us they remained in the Casa Pucci in Via de' Pucci in Florence till 1868, when they were sold to Mr. Alexander Barker of London. Three of the panels are now in the possession of M. G. Spiridon, of Paris, while the fourth belongs to Mr. V. Watney. *Cf.* HORNE, *op. cit.*, p. 127. Regarding these panels and their possible authors, see also BERENSON, in *Burlington Magazine*, an. i., No. 1.]

[3] The record dated 1491 is in the series of Documenti appended to vol. vi. of Vasari's Lives, pp. 339–40.

[4] GUALANDI, ser. 3, p. 112.

[5] GAYE, vol. i., p. 343.

[6] Ibid., vol. ii., p. 458.

[7] VASARI, vol. v., p. 118. [He died not in 1515, but in 1510, on May 17th, as is conclusively proved by documents. See HORNE, *op. cit.*, p. 314. As for his laziness, which led him to "fill the peninsula with productions," it carries its own refutation. That he was much imitated is certain; his school pieces are, of course, very numerous.]

and a pensioner on the bounty of the Medici, he no doubt sank in general esteem, because he varied his better works with others in which he lazily reproduced the same models, and filled the peninsula with productions originally feeble and now rendered more so by time and restoring.

The catalogue of his works is naturally large, and may be taken in the following order:[1]

[1] [Before considering the authors' list, it will be well to run through those works of the master which Mr. Horne, backed for the most part by the best modern opinions, has come to regard as his. As far as possible, I give them in the order of supposed production:

(1) Adoration of Magi. London, National Gallery, No. 592.
(2) Fortitude. Florence, Uffizi Gallery, No. 1299.
(3) Holofernes Dead. Florence, Uffizi Gallery, No. 1158.
(4) Judith with Head of Holofernes. Florence, Uffizi Gallery, No. 1156.
(5) Portrait of a Young Man with Medal. Florence, Uffizi Gallery, No. 1154.
(6) S. Sebastian, Jan. 1474. Berlin Gallery, No. 428.
(7) Virgin and Child with Angel. U.S.A. Boston, Mrs. J. L. Gardner.
(8) Adoration of the Magi (tondo). London, National Gallery, No. 1033.
(9) Adoration of the Magi (*c.* 1477). Florence, Uffizi Gallery, No. 1286.
(10) Adoration of the Magi (unfinished). Florence, Uffizi Gallery, No. 3436.
(11) Spring, *c.* 1478. Florence, Academy, No. 80.
(12) S. Augustine, *c.* 1480. Florence, Church Ognissanti.
(13) Three frescoes, *c.* 1482, and figures of Popes. Rome, Sixtine Chapel.
(14) Adoration of the Magi. Painted in Rome. ? St. Petersburg Hermitage, No. 103.
(15) Altarpiece for S. Barnabà. With predella, seven scenes—Nos, 1, 3, 7. (missing numbers, 2, 4, 5, 6, are Nos. 162, 157, 161, 158 Academy). Florence Academy, No. 85.
(16) Magnificat Madonna. Florence, Uffizi Gallery, No. 1267, *bis*.
(17) Portrait of a Young Man. London, National Gallery, No. 626.
(18) Four panels { 3, M. G. Spiridon, Paris. 1, Mr. V. Watney, London.
(19) Altarpiece for S. Spirito, 1485. Berlin Gallery, No. 106.
(20) Mars and Venus. London, National Gallery, No. 915.
(21) Wall paintings from Villa Lemmi. Paris, Louvre.
(22) Birth of Venus. Florence, Uffizi Gallery, No. 39.
(23) Madonna of Pomegranate. Florence, Uffizi Gallery, No. 1289.
(24) Pallas and Centaur. Florence, Pitti Palace, Priv. App.
(25) Annunciation. Florence, Uffizi Gallery, No. 1316.
(26) Annunciation. Florence, Via della Scala, Istituto de' Minoresini.
(27) Coronation of Virgin, 1490. Florence, Academy, No. 73. With predella—five scenes, No. 74.
(28) Communion of S. Jerome. Florence, Coll. of Marchese Farinola.
(29) Virgin and Child (tondo), *c.* 1495. Milan, Ambrosiana, No. 72.
(30) Calumny. Florence, Uffizi, No. 1162.
(31) S. Augustine in his Cell. Florence, Uffizi, No. 1179.
(32) Judith with the Head of Holofernes. Berlin, Prof. Rich von Kaufmann.
(33) Virgin and Child. ? School piece. London, Heseltine Coll.
(34) Virgin in Adoration. ? School piece. U.S.A. Boston, Mrs. Gardner.
(35) Two panels, *c.* 1499—Virginia, Bergamo, Morelli Coll.; and Lucrece, U.S.A., Boston, Mrs. Gardner.
(36) Christ Crucified, and the Magdalen ? Lyons, Coll. M. Aynard.
(37) Stories of the Legend of S. Zenobio—two panels, Dr. Ludwig Mond; one panel, Dresden Gallery, No. 9.

To this list MR. BERENSON would add (*Florentine Painters*, pp. 107–8) a picture

Florence. Uffizi. First corridor. [No. 39.] Allegory of the Birth of Venus.[1] The goddess issues from a shell which is driven to the shore by two flying allegories of the winds. Life size. The figures are a little out of balance. The picture originally belonged to the Medici, and was painted for Cosimo's villa of Castello."[2] [No. 22 in my list.]

Uffizi. [No. 1289.] Round: representing the Virgin and Child and six angels; not so fine as that cited in previous pages, but good and worthy of the master. [No. 23.]

Uffizi. [No. 1158.] A small subject. Holofernes found dead in his tent. [No. 3.]

Uffizi. [No. 1156.] Judith cutting off the head of Holofernes. A small and much repainted piece. [No. 4.]

Florence Academy of Arts. [No. 85.] Originally in S. Barnabà of Florence.[3] Two angels raising curtains at each side disclose the Virgin attended by two seraphs holding the symbols of the Passion, between SS. Barnabas, Michael, John Evangelist, Ambrose and Catherine of Alexandria. The upper part of the picture is a modern addition by Veracini. It is a fine piece, not free from retouching. [No. 15.]

Academy. [No. 84.] Raphael and Tobit, a picture of the school.[4]

Academy. [No. 154.] Three Archangels and Tobit, already noticed in the works of the Pollaiuoli.[5]

Academy. [No. 157, 158, 161, 162.] Two scenes from the life of S. Augustine, in the manner of Botticelli or his school. Herodias with S. John's head in a basin. A scene from the life of S. Andrew. Small pieces of little importance.[6]

Pitti Gallery. [No. 348.] Round, with half-lengths of the Holy Family and angels; not a fine production of the master.[7]

Pitti Gallery. [No. 357.] The Virgin erect holding the Infant, who turns to embrace the youthful S. John; a genuine work.[8]

Pitti Gallery. [No. 61.] A bust portrait said to be that of "La bella Simonetta," for whom the attachment of Giuliano de' Medici is known. Profile, with a cap and in simple attire, of slender form, long neck and dull grey tone. This picture is a genuine one, but seems to represent a person of a lower rank than La Simonetta.[9]

Florence. S. Jacopo di Ripoli. Altar to the right of entrance. Subject: The Coronation of the Virgin, who kneels in a glory of graceful playing angels. Eighteen saints stand below, all but life-size. This

in Rome in the Collection of Prince Pallavicini, "The Outcast," and a Madonna, No. 17, in Milan Poldo-Pezzoli Gallery. On the other hand, he omits Nos. 18, 25, 26, 32, 34, 36 and 37 in our list, dividing No. 18 between Sellajo and Alunno di Domenico; see *infra.*]

[1] This list omits the pictures already noticed in the text.

[2] VASARI, vol. v., p. 113. [See *supra, note* 7, No. 22.]

[3] [VASARI, vol. v., p. 112; and RICHA, vol. vii., p. 65.

[4] [This is by Francesco Botticini, according to Mr. Berenson.]

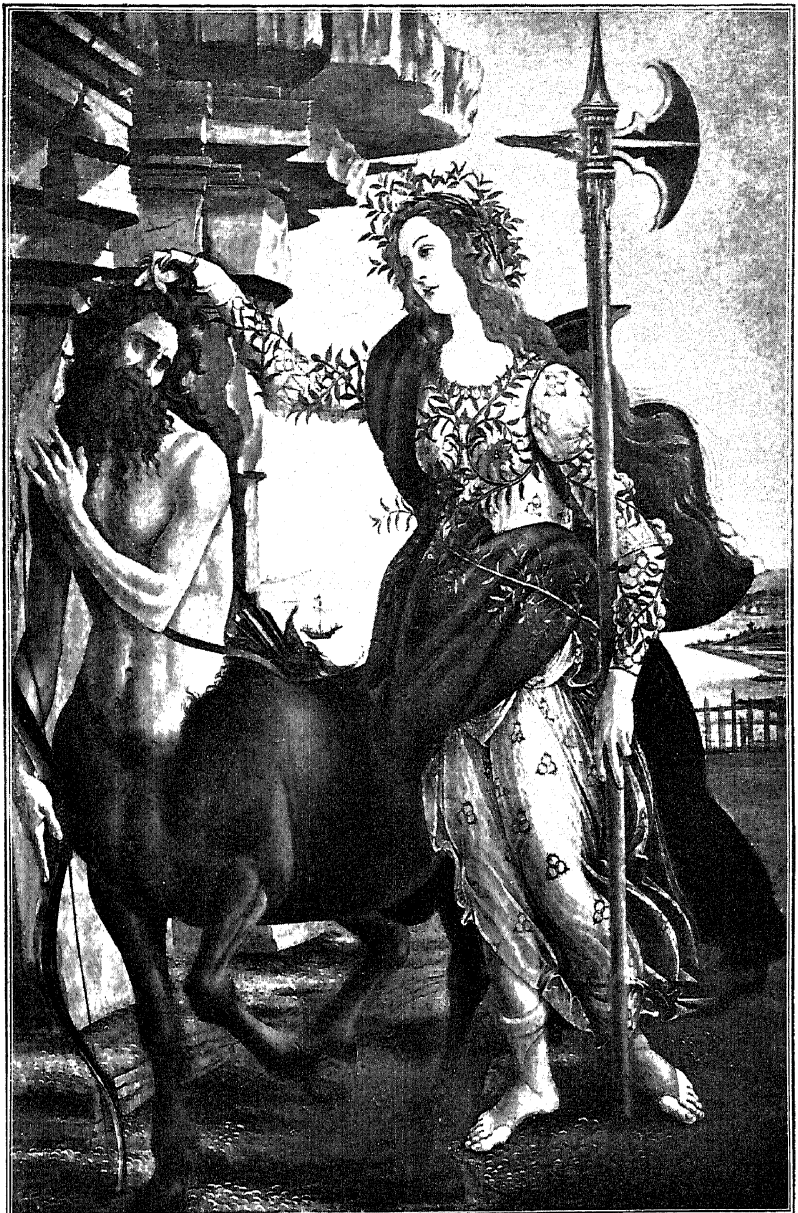
[5] [This is also by Francesco Botticini.]

[6] [These are by Botticelli. See my list, No. 15.]

[7] [This is a school picture. *Vide* MORELLI, *La Pittura Italiana*, p 78.]

[8] [This too is a school picture. *Vide* MORELLI, ibid.]

[9] [Mr. Berenson gives this portrait to Amico di Sandro. See *infra.*]



Alinari.

PALLAS AND THE CENTAUR

BOTTICELLI. Pitti Palace, Florence.

Anderson.

TEMPTATION OF CHRIST

Anderson.

SACRIFICE OF THE LEPER

BOTTICELLI.

Details from Frescoes in Sixtine Chapel, Rome.

picture, long assigned to Domenico Ghirlandaio, is a careful production of Botticelli's fine time, and stands in some relation, as regards beauty, to the Adoration of the Magi, in which the kings are portraits of the Medici.[1]

Florence. Casa Alessandri. Borgo degli Albizzi. Round of the Virgin, Child and angels, in arrangement similar, in execution inferior, to the same subject [No. 1267] in the Uffizi.[2]

Florence. Galleria Corsini. [No. 167.] Round, two angels open a curtain and hold a crown above the Virgin's head. Four others attend with the symbols of the Passion. A picture damaged by scaling.[3]

Same Gallery. [No. 340.] Five small allegorical figures on one panel, assigned by mistake to Angelico.[4]

Florence. Lombardi Collection. The Child lies on the ground stretching its arms towards the Virgin, whose hands are crossed on her bosom. Angels attend : half-lengths, fairly preserved.

Florence. Oratory of S. Ansano. Four allegories on separate panels, representing the Triumphs, of Love, of Chastity, of Time, of Divinity, in the manner of Botticelli and his school, but injured.[5]

Volterra. Badia. Sacristy. A Coronation of the Virgin almost similar to that of S. Jacopo di Ripoli, with only four saints and a kneeling monk at the foot. This piece is in Botticelli's manner, but in a wretched condition.[6]

Prato. Signor Nistri. Round. The infant Saviour, seated on a cushion, with a book in His hand, looking up at the Virgin adoring Him with joined hands. Right, a table with a vase of roses. Left, the youthful Baptist. This is a fine and well-preserved picture of the master, with all but life-size figures, painted in a light and somewhat raw tempera, akin to that found in works of Filippino.[7]

Empoli. Pieve. At each side of a statue by Rossellino two angels with folded arms, much ornamented. Above these, figures of a man and woman kneeling. Below, five scenes of a ruder execution.[8] The angels, though graceful, seem the creation of a young apprentice in Botticelli's atelier. The portraits are good.[9]

Rome. Galleria Borghese. A fine round of the Virgin, Child and

[1] [This picture no longer exists in S. Jacopo a Ripoli, but is to-day at La Quiete. Mr. Berenson tells me it is by a pupil of Amico di Sandro. See also MORELLI, *op. cit.*, p. 79.]

[2] [This seems to be a school picture.

[3] [This seems to be a school picture. *Vide* MORELLI, *op. cit.*, p 80.]

[4] [This, Mr. Berenson tells me, is by Amico di Sandro. See *infra.*]

[5] [These pictures are by Sellajo.]

[6] Vasari mentions works undertaken by Botticelli for Lorenzo de' Medici in the Spedaletto, now a private house belonging to the Princes Corsini, near Volterra (vol. v., p. 118).

[In 1484 Botticelli was working on frescoes in the Saletto of Volterra ; these are lost. This picture is not from his hand. The picture of the Badia is now at Basle.]

[7] [I know nothing of this picture. It does not seem, however, to belong either to Botticelli or to Filippino Lippi.]

[8] VASARI, vol. v., p. 121. [9] [This panel is by Botticini.]

youthful Baptist in an interior between six angels, singing behind a parapet. The figures are almost life-size.[1]

Modena. Gallery. No. 28. Round of the Virgin, Child and youthful Baptist; a dull and middling picture of the school.

Milan. Ambrosiana. Small round of the Virgin kneeling and pressing the stream of milk from her breast into the mouth of the Child erect before her; two angels raise a curtain at the sides. This piece is pretty and carefully carried out, executed with much feeling, in a style taken up by Filippino Lippi and exaggerated by Raffaelino del Garbo.[2]

Turin Gallery. [No. 369.] An allegory, in the fashionable style treated by Piero della Francesca, of a female in a car drawn by two unicorns. Amongst other figures is one in front carrying a flag. The distance is a landscape. A small and minutely finished piece, but injured in part by abrasion.[3]

Same Gallery. [No. 98.] Three Archangels and Tobit; weak, but in the manner of Botticelli's school, between Filippino and Botticelli in style, and of light but feeble colour; possibly by Raffaellino del Garbo or some other pupil in the shop of Filippino.

Same Gallery. No. 521 [?]. A subject called the Destruction of Jerusalem, in reality a battle-piece; not by Botticelli, though of the Florentine school, and of the class usually known by the names of Peselli, Dello, Uccello.

Same Gallery. No. 586 [? 356]. Virgin and Child; not by Botticelli, but in the manner of Lorenzo di Credi.

Berlin Museum. No. 102. Round of the Virgin, Child, and seven graceful angels, with a rose hedge and sky for background, injured by restoring, especially in the Virgin and Child.[4]

Same Gallery. No. 106. A fine picture by the master, of the Virgin and Child between the Baptist and Evangelist.[5]

Same Gallery. No. 1117. An Annunciation; genuine, but of little comparative interest or value.[6]

Same Gallery. No. 1124. Venus erect, imitating the pose of the Medicean; not one of the best productions of Botticelli.[7]

Same Gallery. No. 81. A profile portrait, as alleged, of Lucrezia Tornabuoni, dressed much in the modest garb of the so-called Simonetta at the Pitti; carefully but feebly executed, of a dull tone.[8]

Berlin. Raczynski Gallery. A fine round of the life-size Virgin holding the Infant, who looks at the spectator and strives to open His mother's dress; a group not without feeling. An angel on the right points out a passage in a book to three others. Four angels on the right. The move-

[1] [School piece. *Vide* MORELLI.]

[2] [This is by Botticelli. See my list, No. 29.]

[3] [Morelli tells us that this is not by Botticelli. Mr. Berenson ascribes it to Cosimo Rosselli.]

[4] [School piece.]

[5] This is the picture, it is said, mentioned by VASARI (vol. v., p. 111), as originally in S. Spirito, at Florence. It was purchased for Berlin by Baron von Rumohr. [See my list, No. 19.]

[6] [School piece.] [7] [School piece.] [8] [School piece.]

ments are good and varied, the four last leaning on each other's shoulders in pretty companionship. The nude is well rendered, developed in the articulations and extremities in the somewhat heavy style common to the Pollaiuoli and the figure of Fortitude by Botticelli. The picture has been restored, but the colour does not want light.[1]

Munich Gallery. Saal. No. 554. The Saviour's body on the knees of the Virgin, between eight saints, all but life-size. This is a fine picture answering the description given by Richa (vol. iii., pp. 278–80) of a Pietà in the sacristy of S. M. Maggiore and executed for the Pianciatichi of Florence.[2]

Dresden Gallery. Nos. 12, 13. Ecce Homo, and John Baptist (bust); the first, of the school; the second still less good.

Same Gallery. No. 25. S. John Evangelist. No. 26. S. John the Baptist. No. 27. Round of the Virgin, Child, and angels—are by rude executants of Botticelli's shop.

Frankfort. Staedel Institute. A colossal profile of a female like a study of the antique, of regular form and cold grey tone. [Not by Botticelli.]

Paris. Louvre. [No. 1296.] The Virgin, Infant and youthful Baptist, with a landscape distance, in the style of the school of Fra Filippo, with something of the manner of Botticelli in colour.[3]

Same Collection. [No. 1299.] A Venus lying in a meadow, with Cupids, forms part of the ex-Campagna Collection.[4]

London. Mr. Barker's Collection. Life-size Virgin, Child and youthful Baptist, the latter standing on one side, whilst a vase of flowers is on the other.

Same Collection. The life-size Virgin embracing the Infant and the youthful Baptist in prayer. Both these pictures are fine and well preserved.

Same Collection. Less attractive than the foregoing, a Venus lying in a meadow, with Cupids.[5]

Gallery of the late Mr. Bromley. Two life-size figures of Venus, not of the best style of Botticelli. One recalling that of Berlin and injured (purchased by Lord Ashburton for 100 guineas), the other originally in the Palazzo Feroni at Florence, better than the first and marked by a garland of flowers (purchased for Bath House for 150 guineas).

Same Collection. A round with half-lengths of the infant Saviour on the ground, adored by the Virgin, kneeling in prayer, with five angels in attendance. In the distance is a rose-bush and landscape. This picture (purchased for Bath House for 750 guineas) is in the raw system of tone peculiar to some of the master's works.[6]

[1] [School piece.]

[2] [This, according to Morelli, is a genuine work by Botticelli, but Mr. Berenson gives it to Raffaellino del Garbo.] [3] [School piece.] [4] [School piece.]

[5] [The sale of Mr. Barker's pictures took place at Christie's in 1874. The first and second of the pictures the authors speak of as belonging to him here, I know not. The third picture is in the National Gallery, No. 916, which the Catalogue ascribes to "Tuscan School."]

[6] [The three pictures once belonging to Mr. Bromley I cannot trace.]

Mr. Fuller Maitland's Collection. No. 51 *at Manchester.* Nativity. In the centre, the pent-house, in front of which the Infant lies and is adored by the Virgin. Some of the shepherds are led towards the Saviour by angels, others in the foreground express their joy by embracing the pastors. A choir sings on the roof of the pent-house, others dance in a circle in the heavens. At each side of the foreground, devils. This is one of the pictures in which Sandro allowed his usual spirit to burst out into extraordinary effervescence. A Greek inscription at foot states that the picture was executed in 1500.[1] Exquisite taste is shown in the ornament and great care in the execution, but the picture is not in perfect condition.

Same Collection. No. 52 *at Manchester.* The Virgin adoring the Child, and S. John. This piece has the character of Botticelli's school.

Gallery of the late Lord Northwick. A much-injured Nativity on canvas (Virgin adores the Saviour).

Lord Ward's Collection, Dudley House. A round of the Nativity, executed poorly by some of the master's pupils.

National Gallery. [No. 226.] Virgin and Child, youthful Baptist and angels, a dull-toned picture.[2]

Same Collection. Same subject, No. 275. Not a fine example.[3]

France. Collection of Mr. Reiset. Vasari notices two portraits in the "guardaroba" of Cosimo de' Medici (Vasari, vol. v., p. 121). One represented "La Simonetta," and it is said the other was Lucrezia Tornabuoni. The Pitti Gallery claims the first, the Berlin Museum the second. Both, however, seem to be likenesses of persons of a burgess class. Nor are they fine productions of the master. Mr. Reiset possesses a magnificent profile of a female (bust, all but naked to the waist), with hair in tresses and twisted with pearls and hanging ornaments representing hearts with a jewel on the top of it. A jewelled serpent is twined round her neck. A scarf with variegated stripes is about her form, and the head is detached on clouds topping a landscape of water and hills. This all but life-size portrait bears the inscription: "SIMONETTA JANUENSIS VESPUCCIA."

The figure and neck are long and slender, the drawing is exquisitely precise and finished, and the portrait generally is far superior in every respect to those before alluded to. It almost equals indeed in richness and beauty the creations of the Pollaiuoli and Verrocchio, which Botticelli came near in some of his pieces; and must be by one of these masters or Botticelli. It is at all events probably that mentioned by Vasari, and if by Botticelli (one cannot affirm that it is), in the unusual style in which he approached the "orafi."[4]

Same Collection. Mr. Reiset also possesses an injured allegorical figure, of colossal size, representing perhaps one of the Seasons, with three

[1] This has also been read 1511, and Schorn's Vasari makes it 1460. See *notes* to vol. ii., pp. 243–4. The picture was in the Ottley Collection. [Now in National Gallery, No. 1034. See my list, *supra*, No. 36. The date is 1500. For the inscription and the interpretation, *cf.* HORNE, *op. cit.*, p. 295 *et seq.*]

[2] [School piece.] [3] [School piece.]

[4] [This is a portrait of Cleopatra by Piero di Cosimo; it is now in the Musée Condé at Chantilly, No. 13.]

"THE OUTCAST"

BOTTICELLI. Collection of Prince Pallavicini, Rome.

MADONNA AND CHILD

SCHOOL OF BOTTICELLI. National Gallery.

LA BELLA SIMONETTA

AMICO DI SANDRO.

Pitti Gallery, Florence.

GIULIANO DE' MEDICI

AMICO DI SANDRO.

Morelli Gallery, Bergamo.

attendant children and cornucopias. At Rome, where this piece once was, it was named Mantegna,[1] but it is no doubt by Botticelli.

Amongst the pictures not seen by the authors of this work is the altarpiece executed for Matteo Palmieri, in the Cappella dell' Assunta of S. Pier' Maggiore at Florence. It is now in the collection of the Duke of Hamilton.[2]

The following list comprises such pictures as Vasari and others mention, and which have either perished or escape research.

Florence. Convent of the Convertite, table.[3] Casa Medici, a Pallas and a S. Sebastian.[4] Casa Pucci, round of the Epiphany,[5] Castello, S. M. de' Pazzi, Annunciation.[6] There is a picture representing this subject, now in the church named; but it is not by Botticelli. Florence. S. Francesco fuori Porta a S. Miniato, round of the Virgin and angels.[7] Guardaroba of Cosimo de' Medici, a Bacchus.[8] Pisa. Duomo, Cappella dell' Impagliata, unfinished Ascension.[9] Montevarchi. S. Francesco, Picture of high altar.[10] Florence Orsanmichele, Baldacchino.[11] Monastery of the Angeli, round.[12] Cappella de' Canneri, Annunciation.[13] The Annotators of Vasari, Schorn's translation (ii., 2, 244), notice a Miracle of S. Zenobius in possession of Herr von Quandt at Dresden.[14]

[1] It is noted as a Mantegna in *Com.* to VASARI, by Selvatico, vol. v., p. 193.

[2] *Vide* RICHA, vol. i., p. 54, and WAAGEN, *Treasures*, vol. iii., p. 296. Not seen likewise is a round of the Virgin and Child between SS. M. Magdalen and Catherine in Casa Pucci at Florence. VASARI, vol. v., *note* to p. 114. [The altarpiece for Matteo Palmieri of the Assumption of the B. V. M., is now in the National Gallery, No. 1126. It was painted by Botticini. *Cf.* BERENSON, *Florentine Painters* (1907), p. 109.]

[3] VASARI, vol. v., p. 112; and BORGHINI, vol. ii., p. 134.

[4] Ibid., ibid.

[5] Ibid., p. 114. [Now in National Gallery, No. 1033. See my list, *supra*, No. 8.]

[6] Ibid., ibid.; and RICHA, vol. i., p. 232. [Now in Uffizi, No. 1316. See my list, *supra*, No. 25. The picture the authors allude to was doubtless that which is now in the Uffizi; it was discovered in 1872 in a small chapel in a field which formerly belonged to the convent. *Cf.* MAUD CRUTTWELL, *Florentine Galleries* (Dent, 1907), p. 50.]

[7] VASARI, vol. v., p. 118.

[8] Ibid. p. 121.

[9] Ibid., ibid.

[10] Ibid., ibid.

[11] Ibid., ibid.

[12] Ibid., ibid.

[13] RICHA, vol. i., p. 322.

[14] [*Cf.* my list, *supra*, No. 38.]

[NOTE.—For all concerning the school of Botticelli the reader is referred to MR. HORNE'S forthcoming vol. ii., of his *Sandro Botticelli*, so constantly referred to above. It is impossible to deal with this subject in a note. Something, however, must be said of two painters, one of whom, the Amico di Sandro, is a discovery and almost a creation of Mr. Berenson's, while what we know of the other, Botticini, we owe almost entirely to him and to Mr. Horne.

Of the Amico di Sandro, MR. BERENSON wrote at some length in his *Study and Criticism of Italian Art* (Bell, 1901), vol. i., p. 46 *et seq.* Recognising as he did a certain series of pictures of the seventh and eighth decades of the fifteenth century which passed under such various names as Botticelli, Ghirlandaio, and the Lippi as the work of none of these painters, but as having a common origin, he invented a name for their painter, "Amico di Sandro," and from their mood

and atmosphere drew forth a personality, suggesting nevertheless that his Amico might be perhaps the historical Berto Linaiuolo. The first of these pictures is the Virgin and Child with two angels in the Naples Museum, No. 32, and the last he speaks of, two male portraits, one in the Lichtenstein Collection at Vienna, the other in the Louvre, No. 663. He recognises, too, as the work of a pupil of this master, the beautiful Coronation of the Virgin at La Quiete, Florence. In his valuable list of pictures in *Florentine Painters* (1907), p. 96 *et seq.*, he gives a list of pictures by Amico di Sandro, numbering some twenty-seven in all scattered through Europe. Among these are the Madonna and Child with S. John (tondo), National Gallery, No. 1412, and the Adoration of the Magi, National Gallery, No. 1124. For fuller particulars consult the works mentioned. I feel sure that it will eventually be proved that " Amico di Sandro " is a composite personality.

As for Botticini, Mr. Horne will doubtless write of him in his forthcoming second volume. Botticini's work has always been confused with Botticelli's. Born in 1446, and dead in 1498, he was the pupil of Neri di Bicci, influenced by Andrea del Castagno, and formed by Cosimo Rosselli and Verrocchio. I have noted those works spoken of by the authors as Botticelli's, which are now generally allowed to be from Botticini's hand. For us, doubtless, the most interesting of these is the famous Assumption in the National Gallery, No. 1126, which was painted for Matteo Palmieri, and which was accused of teaching heresy. Two other pictures in the National Gallery, the S. Jerome and other Saints and Demons, No. 227, and the Tobias and the Angel, No. 781, are given by Mr. Berenson to Botticini. In his list (*Florentine Painters* (1907), pp. 109–10, MR. BERENSON numbers some forty pictures.]

CRUCIFIXION OF S. PETER

FILIPPINO LIPPI. Carmine, Florence.

VISION OF S. BERNARD

FILIPPINO LIPPI. Badia, Florence.

Alinari.

THE VIRGIN AND CHILD, WITH ANGELS

FILIPPINO LIPPI. Central Panel of Shrine of St. Margherita, Prato.

CHAPTER XXI

FILIPPINO LIPPI AND THE RAPHAELS

FROM the numerous and interesting works of Botticelli, we naturally turn to those which illustrate the career of Filippino. But before we venture upon the analysis of his great and important creations,[1] we pause to inquire when he was born and who are his parents. History responds in the page of Vasari: that Filippino is the natural son of Fra Filippo, a Carmelite friar, and Lucrezia Buti, a novice. We shall be slow to accept this version of a story which reposes on no secure foundation, and we may ask whether the doubts suggested in the life of Fra Filippo Lippi are not capable of receiving additional force from other considerations.[2]

The strongest argument upon which Vasari's assertion rests is the name of Filippino. He calls himself in a letter and in a public record, Filippo di Filippo Lippi;[3] in a picture at Bologna, Philippinus; in the Strozzi frescoes at S. Maria Novella in Florence, Philippinus de Lippis, and in the Adoration of the Magi at the Uffizi, Philipus de Lipis. In the public accounts of the city of Florence (1485) he is called Filippo Filippi, and Filippo alterius Filippi.[4] The history of Italian art affords numerous examples of painters taking the names of adoptive fathers or of teachers. Mantegna is called "fiuolo de M. Francesco Squarcion" in the register of Paduan painters.[5] Marco

[1] [Without wantonly finding fault with our authors, we may perhaps question the precise wisdom of these sentences, which would lead the hurried reader at any rate to suppose that Filippino Lippi was a much more important figure in the history of Florentine painting than Botticelli; the reverse is, of course, the case.]

[2] [We now have documents which. in every important particular save the date of Filippino's birth, bear out Vasari's story of this painter. Fra Filippo's Will (given by STRUTT, *op. cit.*, p. 153) is sufficient evidence that Filippino was the illegitimate son of Fra Filippo and Lucrezia Buti. There is some doubt whether or no he was begotten or even born in the cloister; we do not know when Lucrezia left the convent. *Cf.* HORNE, *op. cit.*, p. 8. He traverses Milanesi.]

[3] In a letter from Rome to Filippo Strozzi, dated May 2, 1489, *vide Alcuni Documenti, &c.* (printed for the Nozze Gentile, Farinola-Vai), *ubi sup.*, pp. 15–16, and in a record (ibid., p. 18).

[4] GAYE, *ubi sup.*, vol. i., pp. 579, 581–2.

[5] Selvatico in note to VASARI, vol. v., p. 159.

Zoppo calls himself in one of his pictures, "Zoppo di Squarcione."[1] Gregorio Schiave signs a picture now at Berlin,[2] "Opus Sclavoni Dalmatici Squarcioni." Palmezzano is, in altarpieces, Marchus de Melotius. There is nothing in Filippino's own signature to letters and records justifying more than that he is a pupil and perhaps a relation of Fra Filippo.[3] Vasari says that Fra Filippo had relatives at Prato.[4] We know that Filippino was educated in that town, for which he had a natural attachment on that account.[5] We may therefore surmise that he is of the Carmelite's family, perhaps his adopted son—certainly reared, either as a pupil in his atelier, or a student of his works under the guardianship of Fra Diamante. A letter written by Giovanni de' Medici to his agent at Naples in 1458, referring to a ludicrous mistake of Fra Filippo, has been construed into an allusion to the seduction of Lucrezia,[6] and the date of that fictitious event being thus settled, we possess a slender and insecure basis on which to found the belief that Filippino was born in 1460.[7] The date of Filippino's registry in the Guild of Florentine Painters is unfortunately illegible,[8] and deprives the student perhaps of a valuable clue as to the real time of his birth; but enough has been said to justify serious doubts as to the accuracy of the date usually assumed;[9] and it is possible that Filippino may have been born earlier. His masterpieces prove to us a close adherence to many of the salient principles in the art of Fra Filippo; yet Vasari says that his real master was Botticelli.[10] He also dwells, however, on the close connection between Botticelli and Fra Filippo. We must, therefore,

[1] A Virgin and Child and angels in the late Manfrini Gallery.

[2] [Berlin Museum, No. 1162.]

[3] Cosimo Rosselli might be supposed from his name to be a son of Rosselli. Yet he is proved by his will and other records to be the son of Lorenzo of the Rosselli. See GAYE, *Cart.*, ii., *note* to p. 457. Pier di Cosimo, again, is only so called because he was Rosselli's pupil.

[4] "In Prato, dove aveva alcuni parenti." VASARI, vol. iv., p. 121.

[5] Minute of meeting of Prato town council in proofs to Guasti's *Catalogue of the Prato Gallery* (Prato, 1858), p. 43.

[6] See *antea*, Fra Filippo; and GAYE, vol. i., p. 180. [HORNE, *op. cit.*, p. 9, agrees that this is gratuitous. Milanesi, on the contrary, holds to the opinion combated by the authors.]

[7] [Mr. Horne agrees with Milanesi, that Filippino was probably born in 1457.]

[8] GUALANDI, *ubi sup.*, ser. vi., p. 182.

[9] It is but right to add that Vasari says Filippino died in 1505, aged forty-five. But the biographer is oftener wrong than right in such statements as these.

[10] VASARI, vol. v., p. 242. [Vasari is right. Botticelli's name was first entered in the Campagnia di S. Luca on 17th June, 1472, and this entry shows that Filippino was then working with him. Probably Filippino was placed with Botticelli (in spite of his father's will, in which Fra Diamante is named as his master), in 1470, certainly not later than 1471. *Cf.* HORNE, *op. cit.*, pp. 30, 31.]

compare the works of Sandro and Filippino in order to ascertain the truth. A glance at the wall paintings of the Brancacci Chapel, especially at those which seem the earliest, such as the Liberation of S. Peter, and Paul's Interview with him in Prison, show the clear derivation of Filippino's style from that of Fra Filippo as contra-distinguished from Sandro's manner in 1480–4 at Ognissanti, and in the Sixtine Chapel. Some points of resemblance which can be traced in a few pictures of Filippino and Botticelli may be due to their common study of the works of Fra Filippo and to a later connection with each other. But should it become certain that our artist was left an orphan of tender years in 1469, we may still suppose that Fra Diamante, who had, no doubt, imbibed the style of the Carmelite, carried on the child's education in the only path with which he was acquainted, and that Filippino thus remained indelibly impressed with the stamp of Fra Filippo's manner.[1] This opinion can be sustained by reference to pictures, but becomes almost a certainty with the help of contemporary records. A precious minute of proceedings at a meeting of the town council of Prato in January 1501 contains a speech made by Antonio Vannocci de Rochis, in which he recommends Filippino as a fit person to paint a picture for the audience hall of the Public Palace. In the course of his remarks he says, that as Filippino of Florence is a first-rate artist educated in the territory of Prato and filled with affection for the town and its inhabitants, "he is the fit person for carrying out the commission."[2]

Filippino displays very high powers in a picture painted as early as 1480.[3] Ordered by Francesco del Pugliese[4] for a chapel at "la Campora," it still hangs on an altar to the left of the entrance to the Badia in Florence, and represents the vision of S. Bernard, with a bust portrait of the donor on the foreground to the right.

Bold design is carried out in lines broken and resumed to suit the necessities of a style affecting to seek out every possible curve in nature. A graceful animation and playful eagerness, a demonstrative mode of

[1] Vasari relates that Fra Filippo left Fra Diamante guardian of Filippino. When Filippo died, Fra Diamante retired to Florence with the child, then ten years old, and with three hundred ducats saved from the property of the deceased. Of these moneys very little was shared with Filippino. VASARI, vol. iv., p. 129.

[2] Minute of proceedings of Jan. 26, 1501, printed in *Giornale Storico degli Arch. Tosc.*, vol. ii., p. 248; and in GAETANO GUASTI'S *Catalogue of the Gallery of Prato* (1858), p. 43.

[3] If this date be correctly given by PUCCINELLI in *Cronica della Badia Fiorentina* (Milan, 1664), *ap. note* to VASARI, vol. v., p. 244.

[4] [It was commissioned not by Francesco del Pugliese, but by his son Piero; he paid 250 ducats for it. It was brought to the Badia in 1529. Mr. Berenson now gives the date of this altarpiece as 1487–8.]

expressing the feelings, are equally characteristic; whilst the execution is all that can be desired for precision. The saint, standing pen in hand at a desk, seems entranced, and looks with ecstatic veneration at a Virgin of noble presence, who, moving forward with attendant seraphs, turns the leaves of his book. It is a vision recalling that afterwards conceived by Fra Bartolommeo. The two angels at the Virgin's side evince a childish and simple curiosity, and remind one, as indeed the Virgin also does, essentially of Fra Filippo's manner, not only in the definition of the lines, and the slender proportions, but in the spirit of the conception and the fine movement of the draperies. Brethren of the Order, wondering as they look towards heaven or communicate the miracle to each other, two chained and vanquished devils behind S. Bernard, assist the development of the story.

The picture undoubtedly claims for Filippino the position of a painter in his prime, whilst the feeling and character which it discloses seem affected by a tendency to realism, effaced to some extent in the great wall paintings of the Brancacci, where one may suppose the artist to have felt the necessity of striving for a higher mark, in order worthily to rival the greatness of Masaccio. The mannered turn of some of the lines, whilst it recalls the style of Fra Filippo, is also reminiscent of that of Botticelli, and foreshadows the exaggeration observable later in Raffaellino del Garbo. In the use of his colours Filippino is abundant, and carefully fuses a somewhat raw flesh tone into lucid silver-grey shadows, without glazing. His method is tempera, carried out almost like oil-painting in a manner remarkable in some pictures of Botticelli, bright and clear, but gay to a fault in the changing hues of the draperies. No truer or more real portrait can be conceived than that of Francesco del Pugliese.[1]

The same youthful freshness, the same grace of forms and types, undisturbed by the exaggerated development of extremities peculiar to Filippino's later manner, great minuteness and taste in ornament, mark an altarpiece, apparently of this time, in S. Michele of Lucca, representing SS. Roch, Sebastian, Jerome and Helena, in a meadow richly decked with flowers.[2]

Whilst the earliest examples of Filippino thus demonstrate that the models upon which he based his style are those of his so-called

[1] Or rather of Piero his son, the donor. Another picture of this period executed for the Ferranti family, and representing S. Jerome, was of old in the Badia, but is not now known to exist. *Vide* VASARI, vol. v., p. 252.

[2] To the left S. Roch, youthful, turns towards S. Sebastian on his right, who holds an arrow. Next him is S. Jerome, in thought, recalling the type of S. Peter in the Liberation at the Brancacci, and with a lion at his side. By his side S. Helena, with a long cross; distance, a landscape. This picture is noticed in VASARI (*Comm.* to life of S. Botticelli, vol. v., p. 127) as a creation of the latter. It hangs on the second altar to the right of the high portal.

father, modified with some less marked peculiarities of Botticelli's manner, the wall paintings of the Brancacci Chapel prove with still greater clearness the direction of his education. Lower in the scale of art than Masaccio, to whom he succeeds, Filippino still worthily fulfils the arduous task imposed on him. If he fails to conceive or to dispose his subjects and groups with the massive grandeur of his precursor, if the distribution of his general lines produces a less harmonious result, and proves that he had not the consummate art of placing the *dramatis personæ* in their perfect relative proportions on their various planes; if he had less power in the rendering of light and shade and atmosphere; if, in fine, he sacrifices the mass in some measure to detail, and prefers a mannered imitation of natural and unselect parts to the simplicity afforded by the choice of noble and select form, he is nevertheless not at so great a distance behind Masaccio as to be eclipsed by him, and it shall not be denied that he possesses a bold vigour of hand and remarkable skill in reproducing action, a striking resolution in the build and expression of his figures, and a great individuality in their features, compensating for want of idealism or incomparable dignity of mien. Filippino in fact creates with realistic truth, and exhibits that tendency to flatness of planes in flesh and in drapery which precludes perfect rotundity and massive light and shade; and these are features which he derives from the teaching of Fra Filippo. He is at a disadvantage, too, as compared with Masaccio in realising colour; for, though he uses more impasto, his tones are not so clear or light and their higher surface gives less the quality of rotundity.

Such, as premised, being the qualities of Filippino's wall paintings at the Brancacci, it is perhaps needless to say that there seems no ground for entering upon a barren discussion as to whether Fra Filippo may not be entitled to the honour of having painted them.[1] The style of Fra Filippo is distinct and clear enough to an artistic eye; and is not to be found at the Brancacci. We have already

[1] This theory has been developed by CESARE BERNASCONI in *Studi* (Verona, 1859), p. 11 and following. But the works of Filippino have also been assigned frequently to Masaccio (see RUMOHR, *Forschungen*, vol. ii., p. 250), especially that portion of the fresco facing the Resurrection of the boy, in which S. Peter and Paul appear before the Proconsul. ALBERTINI, whose *Memoriale* appeared five years after the death of Filippino, assigns the Crucifixion to him, and forgets the other episode in the same compartment (*vide Mem.*, p. 16). There is a long lapse of time between the period when Masaccio ceased to work and Filippino began his labours. The features marked in the painting of the two men are different. The part not by Filippino has all the character of a series executed in rapid succession. Between it and that of Filippino we note the lapse of time and a newer art. Why then should we refuse the conclusion which the paintings distinctly give us?

stated the conviction that the Visit of Paul to Peter and the Liberation in the pilasters of the chapel are the earliest by Filippino. We may add that the figures in these compositions are his best, and less marked by the unfavourable features of his manner than any of the rest. S. Paul, in the first of these frescoes, is splendid, coloured with more than usual brilliancy, and thrown off with a grandeur almost equal to that of Masaccio's creations.[1] The angel in the second has a fine slender shape which reminds the beholder of those of Fra Filippo, whilst the type of his face discloses the mere germ of subsequent defects in a certain squareness and tendency to vulgarity. The sleeping sentry, outside, is also fine. Colour, however, is already of the dull tinge which naturally suggests comparison with similar tones in Botticelli.[2]

The composition of SS. Peter and Paul before the Proconsul is that which proves Filippino to have been less master of the laws of distribution than Masaccio. There it is that the *dramatis personæ* are so arranged as to present disproportion and a certain lack of harmony in the lines; but the breadth of hand apparent in the execution, the comparative dignity of types and forms, which, though realistic, are still noble, the boldness of action, and the knowledge displayed by the man in varied movement and expression, are great, and do not accuse the neglect which, at a later period, caused great talents to merge into a riot of tasteless fancies.[3]

The Crucifixion of Peter, better composed than the corresponding group of the Apostles before the Proconsul, does not balance it as one by Masaccio might have done, but appears isolated without a link to bind it with the total of the scene depicted. Here it is that Filippino sacrifices the grandeur of the whole to the working out of subordinate and independent groups, and shows himself devoid of the great principle conspicuous in Masaccio. Here it is that one sees the detail overwhelming the mass, a flatter system of relief, an absence of the joint qualities of plastic form and chiaroscuro which were combined in Ghirlandaio, and which, with the assistance of Fra Bartolommeo, were carried to perfection by Raphael.[4] The figures

[1] The dress of S. Peter is discoloured, and shows the ashen preparation. The fresco is marked 3 in the plan (see in Masaccio, *antea*). It is assigned properly by Vasari in his first edition to Filippino. *Vide Com.* to VASARI, *ubi sup.*, vol. iii., p. 169.

[2] This fresco is No. 4 in plan. Masaccio, *antea*, p. 240. It is not noticed by Vasari.

[3] This and the Crucifixion, No. 5 of plan, is assigned properly to Filippino in VASARI, first edition. See *Com.* in VASARI, *ubi sup.*, vol. iii., p. 169.

[4] The Crucified Peter is, however, a well-studied natural nude. Great nature is also in the figures about the Cross, in those to the right especially, amongst

are undeniably true as portraying nature in resolute and bold action, but giving to demonstrative gesture and expression little more than mobility and freedom, not the impression of sublime dignity or decorum. The principle is the same even in the smallest detail, and one notes a want of selection in the muscular frames, articulations, and extremities, as much as in the motives and their external realisation; whilst the superabundant draperies have less of the original simplicity than is required to produce true satisfaction.[1] The colour, as before stated, is of high surface, unglazed, and thus of another texture, and of more sharply contrasted keys, than that of Masaccio. The landscape, more minutely defined, has likewise less depth and atmosphere.

That portion of the Resurrection of the Boy which Masaccio left incomplete is finished in the same style as the parts but now alluded to,[2] and exhibits the newer, the more advanced, but less noble, art of Filippino. If it be true that many of the personages depicted in these frescoes are portraits, and that we are to consider those which tradition so describes as likenesses taken at the time of Filippino's actual labour, we may conclude that he finished the Brancacci Chapel between 1482 and 1490.

The son of the king, restored to life by S. Peter, is the portrait of Granacci,[3] who was born in 1469, and looks as if he had reached his sixteenth or seventeenth year. Messer Soderini, whose head is the first from the left side of the same fresco, is known to have died in 1485.[4] The poet Luigi Pulci, to the right of Soderini, and recognisable by the likeness to a portrait of him in the Uffizi, died in 1486, and if the two at each side of the monk's head, already shown to be by Masaccio, be Piero del Pugliese and Piero Guicciardini, these were alive at the foregoing dates.[5] The portrait of Antonio Pollaiuolo is on the right hand of the proconsul, that of Botticelli, as already stated, in the group of S. Peter's Crucifixion. The wood-cut which Vasari gives of Filippino is taken from the figure on the extreme right of the fresco of the apostles before the proconsul, whose age may be given as between twenty-five and thirty; and if Vasari's statement as to his age in 1505 be correct, the foregoing dates are again confirmed. It may be noted at the same time that a portrait assigned to Masaccio in the Uffizi,[6] and painted in the style of Filippino, is like that supposed to represent the latter at the Carmine, younger perhaps, but

which, one with his back to the spectator is repeated with little variation in Andrea del Sarto's fresco at the SS. Annunziata in Florence.

[1] They have at the same time little relief by light and shade.

[2] This part and four portraits at the left side of the fresco are marked 1 and 2 in No. 9 of plan. See *antea*, Masaccio, p. 240. Vasari distinctly assigns these parts to Filippino, vol. v., pp. 243–4.

[3] VASARI, vol. v., p. 243. [4] VASARI, vol. iii., p. 183. [5] Ibid., ibid.

[6] [No. 286, in gallery of Portraits of Painters], and see *antea*.

technically handled in the manner of the frescoes, *ex. gr.* like the sleeping soldier in the Liberation. Another portrait in the Torrigiani Gallery, and assigned there to Masaccio,[1] is also in Filippino's manner, but bears no resemblance as regards features to that of the Uffizi.

No better proof can be adduced in favour of the belief that Filippino might have been entrusted with important works such as those of the Carmine at this period, than a fact recorded in the archives of Florence. Pietro Perugino, amongst others, had been chosen, in October 1482, to take a part in the adornment of the hall of the Palazzo Pubblico. He was absent in Rome at that time and unable to accept the commission. The person chosen to replace him was Filippino Lippi, then also absent from Florence, but who was to receive the offer of a salary and conditions equal to those which had been considered suitable to the name and talents of Pietro.[2] Whether he performed the duty assigned to him, or whether he declined it like Perugino, is uncertain; but in 1485 he brought out the great altarpiece of the Madonna and Saints now in the Uffizi, originally the ornament of the Sala degli Otto in the Public Palace, and authenticated as to time by an inscription and by records.[3] A Virgin of slender and graceful shape affectionately holds the Infant, who grasps a book, and looks towards a fine S. Victor. Three other saints, and two angels supporting a festoon of flowers above the group, form a picture unimpaired by the later defects of the master, without excess of mannerism in design, drawn with precision, and coloured with freshness, and equal in every sense to the vision of S. Bernard in the Badia.

Equally striking for the qualities which mark the painter's prime is the altarpiece of the Cappella Nerli in S. Spirito at Florence,[4] in which one observes a grandeur and severe dignity never surpassed by Filippino, and a charming variety of episode. Nothing can be more pretty in conception or Raffaelesque in feeling than the Virgin enthroned in an interior, with the Infant on her knee, taking a cross presented to Him by the youthful Baptist; and were it not for some

[1] See *antea*.

[2] The record is in GAYE, vol. i., p. 579. The proof that Perugino was in Rome at the time is in *Alcuni Documenti artistici, &c., per* le Nozze, Farinola-Vai, *ubi sup.*, p. 17, in the shape of a letter from Julian, bishop of Ostia, to the Priore of Orvieto.

[3] The picture [No. 1268 of Uffizi Catalogue] is inscribed "ANNO SALVATIS, MCCCCLXXXV DIE XX FEBRUARI," but see GAYE, vol. i., p. 579 and following. At the Virgin's sides are SS. Victor, John the Baptist, Bernard and Zenobius. Above are the arms of Florence. The figures are life size. See also VASARI, vol. v., p. 251.

[4] VASARI, vol. v., p. 244.

want of selection in the types, the charm of the group would be excessive. The Virgin's glance is turned towards S. Catherine, who tenderly recommends the kneeling wife of Tanai de' Nerli.[1] He also kneels on the opposite side, introduced by S. Martin in episcopals, and the distance, seen through an arcade, shows the city of Florence in the direction of the S. Frediano Gate. No portraits of this time are more admirably realised than those of the Nerli. Filippino never approached nearer than here to the ideal of simple and grand drapery. His precision in defining form is admirable, his ability in depicting populous life in distance astonishing for its realistic truth; his colour is a little raw, but pleasant still, and modelled with great breadth and success. Such talents as Filippino exhibited, such mastery of hand as he now made proof of, would naturally lead to his constant employment. Amidst the numerous commissions which may be conceived as overwhelming him with labour, we have authentic record of one which was to make the Strozzi Chapel at S. Maria Novella, in 1487, worthy of the wealth and taste of Filippo, the chief of that house.[2] Filippino admits, in a letter written from Rome on the 2nd of May 1489, the debt of kindness and of gratitude which he owed to this nobleman, excusing himself for neglecting his commission by saying that he was busy in the service of Cardinal Oliviero Caraffa, as good a patron as any man could desire, and describing the richness of the decorations with which he was adorning his chapel.[3] This letter is of great interest, as proving the exact time when Filippino painted the wall pictures at S. Maria sopra Minerva, and fixes the period when, passing through Spoleto, he erected a monument at the expense of Lorenzo de' Medici to the pictorial virtues of Fra Filippo.[4]

In the scenes from the legend of S. Thomas Aquinas, of which a part is still in a double course on the walls of the Cappella Caraffa,[5] Filippino represented the Miracle of the Crucifix so as to prove that he might, if he had not been occasionally careless, have permanently mastered the unalterable laws of great composition. He depicted the Saint's Triumph over the heretic disputers with less successful distribution, and, with a breadth of hand and freedom of execution verging upon the looser manner of a later time.

In the first of these subjects, S. Thomas kneels in ecstasy before the Crucifix, having just heard the words spoken by the martyred Saviour:

[1] She kneels on the right, Tanai on the left.

[2] The adornment of the Strozzi Chapel was entrusted to Filippino on the 21st of April 1487. See *note* to VASARI, vol. v., p. 249.

[3] This letter is in *Alcuni Documenti* (Nozze, Farinola-Vai), *ubi sup.*, pp. 15, 16.

[4] VASARI, vol. v., p. 247.

[5] Ibid., pp. 247–8.

"Bene scripsisti de me, Thoma." Two angels attend the saint; and the stupor caused by the miracle is well expressed by the action and expression of a monk, by the eagerness with which a youth surprises an in-comer in relating the fact. The idea of fear is further carried out by collateral incidents; and a boy frightened by the baying of a dog drops his bread to the ground in the arcades of the distance. By the side of the group in colloquy, two females stand in attitude of listening, one of whom offers to the beholder a type not unlike the aged ones of the Leonardesque school. A youth coming down a flight of steps, arched spaces in good architectural taste, and in fair perspective, through which a landscape and a distant city are visible, complete the picture.

Filippino never showed more ability in distribution than when he conceived and carried out this well-balanced composition, in which he showed great boldness, realising the chief incident and the episodes subordinate to it with truth and nature, and with an animation and movement more marked than even those in Ghirlandaio's effort at the Sixtine Chapel. His colour is at the same time harmonious, if not of warm tones.

Beneath the foregoing, which fills the lunette of the wall to the right of the entrance, S. Thomas, enthroned between his allegorical supporters, Philosophy, Theology, and two others, tramples on a fallen heretic and enjoys the prospect of Arius, Sabellius and Averroes, prostrate on the foreground, whilst various groups are scattered around in the space enclosed by arches.[1]

In another part of the chapel a fresco, in the form of an altarpiece, represents the Annunciation, with S. Thomas introducing Cardinal Caraffa, the whole injured by repainting. Above this again, the Virgin ascends to heaven surrounded by angels in the garland form already noticed in Botticelli. Four Sibyls in the ceilings, which, Vasari says, were painted by Raffaellino del Garbo, are, like the ascending Virgin, so injured by retouching as to forbid comment. The rest of the spaces no longer contain pictures.[2]

Thus, with the exception of the Miracle of the Crucifix, whose merits have been described, but one composition in addition claims attention, and of that, one may say that animation and movement are again conspicuous, and that some of the heads are equal to those of the Brancacci Chapel. We judge of the time which Filippino took in the adornment of this chapel by a brief of Pope Alexander VI., issued on the 19th of May 1493, in which Cardinal Caraffa's request, that Alexander VI. might honour it with his presence on completion,

[1] This fresco has a long split in it to the right, and is further injured by extensive repainting.

[2] These frescoes are noticed and praised by ALBERTINI in *Opusculum, ubi sup.*, p. 50. He says too (ibid., p. 49 *verso*) that Filippino painted in the Sixtine Chapel. If he did, no traces of his work are preserved.

is contained, and in which numerous indulgences are conceded to the faithful entering it for prayer.[1]

Before Filippino's return to Florence, Filippo Strozzi, his patron, had been carried off by death; nor do we find that the artist was then required to perform his promise of painting the chapel at S. M. Novella.[2] His next work in date is the altarpiece ordered for the brotherhood of S. Francesco del Palco at Prato. A petition of this poor fraternity which is still extant, under the date of June 19th, 1491,[3] is not only interesting because it elucidates an incident in the artistic life of Filippino and Domenico Ghirlandaio, but because it throws a gleam of light upon the customs of the time. The brethren humbly submit to the municipal council, that the want of an altarpiece is a serious injury to their worship. They describe their efforts to subscribe a sufficient sum for one which they have ordered of Domenico Ghirlandaio, for thirty-five ducats, lament their inability to raise more than twenty ducats, and beg that the difference may be given to them out of the funds of the town treasury. It is on record in the minutes of the council that this petition was heard, and it was proposed that twenty ducats should be assigned to the brotherhood out of the public money. Ghirlandaio, however, is not known to have carried out the commission, which was entrusted about 1495 to Filippino.[4] The altarpiece, representing the Resurrection and the Appearance of the Saviour to the Virgin, is now in the Munich Gallery, and is a fine one of Filippino.[5]

A year later, he completed the altarpiece of S. Donato al Scopeto at Florence, now at the Uffizi,[6] in which he rivalled Fra Filippo in the pyramidal arrangement of an Adoration of the Magi. A pleasing impression is created not only by the distribution of the figures in the system before alluded to, but because that system is carried out

[1] See the record in *note* to VASARI, vol. v., p. 248.

[2] The Will of Filippo Strozzi, dated 1491 (in GAYE, *Carteggio*, vol. i., p. 359), provides for the completion of the chapel, but no doubt time was required for raising funds in the manner intended by the testator.

[3] The petition in full is in the *Prato Catalogue*, *ubi sup.*, pp. 36–7.

[4] *Catalogue of Prato*, *ubi sup.*, p. 16. See also VASARI, vol. v., p. 246.

[5] Christ appears to the Virgin with the marks of the crucifixion upon him. The Eternal looks down from heaven where He appears between two angels. Below, Christ rises from the sepulchre, supported by angels and attended by SS. Francis, Dominic and Augustine, Monica, Chiara and Celestine. The picture is well preserved [No. 1008. Mr. Berenson agrees with Frizzoni and Morelli that this is an early work by Raffaellino del Garbo.]

[6] [No. 1257.] With these words on the back of the panel: "FILIPPUS ME PINSIT DE LIPIS FLORENTINUS ADDI 29 DI MARZO 1496." See also VASARI, vol. v., p. 251, who says that the figure bearing a quadrant is Pier Francesco de' Medici, and that besides, there are portraits here of Giovanni Vecchio de' Medici and his brother Pier Francesco.

under the condition of introducing upwards of thirty figures, each of which contributes by its action and movement to the general harmony of the lines; whilst the variety of race, the realism of various faces and forms, and the animation of expression and motion, contribute to the comparative perfection of the whole, developing the branches of progress peculiar to the Florentine school of the time, and carrying out rules introduced by Fra Filippo and improved by Fra Bartolommeo.

The spectator may remark how the leading principle on which the picture is arranged is illustrated by the two Magi kneeling at the Virgin's feet; and the pyramid is capped by S. Joseph looking over her. The same lines are doubled as it were by the groups on the right, which are terminated in alt by one climbing a wall to overlook the scene, whilst a couple have reached the favourable height, and convey the intelligence of what they see to those beneath them. Equally happy episodes fill up the opposite side of the picture. One of the kings pauses to let the crown be removed from his head; eager spectators are behind him, and the horses of the cavalcade are walked or trotted round in the distance. Whilst this masterpiece may compare with that of Leonardo representing the same subject hard by, whilst it reminds one of the dawn of the sixteenth century, its abundance of figures, liveliness of incident and action, recall the Adoration of the Magi by Sandro Botticelli, and prove to us that he and Filippino derived the principles on which these works were produced from the examples of Fra Filippo. Yet if we attentively consider Filippino's admirable creation of 1496, and coldly analyse it, we find it much more loosely executed than the Madonna of 1485,[1] and we mark the presence of that fatal facility which mars the less conscientious works of a still later period.

Time elapsed, however, before the master finally yielded to the charm of working fast. He exhausted, in 1498, all the feeling and grace with which he was supplied, in a tabernacle at Prato,[2] on whose sides he depicted in fresco a Madonna with angels and saints, of life size, in a throne enriched with fanciful ornament, combining the antique with the grotesque. The grace which adorns the thin face and shape of the Virgin reminds the spectator of that which beams in the Madonna of Fra Bartolommeo; and the combination of curious and capricious forms of ornament, the cento or arabesque of living heads, masks, and monsters with architectural curves, which are the ornamental part, illustrate an original fancy in Filippino, and recall

[1] [Uffizi, No. 1268.]

[2] VASARI, vol. v., p. 246.

varying or purer forms of the same tendency in the youth of Michael Angelo, the manhood of Mantegna or Piero della Francesca.[1] The colour, in such parts as have been preserved, is liquid and transparent and of a rosy tone.

Between the time when this tabernacle was completed and that which produced the altarpiece of the Scopetini, two interesting incidents mark the painter's life. In 1496 he joined other great artists of the time in valuing Baldovinetti's fresco in the Gianfigliazzi Chapel at S. Trinità of Florence,[2] and he thus appears to us in the character of umpire by the side of Perugino and Cosimo Rosselli. In 1497, he married, and a son of that marriage, Francesco di Filippo, owed the friendship of Benvenuto Cellini to the number of studies of Roman antiques which had fallen as heirlooms to him after the death of Filippino, and which Benvenuto no doubt exhausted for his own use.[3]

A design for an altarpiece in the Palazzo Pubblico at Florence, finished in later years by another painter, was also one of the fruits of Filippino's labours in 1498;[4] but his name is connected with a most interesting incident in this year. During a storm which spent some of its fury on the city of Florence, the lantern above the cupola of S. M. del Fiore had been struck by lightning, and it became necessary to take active steps for its repair. But the question of cost, of fitness, and of means was one of such importance that Simone Pollaiuolo, who then held the office of superintendent in the cathedral, durst not settle it on his own responsibility. A meeting of grandees, architects and painters was accordingly convoked, and we find sitting at the same assembly Filippino, Perugino, and Lorenzo di Credi.[5]

Filippino's Virgin and Child between the kneeling Baptist and S. Stephen, ordered for the Commune of Prato in 1501 and finished

[1] The tabernacle is on the old Canto al Mercatale at Prato, now the corner of the Strada di S. Margherita. The Virgin, erect, holds the Infant with one hand, and presents the orb to him with the other. The outlines of the figure alone remain, the blue of the dress being abraded and leaving the white of the wall bare. (It is said, this was done of old for the sake of the high-priced blue.) The infant, looking round, glances at S. Catherine on the right, who kneels, with S. Stephen erect behind her. S. Margaret, with whom is S. Anthony the abbot, kneels on the opposite side. The whole fresco is enclosed in a frame imitating carved stone with arabesques on a yellow ground. The following inscription is divided, and may be read in parts above the saints at the sides: "A.D. M.CCCCLXXXXVIII." Parts of colour here and there are gone, but no restoring has taken place.

[2] See *Alcuni Documenti, ubi sup.*, p. 18.

[3] *Vide, note* to VASARI, vol. v., p. 253. The name of Filippino's wife was Margherita.

[4] See record of 1501–2 as to this picture, in VASARI, vol. ix., p. 224, where payments are made for a frame to Bartolommeo d'Agnolo. See also VASARI, vol. v., pp. 251–2.

[5] See *La Cupola d. S. M. del Fiore* (Florence, 1857), by C. GUASTI, pp. 119, 120.

in 1503, is in too bad a condition to justify any authoritative opinion;[1] but the frescoes, which the heirs of Filippo Strozzi at last succeeded in urging Filippino to complete, are in existence, and prove what has already been said of the painter's decline.

Before describing these, however, we may glance at a picture of 1501, in which that decline is already apparent. It is in S. Domenico at Bologna, in the chapel of the Isolani family.[2] S. Catherine kneels at the Virgin's throne, and receives the ring from the infant Saviour in the presence of SS. Paul and Sebastian, SS. Peter and John the Baptist, of S. Joseph, who looks from the distance, whilst the Eternal and angels hover above in the central sky and on the summits of edifices forming a rich perspective of architecture. The demonstrative part taken by the saints in the ceremony is not more clearly characteristic of Filippino than the mannered realism of the drawing, specially in the muscularly developed nude of S. Sebastian, whose appearance, bound and stuck with arrows, adds to the mystic symbolism of the subject. Less care in execution, harder tones and a comparative absence of taste are characteristic of a picture which still carries with it the stamp of a great artist.

The taste displayed in the Strozzi Chapel is more doubtful than ever; and Filippino is no longer merely fanciful in ornament and painted architecture. His manner surfeits and palls.

The Resurrection of Drusiana, the Torment of S. John by boiling oil, fill one side of the chapel. S. Philip destroying the Idols and the Crucifixion of that saint are depicted on the other. The figure of Drusiana rising on her tressel at the prayer of the Evangelist is not devoid of feeling, and there is a stern gravity in S. John. The bystanders are well grouped behind him, and great realism marks a frightened man in the distance, a woman and a priest carrying a vase, whilst an octagon temple in the background to the right aptly suggests the pagan time. The saint boiling gave Filippino occasion to express, as Vasari says,[3] the anger of the judge and the reverberation of the fire on the faces of the executioners. S. Philip destroying the idols appears with the Cross in his hand, and by the virtue

[1] This is a lunette inscribed on a frame feigning a painted relief:

AT MEUS HIC NATUS JUSTUS: SERVATE FREQUENTER.
SIC VOS JUSTITIAM PAUPERIBUSQUE PII, A.D. MCCCCCIII.

The Virgin's head is injured. The Baptist's red dress scaled off. The green dress of the Virgin is new, the nimbuses yellow. The records referring to it are in the appendix to the *Catalogue, ubi sup.* See also VASARI, vol. v., p. 246. [Now No. 16 in the Municipal Gallery.]

[2] On a card in the foreground, which is a red and somewhat repainted pavement, are the words: "OPUS PHILIPPINI. FLOR. PICT. A.S. MCCCCCI." The blue dress of S. Catherine is in part new. The picture was known to Vasari (vol. v., p. 247).

[3] VASARI, vol. v., pp. 249–50. *Vide* also ALBERTINI, *Mem., ubi sup.*, p. 14.

of that symbol crushes a monster whose death-struggle frightens a boy into the arms of his mother, who stands amongst the priests and servants of an idol depicted in the middle of the space with a cat and a parrot in its grasp. Priests and soldiers on the left are filled with anger and despair. Slaves, lamps, trophies are intended to convey the aspect of a heathen temple.

In the Martyrdom, Filippino chooses the moment when S. Philip having been nailed to the Cross, the instrument is raised with cords by figures, whose action is duly praised by Vasari. The ornamented architecture in monochrome is a mixture of the sacred and profane, in which Faith and Charity are allegorically depicted by the side of Tragedy. In the ceiling are patriarchs with their symbols, in various movements, and in the stained window a Virgin between angels, the Evangelist and S. Philip.

The decoration of the Strozzi Chapel is, in a word, a grotesque and capricious mixture of exaggerated movements, actions, and forms, of strange architecture surcharged with ornament, of colour gay to extravagance where preserved. It fails for that reason to please, yet it reveals the close of the career of a great painter.[1]

The latest authentic record which we possess of Filippino is an opinion given, in conjunction with that of twenty other painters, as to the place best suited for Michael Angelo's David.[2]

He died in 1505,[3] and was buried in S. Michele Bisdomini at Florence.

A list of works unnoticed in the foregoing remarks follows :—

Florence. Corsini Gallery. Round. The Virgin, erect, holds the Infant, who takes flowers from a basin in the hands of an angel. Another angel approaches with bloom, whilst three more kneel singing. The youthful S. John is seen coming forward through the landscape, which is a little embrowned by restoring. A youthful delicacy and freshness are in this piece, which is of a soft, bright, and clear tempera reminiscent of the manner of Fra Filippo.

Florence. Torrigiani Gallery. A wedding chest (Nos. 8–11), four sides containing incidents from the history of Esther. These pieces are rich in incident, full of animation and feeling, luxuriously ornamented in dresses and accessories, and coloured with exquisite softness. They are a refinement on the art of Fra Filippo, and exhibit the carefulness and finesse of a youthful effort.[4]

Florence. Academy of Arts. [No. 98.] A Deposition from the Cross.

[1] The frescoes are totally injured by repainting. [And have lately again suffered restoration.]

[2] GAYE, *ubi sup.*, vol. ii., p. 460.

[3] VASARI, vol. v., p. 253, says April 13.

[4] [One of these panels is now in the Musée Condé at Chantilly; two more are in the collection of Prince Lichtenstein at Vienna. MR. BERENSON gives all of them to "Amico di Sandro" (*cf. Florentine Painters*, 1900, pp. 97, 98).]

The Saviour and the figures of those taking Him down have the character of Filippino; the group of the fainting Virgin and the saints about her, that of Perugino. This is the picture of the SS. Annunziata, of which Vasari and Albertini speak, saying that Perugino completed the work left unfinished by Filippino at his death.[1]

Florence. Pitti Gallery. [No. 347.] Round. The Infant lies on the ground and is adored by the Virgin, youthful Baptist and four boyish angels. Another of these throws flowers. The group is enclosed in a space surrounded by a balustrade parting the fore and middle ground from a distance of hills. This piece, which pleases at first sight, will not bear close inspection, as it wants the finish and feeling noticeable in Filippino. It reminds one of the rounds by Botticelli, without being assignable to him either. It is a production of some subordinate, whose works may presently be adverted to.[2]

Same Gallery. [No. 388.] Death of Lucretia. This picture, composed of small figures, bears the stamp of the school of Fra Filippo and may be by Filippino.[3]

Florence. S. M. Novella. Inside and above the chief portal. Nativity; much injured fresco, of old on the altar to the right of portal; is painted in a style between that of Filippino and that of Botticelli, with an inspiration from the manner of Fra Filippo.[4]

Florence. S. Martino delle Monache. Lunette Annunciation, in the passage from the convent to the church, totally repainted, but still with traces of the hand of Filippino.

S. Gimignano. Palazzo Pubblico. Two rounds of the Virgin, and of the Angel Annunciate (half life size): fine works of Filippino.[5]

Pistoia. Late Puccini Collection. Small Annunciation: the Virgin sitting, the angel kneeling. In the background the bed, candles, &c., a pretty and not too vulgar picture of the master.[6]

Naples. Palazzo Santangelo. Round, figures all but life size. Holy Family. The Virgin holds the Infant, who caresses the youthful Baptist, supported by S. Margaret. To the left is S. Joseph. In front on a parapet is the little S. John's reed cross. A pilaster behind Joseph is ornamented with carving; on the spandril a coat of arms. Distance a town, water, sky, and clouds, somewhat injured. This piece, miscalled Ghirlandaio, is by Filippino. The feeling in the Virgin's head, the fresh and somewhat entire colour, the free execution, reveal Filippino's talent about the time of the Nerli Altarpiece and the Adoration of the Magi at the Uffizi.[7]

[1] VASARI, vol. v., p. 252; ALBERTINI, *Memoriale, ubi sup.*, p. 13.

[2] [This picture is by Botticini.]

[3] [Mr. Berenson ascribes this to Amico di Sandro.]

[4] When in its original place, this fresco was above an Ecce Homo which has since perished. [It is strange that it was just here the Adoration of the Magi, No. 1286 Uffizi, used to hang.]

[5] [These tondi were commissioned by the Commune in 1452.]

[6] [No longer to be traced.]

[7] [This tondo appears to be that now in the possession of Mrs. Warren, Boston, U.S.A.]

Alinari.

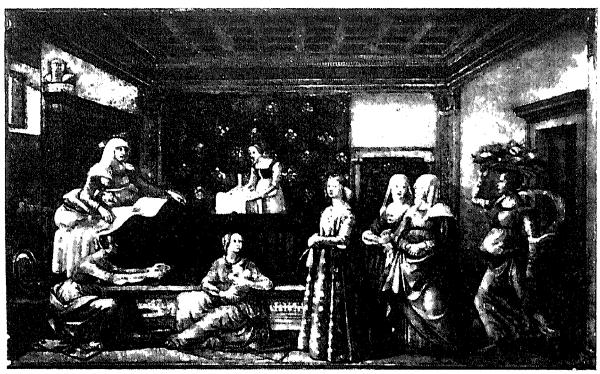
S. ROCH, S. SEBASTIAN, S. JEROME, AND S. HELENA

FILIPPINO LIPPI — Cathedral of Lucca.

Alinari.

THE VISITATION

GHIRLANDAIO. S. Maria Novella, Florence.



Alinari.

THE BIRTH OF THE BAPTIST

GHIRLANDAIO. S. Maria Novella, Florence.

Alinari.

S. VINCENT FERRER BETWEEN S. SEBASTIAN AND S. ROCH

GHIRLANDAIO. Palazzo Comunale, Rimini.

Venice. Gallery of the Seminario. Two very graceful panels, by the master.[1]

Munich Gallery. [No. 1009.] Assigned to Ghirlandaio, but by Filippino; the dead Saviour on the Virgin's knees between SS. John the Baptist, and the kneeling John Evangelist (left), the Magdalen kissing the feet of the corpse, and S. James erect. Distance, landscape, with angels above.[2]

Berlin Museum. [No. 78.] Portrait of a youth (¾), much injured by old restoring, but by the master.[3]

Same Gallery. [No. 82.] Virgin and Child; somewhat feeble example of the master, defective in drapery and mannered.[4]

Same Gallery. [No. 101.] Same subject. Mannered style of Filippino's decline.[5]

Same Gallery. [No. 1134.] A much injured Virgin and Child, which cannot be assigned to Filippino, but has the manner of a Florentine, not a pupil of the master.

Same Gallery. [No. 96.] The Saviour on the Cross between three angels; below, SS. Mary and Francis, on gold ground. An injured picture of the master,[6] the Virgin full of feeling.

Dresden Gallery. [No. 33.] Virgin and Child, by some inferior painter imitating the manner of Raffaellino del Garbo.

London. National Gallery. [No. 293.] The Virgin and Child between the kneeling SS. Jerome and Dominic. On the predella, the dead Christ is supported by Joseph of Arimathæa, S. Francis and the Magdalen, half-lengths, at each side. This piece, originally belonging to the Ruccellai, bears their arms, and was of old in S. Pancrazio at Florence.[7] The Virgin and Child recall Filippino's in the Adoration of the Magi at the Uffizi. The S. Jerome beating his breast is already a little mannered, but the action is bold and resolute. The colour is entire and bright, and the landscape splendid.[8]

Same Gallery. [No. 592.] Adoration of the Magi, somewhat damaged, and originally part of a painted chest. The composition is crowded with people and excessively rich; the tempera, soft and a little darkened by time. The style of drawing and mode of rendering form are grand, as in the fresco in the Prato Duomo. Some figures in the distance to the left recall Botticelli's creations; yet the picture is rightly assigned to Filippino.[9]

[1] [Nos. 15 and 17, Christ and the Woman of Samaria, and the "Noli me Tangere."]

[2] [This, according to Mr. Berenson, is by Raffaellino del Garbo.]

[3] [Dr. Bode catalogues this under Botticelli. Mr. Berenson, however, gives it to Raffaellino del Garbo.]

[4] [Dr. Bode gives this to Filippino. Mr. Berenson, however, ascribes it to Amico di Sandro.]

[5] [Dr. Bode and Mr. Berenson agree that this is a work of Filippino's.]

[6] Originally in S. Raffaello at Florence, afterwards in S. Procolo. See VASARI, vol. v., p. 245, and *notes* of commentators. [Dr. Bode and Mr. Berenson agree that this is a work of Filippino's.]

[7] VASARI, vol. v., p. 242. [8] [This is a genuine work by the master.]

[9] [This, as we have seen *supra*, is the earliest extant work of Botticelli.]

Same Gallery. [No. 598.] S. Francis in glory, dated 1492, with five playing angels at each side, is a genuine picture not free from the defects and affectation of the master's later time.[1]

Liverpool. Institution (No. 20). A Virgin and Child.

London. The late Beriah Botfield, Esq. Exhibited at Manchester under No. 115. Virgin and Child of a later period than that of Filippino.[2]

London. Dudley House. Crucifixion and Virgin and Child, both in the character of Filippino's school.[3]

Before passing on to the life of Domenico Ghirlandaio it becomes a duty to notice a series of pictures of more or less merit whose character proclaims them to have issued from the hands of men subordinate to Filippino Lippi and Botticelli, who may have been of a wandering class of assistants assuming the style of their temporary masters without possessing talent sufficient to entitle them to an independent position as first-rate artists.[4]

Two angels at the side of a statue by Rossellino, at Empoli,[5] and a portrait assigned by Vasari to Botticelli, which take their place naturally in the class now under consideration, have already been

[1] [This picture is but doubtfully from the hand of Filippino. It is inscribed: "HUNC SEQUANTUR, HINC JUGANTUR QUI EX EGYPTO EXEUNT, IN QUO OBIS CLARA LUCE REXELLA REGIS PRODEUNT, A.D. MCCCCXCII."]

[2] The following is a list of pictures not known to exist at the present time:—S. Francesco fuori porta a S. Miniato, Florence. The Eternal and Children (VASARI, vol. v., pp. 245–6). Lucca, S. Ponziano, tavola surrounding a S. Anthony by Andrea Sansovino (ibid., p. 246). Pictures executed for Mathias of Hungary (ibid., p. 247). Ditto sent to Genoa (ibid.). Yet the Annotators of Schorn's VASARI (*ubi sup.*, vol. ii., p. 308) say: there is in S. Teodoro (?) at Genoa a S. Sebastian between SS. John the Baptist and Francis with the Virgin and Child between two angels in a lunette, inscribed "PHILIPPINUS FLORENTINUS FACIEBAT." Florence, S. Salvadore. Altarpiece executed for Tanai de' Nerli (ibid., p. 247). Small figures executed for Piero del Pugliese (ibid., ibid.). Poggio a Caiano, frescoes (ibid., p. 251). S. Giorgio altarpiece finished by the Spaniard Berruguete (ibid., ibid.).

[3] [Beside the pictures mentioned, both Dr. Bode and Mr. Berenson ascribe the Allegory of Music in the Berlin Gallery, No. 75, to the master. It is a late work. There are also three works in the Academy of Florence, which Mr. Berenson ascribes to the master—viz., St. Mary of Egypt, No. 89, from a triptych once in the high altar of S. Procolo; The Baptist, No. 93; and a Deposition, No. 98, finished by Perugino. In the Uffizi the Madonna adoring the Child, No. 1549, is doubtfully ascribed to Filippino. It is one of the most beautiful pictures of the subject in the world. Mr. Berenson gives the Portrait of an Old Man, No. 1167, to the master, as he does also a Madonna and Child, No. 30, Sala V. in Palazzo Bianco, Genoa.

In the Naples Gallery there is an Annunciation ascribed to Raffaellino del Garbo, which Mr. Berenson gives to Filippino. In London, National Gallery, No. 927, An Angel Adoring, is by the master; and both Mr. Julius Werner and Lord Ashburton, according to Mr. Berenson, have works from his hand. See BERENSON, *Florentine Painters*, p. 122. In the Warren Collection in Boston, U.S.A., as MR. BERENSON has shown (*Study and Criticism of Italian Art*, vol. ii., 90 *et seq.*), there is a fine tondo by the master.]

[4] [See *supra*, *note* to chapter xx., p. 415.]

[5] See *antea*.

noticed. The classification may be continued for the sake of elucidating points of interest in the lives of a set of artists who bear, many of them, the Christian name of Raffael :—

In the Pieve of Empoli, a painted receptacle for the sacrament is preserved. Records are in existence which prove it to have been commissioned, in March 1484, by the governors of the Company of S. Andrea at Empoli, of Francesco di Giovanni di Domenico, "depintore" of Florence, on condition that it should be completed within two years.[1] Further records prove that it was not finished till the expiration of three years, when (1491) the altarpiece was brought from Florence and placed by "twenty facchini"[2] on the altar. Removed (1623) to S. Giovanni Battista, a neighbouring baptistery, at the time when the high altar was rebuilt in marble,[3] it is now in one of the chapels of the Pieve, and has the shape of a triumphal arch painted on both fronts. On one of these, SS. Andrew and John the Baptist stand guard at each side, whilst on the other, now out of its original position and hanging apart, are the Virgin and Angel Annunciate. The predella of one front contains the Last Supper between the Martyrdoms of the above-mentioned saints, and that of the second front the Sermon on the Mount, the Capture, and the Dance of the Daughter of Herodias. The principal figures are long, slender, bony, and fairly proportioned. Their heads are long and bearded, the hands and feet studied and the draperies full and involved. They combine features common to Botticelli and Filippino with a dull low-toned tempera akin to that observable in some works of the former.[4] The predellas, more modern in aspect, seem the continuation of the same style. We thus possess an altarpiece which, unless its authorship be contested, which is hardly possible, presents to us Francesco di Giovanni di Domenico as apparently an assistant in the school of the two great painters whose works this altarpiece resemble. To this same artist we should assign the two angels at the side of the statue by Rossellino already described in the life of Botticelli.[5]

That Francesco trained a son to his profession is proved by a record of April 26, 1506, in which the Company of S. Andrea of Empoli gives a commission to Raffaello, "olim Francesco Johannis," of Florence, to paint a Virgin and Child between SS. Andrew and John the Baptist. We must not, however, confound matters, as the Commentators of Vasari seem to do (vol. vii., p. 199). The picture ordered in 1506 is not in existence, and cannot be identical with the altarpiece by Francesco di Giovanni, just described, because in it there is not, and never was, a Virgin and Child.

[1] At the rate of 40 florins of Empoli per annum. See MS. *Libro dei Ricordi e partite della Compagnia di S. Andrea di Empoli* under March 28, 1484. The record does not give the subject.

[2] MS., *supra.*

[3] This fact is duly recorded in "*Libro detto Campione beneficiale*," in the Archivio of the chapterhouse of the Pieve, now collegiate church of S. Andrea di Empoli.

[4] Having particularly verde shadows.

[5] [As we have already seen, these works are by Francesco Botticini.]

But another work by Raffaello di Francesco exists, and is in the Gallery of the Uffizi. Respecting it, we have a record dated August 1504, in which Raffaello is commissioned by the incumbent of the Pieve of Empoli to complete the table of the high altar of the said Pieve in the form agreed upon with Francesco his late father;[1] and it is satisfactorily known by what means the altarpiece was transferred (as a work of Perugino) into the Gallery at Florence.[2] The records thus preserved seem to indicate, first of all, that Francesco di Giovanni completed what was called a *tavola del corpo di Christo* in 1491; that he was afterwards commissioned to furnish a regular altarpiece; and that on his failing to carry out that commission, his son Raffaello undertook and successfully brought it to a termination. The altarpiece, catalogued under his name,[3] represents the Deposition from the Cross, its predella[4] contains Christ and the Woman of Samaria, Christ driving the Changers out of the Temple, and the Entrance into Jerusalem. The picture is a second-class production, different in style and execution from the sacrament receptacle at Empoli. It is painted in oil in a manner reminiscent of David or Ridolfo Ghirlandaio, or, perhaps better, of Granacci, whose careful execution and fusion of tints are emulated. The figures are somewhat short and vulgar and the colour reddish. The predella looks like the effort of a cold and poor follower of the styles of Perugino and Lorenzo di Credi.

Having thus far proved that the Deposition from the Cross at the Uffizi and the *tavola del corpo di Christo* are by different hands, we may proceed to notice some pictures in which the character of the latter is to be found mixed with others, derivable from the influence of Andrea del Castagno, viz.:

Berlin Museum. [No. 70A.] A Crucifixion, all but life size, two angels and five saints, inscribed and dated 1475. The Christ is reminiscent of that by Andrea del Castagno in the first cloister at the Angeli at Florence. The angels have the same vehemence; the tempera, too, is rough.[5]

Same Collection. In passage, not catalogued, a Crucifixion and four saints, in the same class as the foregoing.

In character nearer the school of Botticelli and Filippino Lippi is the round of the Nativity at the Pitti [No. 347], described *antea* in Filippino, and a Coronation of the Virgin in the Berlin Museum [No. 72], described *antea* in Fra Filippo.[6] By the same hand as the latter is the Virgin and Child with angels, between the Magdalen and S. Bernard at the Louvre [No. 1482], assigned to Cosimo Rosselli, the angels being a repetition of the types marking the Berlin picture, the colour being grey and flat, the draperies serpentine and involved, and the execution rude.[7] The best of

[1] See the record in *Com.* to VASARI, vol. vii., pp. 197–98. [2] Ibid., ibid.

[3] [Uffizi, No. 1283. Both this and the predella are by Raffaello Botticini.]

[4] [No. 1238.]

[5] [Dr. Bode gives this to the school of Verrocchio. Mr. Berenson names Francesco Botticini as the painter.]

[6] [Dr. Bode gives this to the school of Verrocchio. Mr. Berenson names Francesco Botticini.]

[7] [This also Mr. Berenson gives to Francesco Botticini. For a list of works by Francesco Botticini, see BERENSON, *Florentine Painters* (1907), p. 108 *et seq.*]

these three pieces is the Pitti Nativity [No. 347], which, with the rest, reveals a point of contact in its painter with the man who executed the angels by Rossellino's statue and the sacramental altarpiece of Francesco di Giovanni at Empoli.

Taking the Pitti Nativity [No. 347] for a guide, the following may be classed as in the same character and style.

Florence. S. Lorenzo. The Nativity, injured by restoring in oil. The Virgin adores the Child, with S. Francis, and a youthful saint, bearing a sword, kneeling at the sides. The type of the latter is reminiscent of that of the angels in the Pitti round; the same peculiarity being remarkable in the face, forms, and draperies of S. Francis. This picture, at the same time, falls into the class of those usually catalogued under the name of Raffaellino del Garbo, one of which is in the sacristy of this church of S. Lorenzo, and represents the Nativity, but being rubbed down to the preparation admits of no further remark.[1]

Florence. S. Felicità. To the left of the portal SS. Anthony, Roch, and Catherine (life size), with scenes from their legends in a predella, at each side of an Annunciation. Coarser and ruder than the Pitti Nativity, of dull tones, grey shadows and hasty drapery, this piece is assigned to Cosimo Rosselli, a name which covers many mediocrities.

Another painter of the name of Raffaello is revealed to us in a picture bearing that name with the addition of "de Caponibus," from which one learns to avoid confounding him with Raffaello di Francesco and Filippino's pupil, Raffaellino del Garbo.

Florence. Spedale di S. Maria Nuova, room of the Commissario. The Virgin and Child, between S. Francis (left), presenting a kneeling donor, and (?) S. Zenobius in prayer introducing the patroness. At the foot of the throne is a little picture of the Crucifixion, between the Virgin and S. John the Evangelist, which is quite Peruginesque. The distance is a landscape of hills. The whole picture is enclosed in a feigned cornice adorned with arabesques. Figures life size, and well preserved. This is a fine second-class Florentine work, betraying the effort of its author to imitate the Perugian school, of Pinturicchio especially, but truly impressed with the Florentine manner in the gravity and weight of the figures. The S. Francis recalls Spagna, the S. Zenobius and the kneeling figures, the school of the Ghirlandai—the Virgin and Child, Pinturicchio in softness of type and drapery and in the nature of the ornaments. The whole is painted in oil at one throw, of a low brown and somewhat flat tone. An inscription may be read as follows: "RAPHAEL DE CAPONIBUS ME PINSIT A.D. MCCCCC."[2]

With this guide, we trace to the same hand the following:

Florence. S. Spirito. Altarpiece in the second chapel to the left of the transept. Life-size Virgin and Child exposed to veneration by two angels drawing a curtain, between SS. Lawrence and John Evangelist (left), Stephen and Bernard (right), the latter holding Satan bound by a chain.

[1] [If this is the Nativity in the first right-hand chapel in the transept, it is a work of Piero di Cosimo.]

[2] [Now in the Uffizi, No. 22.]

On the base of the throne is the date 1505. Predella, a Pietà and four scenes from the lives of the saints, very prettily composed, and that of S. Bernard reminiscent of Filippino. Here again is a mixture of the Peruginesque with the weighty Florentine manner, but a more careful execution, modelling of greater impasto, more in the mode of tempera, but a little hard and reddish in tone.[1]

Siena. S. Maria degli Angeli fuori Porta Romana, choir. A large altarpiece with a lunette, in a broad gilt frame, of a grand appearance, but disappointing on close inspection. Centre, the Virgin and Child between SS. Mary Magdalen and Jerome (left), John Evangelist and Augustine (right). The Eternal gives a blessing from amongst seraphs, in the lunette. In the predella, the Adoration of the Magi is flanked by four episodes from the lives of the saints. The same hand as at S. Spirito of Florence is marked in the exaggerated line and involved draperies of the Evangelist; S. Augustine is a heavy and vulgar figure. In the Virgin and Child, the type and movement and the style of drawing have something of the Perugian of Pinturicchio. The Adoration of the Magi is also Peruginesque, whilst the side predella scenes are reminiscent of the school of the Ghirlandai. The whole altarpiece is painted at one throw in oil, and bears the reddish general tone already noted. Beneath the figure of S. Jerome are the words :—

RAPHAEL DE FLORENTIA PINXIT A.D. MCCCCCII.[2]

Academy of Pisa. Originally in S. Matteo of Pisa. Altarpiece of the Virgin and Child, two angels, SS. John Evangelist, Jerome, S. John the Baptist, and a bishop at whose feet is the bust profile of a female (engraved by Rosini as a work of Fra Filippo Lippi). Here the painter, who is still apparently the same as the author of the foregoing, is more Florentine. But the face of the bishop is the same as in the altarpiece of S. M. Nuova ; and the style generally is feeble, the figures cold, somewhat rigid and bony, the draperies involved as before, the colour tempera, of high impasto, of a dull flesh tone shadowed with verde. The Peruginesque tendency is most visible in the predella, which is parted from its original centre piece and appended to a picture by Perino del Vaga in S. Matteo of Pisa. It represents, amongst other scenes, the Adoration of the Magi and the Massacre of the Innocents, painted in the same manner as the predella at Siena.

If, as an attentive examination inclines one to suppose, all these pictures are by Raffaello de Caponibus, he is an artist who may be said to have studied under Perugino and the Florentines, and who exhibits a mixture of Umbrian and Florentine peculiarities, the latter being more specially derived from Filippino and the Ghirlandai.

The Commentators of Vasari notice further [3] a picture of Christ appearing to S. Gregory, described in the biography of Raffaellino del Garbo,[4] but bearing the signature : " RAPHAEL KARLI PINXIT A.D. MCCCCCX."

[1] [This picture is now over the altar of the seventh chapel in left transept. It is attributed to Raffaello di Carlo.]
[2] [That is, Raffaello di Carlo.]
[3] VASARI, vol. ix., p. 200.
[4] Ibid., p. 193.

Without having seen this work, one may affirm that it is not by Raffaellino del Garbo, whose father's name is Bartolo. It remains to be ascertained whether Raphael di Karlo is the same as Raffaello de Caponibus.[1]

This review of inferior works and painters may be fitly closed by a rapid sketch of a series of frescoes on the walls of S. Martino at Florence, an oratory belonging to the Congregazione de' Buonomini, a charitable institution whose duties and good works it was the aim of the painter to illustrate. The room so decorated is rectangular, the short side by the altar being divided into parts, each of which forms a lunette at the top, the opposite one through which the door is pierced similarly divided. The long side to the left of the entrance is in four spaces, like the rest, that to the right in three, at the flanks of two windows. Numbering the lunettes from that of the short side by and to the right of the altar, and counting to the left round the building, the spectator may note: 1. The Dream of S. Martin. 2. S. Martin dividing his Dress. 3. Burial of the Dead, a function peculiar to the "Buonomini." 4. Pilgrims receiving Hospitality. 5. The Buonomini visiting in Prison. 6. Visit in a Lying-in Hospital. 7. (above entrance door) Distribution of Clothing. 8. Distribution of Wine. 9. Education. The rest of the series in the wall

[1] [Raffaello Caponibus or Capponi is Raffaellino del Garbo. He was born in 1466, and died in 1524. Raffaello di Carli was born *c.* 1470, and died after 1516. BERENSON, *Florentine Painters* (1907), p. 116, gives a list of thirteen works by Raffaellino del Garbo. But see B. BERENSON, *Florentine Drawings* (Murray), and *infra*, vol. iii.

For a notice of other works by Raffaello Carli, see GAMBA, in *Rassegna d'Arte* (Milan), an. vii., No. 7. Gamba gives to this master, in addition to those already ascribed to him by other critics, the following pictures:—

(1) A tondo formerly in the Toscanelli Coll. representing the Virgin and Child, and ascribed to Filippino Lippi.

(2) A tondo of the same subject in the Gallery at Prato.

(3) A Madonna and Child in the Archivis Notabile of Florence. An Annunciation in the Magazine of the Uffizi.

(4) A "Noli me Tangere" in the church of S. Luechese at Poggivanai.

(5) A Madonna and Child with SS. Paul and Anthony Abbot, in the church of the Misericordia at Siena.

This last-named work, upon which Conte Gamba lays especial stress, is given by Miss Olcott to Pacchia, and Mr. Berenson and Mr. Perkins likewise consider it a work of Pacchia.

Other works by Raffaello Carli (as ascribed to him) are:—

(1) The Mass of St. Gregory, in Mr. Benson's Collection, signed RAPHAEL KARLI PINXIT A.D. 1501. (Mentioned above.)

(2) Madonna and Child in Corsini Gallery, Florence, signed RAPHAEL DE KARLIS PINXIT A.D. 1502.

(3) The Multiplication of the Loaves (fresco) in the *scuole femmilie* of Cestello, once in that castle (see Fabriczy, who gives the commission to Raffaello di Bartolomeo Carli in 1503.

(4) Virgin and Child in Pinacoteca of Montepulciano.

(5) Virgin and Child in Glory, with SS. John Baptist, Jerome, Francis, and Anthony Abbot, from S. Rinaldo, in Uffizi.

Gamba, among others, maintains that Raffaello Carli, Raffaellino del Garbo, and Raffaello de Capponi, are *three different personations*. But see *infra*, vol. iii. where Raffaellino del Garbo is fully dealt with.]

pierced by the windows is much injured and almost obliterated. Rumohr suggests that these paintings are youthful creations of Filippino,[1] but they betray a later origin and the hand of a painter in the school of Filippino. The Christ and Angels in the dream of S. Martin seem conceived in a mixed manner derived from Filippino and Sandro Botticelli, the forms of the angels' heads being more common and less pleasing than those of the former, and ruder in drawing and execution. The drapery throughout is reminiscent of Ghirlandaio, but this is the only relation of the painter to that master, his style being on the whole more akin to that of Filippino than to any other. The types and the character of the figures generally produce the impression that they may have been conceived and carried out by the author of the round of the Nativity [No. 347] at the Pitti, all the females in the frescoes of the Buonomini having a form rudely modelled on the Virgin of that picture; and this remark may extend to the draperies and the nude, in her and in the angels.

[1] *Forschungen, note* to vol. ii., p. 272.

CHAPTER XXII

DOMENICO GHIRLANDAIO

We now pass to the consideration of the works of a man whose life forms, like that of Giotto, one of the great landmarks in the history of Florentine art. Domenico Ghirlandaio was a painter whose energy and creative power contemned the mere practice of painting altar-pieces, and whose grasp of the essential qualities of art enabled him to conceive and carry out greater creations. Unequal to Masaccio or even to Fra Filippo in the power of charming by brightness or richness of tone, he first claimed attention by his intelligence of grand and decorous laws of composition. His strongly-tempered mind, braced with a nerve equal to that of Michael Angelo, was above the artifices of colour, and he doubtless considered them second to the science of distribution and of form, and calculated to fetter his inclination for expressing on large surfaces and with great speed the grand conceptions of his genius. In these conceptions, fruits of long study and careful thought, he aimed at embodying all the essential elements conducive to a perfect unity. That unity he had found in Giotto, and strove with such success to emulate, that he may be said to have completed the body of the edifice whose first stone had been laid almost two centuries before by that successful artist. Yet he might have struggled to the goal in vain, had he not taken for a guide in his pictorial manhood the works of one who had given proof, during a career too short for his contemporaries, but long enough for his fame, that he possessed the noblest faculties. Ghirlandaio studied attentively and fruitfully the masterpieces of Masaccio at the Carmine, taking from them the grand qualities of decorum, dignity, and truth. Nor would his efforts have been crowned with complete success, had he neglected the lessons taught by another class of men, the bias of whose thought and the tendencies of whose research had resulted in great gain to the various branches of their art. He gathered and harvested for subordinate use the experience of architects, of students of perspective, of form, of proportion, and light and shade, and learnt to apply the laws of chiaroscuro to the human frame, and to the still life that surrounds it. Without adding

anything specially to the total amount of experience acquired by the efforts of successive searchers, he garnered the whole of it within himself and combined it in support and illustration of the great maxims which he had already treasured up, and thus conduced to the perfection of the masculine art of Florence, which culminated at last by the joint energy and genius of himself, Fra Bartolommeo, Raphael, and Michael Angelo.

The same breadth of spirit and greatness of aim which led Ghirlandaio to prefer dealing with large spaces to painting altarpieces, induced him to neglect the innovations which had already been carried out by the Peselli, Baldovinetti, the Pallaiuoli and Verrocchio. He therefore remained true to the old system of tempera practised in his time, following with unwavering fidelity a method which may be described as resembling that of Benozzo mingled with that of Fra Filippo, but carried out in obedience to the peculiar bent of his mind and with a stamp of original character. The new method introduced by the innovators, perfected later by Fra Bartolommeo, Leonardo, and Andrea del Sarto, thus owed nothing to Ghirlandaio, who contributed in no way to the development of that division in the Florentine school, whose chief as regards technic was Da Vinci. Yet would it be an error to assume that Domenico was untaught in the methods of this class of men. We may presume, indeed, that the practice of the various ateliers was generally known to all the men who followed the profession of a painter and to Ghirlandaio amongst the rest; but that he considered that of tempera subject to less serious inconvenience than any other, and capable of yielding fairer results than a new system promising much for the future perhaps, but still surrounded with difficulties and disadvantages of no ordinary kind. One of these disadvantages, indeed, might have seemed perfectly decisive to Ghirlandaio. The loss of time and labour was great compared with that of tempera, especially in carrying out wall pictures. Besides this, it may have been obvious already that Baldovinetti's attempt to transfer the new system from panel to wall was a failure; and Domenico, who is Baldovinetti's pupil, recoiled probably from a system so clearly open to objection.

Baldovinetti's pupil:—Vasari says so, for painting as well as for mosaic, of which Ghirlandaio was wont to exclaim "that the first was fleeting, the last eternal."[1] Baldovinetti was undoubtedly, of all the Florentines, the most fitted to teach the business of the mosaist, having spent much time in mastering it, and being celebrated in

[1] VASARI, vol. iv., p. 105, and vol. v., pp. 73–83.

records as the ablest executant of his age in that branch. As for painting, Ghirlandaio might well have taken from Alesso also the fundamental rules of his art. He steered clear of the master's hazardous changes; but his works, though superior to those of Baldovinetti, are still impressed with reminiscences of his style,[1] whilst they recall in a measure also the pictorial plastic character of wall paintings in the chapel of the Cardinal of Portugal at S. Miniato al Monte, variously assigned to the Pollaiuoli and Baldovinetti.[2] This mixture of the plastic with the picturesque Ghirlandaio clearly possessed; and it may be traced at once to the influence of Baldovinetti and to that of an early apprenticeship in the workshop of a goldsmith. But this brings us to the consideration of some important facts which can no longer be postponed—the birth and early education of the master whose life we treat.

Domenico di Tommaso Curradi di Doffo Bigordi was born in 1449, and bred in the house of his father, a jeweller if we believe Vasari,[3] a broker according to his own account.[4] We have no means of deciding whether Tommaso did not in times previous to his adoption of the broker's business carry on the art of a goldsmith. Certain it is that the neatness and precision of drawing which became remarkable in the development of Domenico's pictorial talent may have arisen from his early introduction to the fashionable art of the period, whilst a statuesque pose and moulded system of draperies equally characteristic of his style in after years might be possibly derived from the same source. The influence of bronze sculpture visible in the paintings of the Pollaiuoli is illustrated in a remarkable manner in Ghirlandaio. The laws of modelling for casts are plain enough on consideration. They comprise simplicity and breadth of mass, low projection and shallow depressions, lines mostly in a common direction, with a parallelism but slightly altered by inflection inwards, or expansion outwards, and for this reason always to some extent arranged. Whilst these laws as affecting drapery are traceable in the paintings of Ghirlandaio, the practice of the modeller is equally visible in his effort to give some plastic character to the human form, which

[1] We should be inclined to attach little importance to the evidence afforded by a fresco at S. Niccolò in Florence whose date (1450) is repainted (see *antea*), and whose surface is extensively retouched in oil; but the fact that it discloses features common to Baldovinetti's picture at the Uffizi, and to Ghirlandaio strengthens the conclusion that the two artists were connected as master and pupil.

[2] [See *supra*.]

[3] VASARI, vol. v., p. 66.

[4] See his income paper (1480) in GAYE, vol. i., p. 266, from which we ascertain the date of Domenico's birth.

assumes for that reason a certain hardness and want of flexibility. Nor is it likely that such marked peculiarities as these should have been merely transfused into Domenico's style by contact with one deriving them from the pursuit of the goldsmiths' trade. They seem rather to form inherent qualities in a man who should have been apprenticed to it. Hence we may believe that Ghirlandaio is truly described as having been bred in the shop of his father or of some other jeweller, known perhaps by the name of the "Garland maker" which clung to him and his kin.[1]

Ghirlandaio's talent was of slow and majestic growth. His father describes him at the age of thirty-one as without a fixed place of abode,[2] and he does not seem to have enjoyed the privileges of a master till after the completion of a series of frescoes in the church of Ognissanti,[3] in one of which he depicted Amerigo Vespucci, who was "to give his name to a continent,"[4] and, as he sat, was perhaps unconscious of his future greatness. The loss of the frescoes in the Vespucci Chapel, however, is in a certain measure supplied by the preservation of others in the body of the church and in the refectory of Ognissanti, both of which bear the date of 1480; and we are enabled to perceive that Ghirlandaio, though long past the age of Masaccio when he produced the Brancacci series, was still in his ascending course at this time. The Last Supper in the refectory is composed in the traditional form, with the Saviour in the centre of a double-winged table, and the traitor alone at the opposite side between Him and the spectator. It is not as yet here, therefore, that Ghirlandaio impresses the beholder with his greatness as a composer; but the old symmetry of sitting apostles is already varied by a clearer exhibition of the moving thought in the assemblage, and whilst Peter menacingly points at Judas, a group on the left presses forward, eager to fathom the words of the Redeemer, in a manner which recalls the masterpiece of Leonardo. A great variety of individual expression and action is also apparent, and the melancholy in the face of the apostle next S. John Evangelist is remarkable. But Ghirlandaio shows that his talent is not matured, especially in his handling of

[1] VASARI, vol. v., p. 66.

[2] See the income paper, *ubi sup.*, in GAYE, vol. i., p. 266.

[3] VASARI, vol. v., p. 67. The subjects, a Dead Christ and Saints, and a "Misericordia" above an arch. See also RICHA (vol. iv., p. 266). The whole was whitewashed in 1616. [The fresco of the Deposition was recovered in 1892. It is in two parts, the lower, rectangular, consisting of the Deposition, the upper a lunette, representing a Madonna of Mercy and the Vespucci family (*cf. l'Arte*, an. 1898). This is an early work.]

[4] See LAYARD'S admirable monograph on *Domenico Ghirlandaio* in the publications of the Arundel Society (London, 1860).

colour. Some roughness of surface is caused by stippling. Some flatness is created by the absence of broad shadow; and the greatest depth, being near the outline, communicates to the figures an unpleasant hardness not diminished by the effort to define the forms with a wiry line. Sculptural grandeur, clearly within the painter's aim, is marred by too much arrangement of drapery, and the liquid general colour is of an unpleasant reddish tone.[1]

The S. Jerome in Ognissanti Church is equally decorous and becoming; but the gravity natural to a Father of the Church, composing his homily amidst books, is carried almost to immobility; and the execution, being similar to that of the Last Supper, stamps Ghirlandaio as an artist, promising, but incompletely formed, and with less fire, life or practice of hand than Botticelli.[2]

Even in the later frescoes with which he adorned the Sala del Orologio in the Palazzo Vecchio at Florence (1481–85), Ghirlandaio had not entered into the full enjoyment of his powers, but he already gives more relief and roundness to his figures and to their several parts, and shows that he is near the goal at which he afterwards remained. The restoration and renewal of many parts of the Public Palace in 1480, 1481, and following years, is attested by numerous entries of payments to divers architects, sculptors, and painters. The gates of the audience hall, entrusted to Giuliano and Benedetto da Maiano, the faces of the same to Ghirlandaio, Botticelli,[3] Pietro Perugino, Filippino Lippi, Piero del Pollaiuolo and others, represent a sum of artistic activity only rivalled by that of Sixtus IV., who jealous, one might almost suppose, of the Florentines, employed the same artists, and interrupted the progress of their work at home for the sake of the Sixtine Chapel. Among those whom the papal commands took to the Vatican, in the midst of his employment at the Public Palace of Florence, is Ghirlandaio, whose journey to Rome, however, only occurred subsequently to the completion (in 1482) of

[1] This fresco occupies the whole wall opposite the door of the Ognissanti refectory, and is composed of life-sized figures. The head of the Saviour is new, having been repainted on fresh intonaco, apparently in the seventeenth century. S. John lies on His lap. The painting is dimmed besides by damp, and some dresses near the feet of the figures, chiefly that of the third apostle from the left side, are restored. Below the feet of Judas is the date "MCCCCLXXX." VASARI wrote of the Last Supper, vol. v., p. 67; RICHA also, vol. iv., p. 288.

[2] The fresco is noticed by VASARI, vol. v., p. 67; RICHA, vol. iv., p. 266; and ALBERTINI, *Memoriale, ubi sup.*, p. 14. It is also dated on a bench, "MCCCCLXXX," and with the exception of some retouching is in good preservation. Vasari further notes a S. George in Ognissanti which no longer exists, vol. v., p. 70.

[3] We assume that the Sandro Marini (misprinted for Sandro Mariani) in GAYE'S record, *Carteggio*, vol. i., p. 578, is no other than Botticelli.

the apotheosis of S. Zenobius and its attendant incidents, one of the few wall paintings left in a hall originally adorned by so many artists.[1]

The reader must fancy the end wall of the room so painted with feigned architecture as to represent a deep-vaulted alcove, whose front and side arches repose on square pillars or pilasters through the open spaces at whose sides the eye takes in a view of S. M. del Fiore, with Giotto's façade and the bell tower. Two lions, bearing the standard of the republic, stand guard (or rather stood, as one of them is mutilated by the subsequent aperture of a door)[2] over the Majesty of S. Zenobius enthroned with the mitre and crozier of office between two saints. The lunette at the bottom of the alcove is a feigned bas-relief of the Madonna between two angels. Two finely ornamented pilasters form lintel posts at the sides of the alcove and support a gilt wooden cornice which covers the centre arch and two shallow recesses at each side, in which are figures, in the open lunettes, of Brutus, Scaevola[3] and Camillus, of Decius, Scipio, and Cicero, whilst medallions of emperors fill the spandrils.

Florentine artists have seldom been more happy in laying out architectural spaces than Ghirlandaio in this instance. The spectator's memory involuntarily reverts to the false and capricious extravagance of Filippino, to the overcharged richness of Botticelli, and contrasts their efforts with the purity exhibited here by Ghirlandaio; the whole is distributed with such excellence of proportion, adorned with such taste, and realised with such a successful application of linear perspective, that nothing remains to be desired.[4] The illusion is not diminished by any disproportion between the architectural space and the saints which it encloses. The figures add to the satisfaction of the beholder by grandeur and dignity of mien. Nothing can be more gracefully conceived than the Madonna in the central lunette, more bold and truly classical than the Roman heroes in the side recesses. Ghirlandaio seems indeed to invest himself with the character of the antique and to ignore the coarseness of Andrea

[1] It appears from an entry of 1481 (Florence style), that Ghirlandaio had already done a part of the work in the hall of the Palazzo, and from an entry of November 1482, the S. Zenobius was already finished. GAYE, vol. i., pp. 577–8. This fresco is mentioned with praise by VASARI, vol. v., p. 79, and by ALBERTINI, *Memoriale, ubi sup.*, p. 15. The figures are over life size.

[2] These lions were in stone colour.

[3] A crack in the intonaco has removed the inscription, but the action of the figure, holding its hand in a brazier, indicates sufficiently the person intended.

[4] We may note that the classic style of the architecture and bas-reliefs is but a continuation of a feature already in Giotto's fresco at S. Francesco, Upper Church of Assisi, in which Trajan's Column is introduced. See *antea*. [Trajan's Column was the true protype of the "progressive story" used as subject matter for the decoration of the Upper Church at Assisi.]

del Castagno and others of his forerunners. The air which swells his draperies gives them an excellent form. Yet Domenico still leaves something to improve in the breadth of chiaroscuro, his brown-red shadows being darkest near the outline which remains hard as before, the result being a certain flatness in the liquid yellowish flesh tones. Whilst Domenico, in obedience to the prevalent taste of his contemporaries was introducing into Florence, for the first time, the mixture of sacred and profane thought previously confined to the painters of the Sienese school, and was thus giving the cue to Perugino for the ornament of the Sala del Cambio at Perugia, Sixtus IV. called him to Rome to exhibit his talents on a grander scale and on more sacred themes. But before he left Florence, he had occasion to test his power in a fresco of the Annunciation painted on the walls of the oratory of S. Giovanni in the Pieve of S. Gimignano at the request of Juliano Martini Cetti, its patron and founder. The style of this piece, however, betrays already the help of Sebastian Mainardi, Ghirlandaio's brother-in-law and assistant,[1] especially in the figure of Gabriel which is too much below the usual powers of the master to be his entirely. The fine head of the Virgin is more worthy of him, but S. Gimignano boasted later of better and more important works from his hand.[2]

Hitherto Ghirlandaio had proved that a painter might be imbued with great qualities, and possess a combination of power sufficient to raise his art to a high general level, and yet be deficient in minor points subject to correction by later practice. In the frescoes of the Sixtine he proclaims a partial, an all but complete victory over the defects of his earlier time, and produces the finest picture in a chapel in which he competes with and surpasses all his contemporaries. Completed, as we may conjecture, before 1484,[3] this work presupposes a change in Domenico derived from the analysis and study of Masaccio's masterpieces, and is certainly marked by greater power in the reproduction of relief, by more breadth of light and shade, more skill in the rendering of forms, and in the handling. Without entering into a description of the subject, which is clear enough for our illustration, we may call attention to the grandeur conspicuous in the Saviour, who reminds one, by attitude and gesture, of Masaccio's Christ in the Tribute Money, to the beautiful arrangement in the groups of youths and saints behind the kneeling apostles, and to the

[1] Sebastiano di Bartolo Mainardi married Domenico's half-sister Alessandra. See root of the Ghirlandai in VASARI, vol. v., p. 88. [Mr. Berenson attributes this work wholly to Mainardi.]

[2] This fresco is inscribed: "HOC OPUS FIERI FECIT JULIANUS QUONDAM MARTINI CETTI DI S. GIMINIANO MCCCCLXXXII."

[3] [It must have been finished in 1482.]

evident improvement carried out there by the painter in the greater spaciousness of the masses of chiaroscuro, the consequent gain in rotundity of parts, the increased precision in the definition of the outer forms and the detail of the inner ones. The appropriate vastness of the landscape adds to the nature of the scene; and Ghirlandaio impresses the beholder by applying the laws of relief and linear perspective just as Michael Angelo affects him by the same means. Ghirlandaio's absence of feeling for colour is, however, still felt. His desire to carry out the modelling of part induces him to return with stippling over all; he brings red on to the cheeks, and he gives a rough texture to the surface of his work. His flesh tone has a predominant purple hue with somewhat leaden shadows due to a verde under-preparation. The result is hardness in strong contrast to the softness of Masaccio, and an absence of the fusion which is peculiar to Fra Filippo's impasto. Yet the effect at a distance is preserved and the lack of charm in brilliant tone is compensated by severer qualities.[1]

Whether Ghirlandaio made a long continuous stay at Rome, or whether he journeyed more than once between that capital and Florence, is not certain. It is equally remarkable to find that he draws pay at the beginning of each year 1483, 1484, 1485, from the superintendents of the Palazzo Pubblico at Florence, and that he paints not only a second fresco at the Sixtine which has perished,[2] but a chapel at S. M. della Minerva at Rome for the Florentine house of the Tornabuoni.[3] He must have had time, too, to admire the monuments and architecture of the olden times; for his taste and experience are evidently improved by his journey, and his portfolios were clearly enriched with many a design, with many a bas-relief not to be found or studied in Florence.

If the fresco of the Sixtine illustrates the dignified grandeur of a severe style based on immutable laws, those of the Cappella S. Fina at S. Gimignano, where Domenico laboured before 1485,[4] show

[1] The nature of Ghirlandaio's painting is that of Michael Angelo, whose colossal figures at the Sixtine are finished with all the minuteness of a miniature. Yet how grand is the effect at a distance. These frescoes of Ghirlandaio are mentioned by VASARI, vol. v., p. 70.

[2] VASARI, vol. v., p. 71.

[3] This has perished likewise. VASARI, vol. v., p. 71; and ALBERTINI, *Opusc.*, *ubi sup.*, p. 50.

[4] There is a record of 1477 at S. Gimignano, in which no painter's name is mentioned, but which comprises a claim of 49 lire for blue and gold for painting the chapel of the Pieve. PECORI, *ubi sup.*, p. 520. The chapel of S. Fina was, however, not consecrated till October 1488, when the relics of the saint were finally transferred to it. The architecture of the building is by Giuliano da Maiano. PECORI, *ubi sup.*, p. 638. Vasari has not forgotten the frescoes of the

grandeur and dignity, tempered and softened by feeling, grace and feminine tenderness.

On the wall, to the right of the entrance, S. Fina, a girl in the flower of her age, lies on a low bed attended by two females, one of whom raises her head that she may contemplate with more ease the apparition of a pope in a glory of angels. Fear is simply depicted in the gesture of the second attendant, who sits behind the bed near a table laden with a tray and other utensils. An inscription on the wall suggests that the vision warns the saint of her approaching dissolution, whilst her subsequent death is clearly declared by the representation, in the upper space, of her maiden form kneeling in a circular halo carried to heaven by seraphs.

On the wall to the left, S. Fina lies in state, a female in rear of the couch looking over her, a boy kissing her left foot, a bishop and his suite reading the service at her head, and the chanters and spectators in grave contemplation at the opposite side. Right and left of the choir in which the scene is depicted are views of the towers of S. Gimignano, the bell of one of which is rung by an angel. In the lunettes are six figures of bishops in couples; in the spandrils, eight prophets with scrolls; and in the ceiling, the Evangelists in the usual triangular spaces.[1]

There is in this fine creation of Ghirlandaio an exquisiteness of sentiment comparatively unfrequent in his works. A select form in the frame, the face and hands of the recumbent saint, ecstasy in her expression as she sees the vision, seem to prove that the painter had in his mind a noble model. Yet nothing, in the age of realism in which Ghirlandaio lived, more truly reminds the spectator of the spirit which animated the soul of Giotto. An equally high principle presides over the portrait character of other figures, whether we take for consideration the females who contemplate the vision or the spectators of the final scene. The chapel of S. Fina is truly advantageous to Domenico's fame; and though tradition points to Sebastian Mainardi as the painter of the ceilings, the execution is the same throughout, and the helping hand of apprentices is not more visible in one part than in the others.[2]

Less favourable in its impression on the spectator is the Last Supper in the Convent of S. Marco [3] at Florence, where Ghirlandaio,

Cappella S. Fina, and describes Mainardi as Domenico's assistant there (vol. v., pp. 83–4).

[1] The fresco of the Death is fairly preserved with the exception of some retouching chiefly in the blues of vestments. Some of the Prophets in the spandrils are injured by restoring; and of the Evangelists: S. Mark is new; S. Luke's green dress is repainted; S. Matthew's red mantle similarly altered, and the green tunic of the angel near him freshened. The head of S. Matthew is in part uninjured. [2] [Mr. Berenson gives the ceiling frescoes to Mainardi.]

[3] VASARI, vol. v., p. 69, mentions this fresco and an altarpiece which is not to be found there now. See also RICHA, vol. vii., p. 133.

repeating the arrangement carried out at Ognissanti, gives evidence of his progress in the production of relief, but less happily renders animation and movement. Yet the dim tone and roughness of surface, caused by time and damp, may have a part in diminishing the sympathy that might otherwise be felt for this work.

The truth is that Ghirlandaio himself contributes to make his admirers fastidious; and disappointment ensues when the result is below the expectations naturally raised and kept up by the contemplation of his finer creations.

Amongst the number of these the series of frescoes adorning the family chapel of the Sassetti in S. Trinità at Florence is extraordinarily attractive, because it represents Italian art securely raised to a high standard and free from most of the defects abundant in contemporary masters.[1] Striking because of the unity presented by the judicious combination of architectural decoration, correct distribution and sagacious application of the laws of optics as affecting the spectator, admirable because of the various charms due to correct design, noble choice of form, just value of tone and true perspective, this series, like that which followed it at S. Maria Novella, represents the highest powers of Ghirlandaio. Incidents, in themselves humble and natural, gain a monumental grandeur, a dignity incomparable when combined with the adventitious splendour of cathedral edifices, pomp of station in the actors or spectators of the scenes; and when nothing in the framework of the pictures conduces to a diminution of the lofty tone in which the whole is pitched. If indeed the portrait character given to many of the figures, and the local scenery, was calculated in Ghirlandaio's time to modify the exact impression that might otherwise result from a total disregard of all but the letter of the subjects, yet must these naturally have gained much in dignity in the eyes of the masses by their connection with persons of the highest position in the land. Such indeed is the dignity and commanding mien imparted to these by the painter, that the spectator even of these days falls under the charm and accepts the result as full of interest and value. We suppose that in the Sassetti Chapel, not only the frescoes, but the feigned pilasters and cornices of classic shape which divide them, and the ornaments of the altar and tombs, are all part of one great design.

By the sides of the altar kneel Francesco Sassetti, and his wife Nera. Within arched recesses in the walls forming the sides of the chapel are the funeral urns of the pair. On that to the right the cover bears the

[1] VASARI, vol. v., p. 68.

words "GEN. SAXET F.R.T.F.," a scroll on the body of it; the lines "DEO OMNIP. FRANCISCUS SAXETTUS SIBI V.P." On that to the right, in the same order, are the family name and the inscription "DEO OMNIP. NERÆ CURSALE CONJUG. DULCISS. CUM QUA SUAVITER VIVIT FRANCISCUS SAXETTUS POS." The borders of the arched recesses are filled with classic designs, with a syren and a seraph in the key of the bend. Bas-reliefs in classic style interspersed with centaurs and tripods, illustrating the study of antiquity now usual amongst artists, cover the friezes of the plinths supporting the urns. Classical subjects are likewise in the spandrils of the arched niches in which the tombs are ensconced—two Cæsars, and a harangue by two figures to a group of five soldiers on those of Francesco —Germanicus starting in his chariot in rear of a cavalcade on those of Nera. A double course of frescoes on three sides of the chapel overtop the lower spaces whose arrangement and decoration have been described. The subjects are six in number, beginning in the lunettes with—first, to the left, S. Francis Renouncing his Father's Heritage; next, Honorius Confirming the Rule of the Franciscan Order;[1] then the Saint before the Soldan. In the second course, also from left to right, the Saint receiving the Stigmata,[2] the Resurrection of the child of the Spini[3] and the Funeral of S. Francis are depicted. Four sibyls are in the groined ceiling. Beneath the portraits are the words: "A.D. MCCCCLXXXV. XV. DECEMBRIS."[4]

Seen from the necessary distance, the Sassetti Chapel not only shows a complete unity of decoration, but charms above all works hitherto carried out by Ghirlandaio, because in addition to the known features of his style a greater harmony of colour is apparent, and because the just value of tones in contrast creates an impression almost equal to that produced in the same sense by the frescoes of Masaccio. A surprising reality is represented, with the breadth and grandeur attained by Masaccio and Raphael, in the portrait of Sassetti, whose form and bald head are not more finely given than those of his wife. The treatment in the former is such that Ghirlandaio appears to surpass himself in the handling of impasto, and disdains the usual

[1] The dresses of the cardinals and prelates seated in rows perpendicular to the Pope's throne are injured and repainted in many parts, as are likewise some of the heads and hands. The same remark applies to the kneeling friars of Francis' suite. Some colour in the distance has evaporated, and a few of the distant figures are injured.

[2] The head of S. Francis is repainted, and likewise parts of the distance. The Saviour in the sky to the left is also partially retouched.

[3] Some dresses are scaled off, especially in a group to the right. The same has happened to a part of the bed on which the child sits and the ground by it, as well as to a piece of the gown of the grieving female at that place. Some holes in other spots have been stopped with fresh paint. The background and some distant figures are damaged by scaling.

[4] The V in the date is new. The Tiburtine Sibyl Predicting the Coming of Christ to Octavian was painted on the outer arch of the chapel, and is now obliterated. VASARI, vol. v., p. 68.

minuteness of stippling. The simple flow of a lake-red drapery of solid stuff, the manly frame and fleshy hands are nature itself.

The fresco of S. Francis before the archbishop of Assisi, at whose feet he kneels in his nakedness, is not as powerful as others, nor does Ghirlandaio choose the moment of Bernardone's anger. On the contrary, his rage is spent, the cord with which he wished to stripe his son almost drops from his hand, and he totters in the arms of a friend with grief in his look and attitude.

The scene of the ordeal before the Soldan is also somewhat nerveless.

The episode of S. Francis Receiving the Stigmata, on the other hand, is rich in incidents. The distance is a landscape, with Pisa and its leaning tower at the foot of hills, people watering horses, traffic on the roads and paths, a frightened hind and its companion. On the right S. Francis receives the marks of the wounds, whilst his follower to the left falls backwards in surprise. The highest points are touched copiously in gold for the sake of light, the subject being on the dark side of the chapel, and the head of S. Francis looking up, is repainted. The chief interest is thus concentrated on three frescoes.

Nothing better can be desired than Honorius granting the rules to Francis in presence of the cardinals, whilst Lorenzo de' Medici stands on the right with three attendants facing a group of four on the extreme left, and heedless of six others emerging from subterranean depths up a flight of steps at the edge of the picture. This is one of Ghirlandaio's creations in which natural truth is allied to dignified mien, in which form and its rotundity are rendered with the master's best art, and some heads are modelled and relieved so as to deserve unqualified praise. His perspective is telling and specially interesting; because, if we compare the Palazzo Pubblico as represented here with the same building as drawn in the time of the Duke of Athens at the Stinche,[1] we trace the changes which a century and a half had produced in one of the principal edifices of Florence.[2]

Beneath this again is Ghirlandaio's masterpiece as far as the production of colour is concerned, the Resurrection of the child of the Spini, too well known to require description.[3] Whilst in the frescoes of the S. Fina Chapel at S. Gimignano feeling predominates, grandeur and decorum absorb attention here. If asked to select a grand figure from the crowd grouped together with such mastery, one should

[1] See *antea* [vol. i., p. 346], a fresco assigned to Giottino.

[2] We notice the street where the Uffizi now stands and the splendid Loggia de' Lanzi.

[3] The distance shows the Ponte a S. Trinità as it stood at that time, and the child may be seen falling from a window of the building to the left.

point to that on the extreme right whose cap hangs over his dress, and whose form, wrapped in a long cloak, rivals those of Masaccio in the Tribute Money, and recalls, by grave and dignified repose of attitude, the fine creations of Fra Bartolommeo and Raphael. The last person on that side may be easily recognised as a likeness of Ghirlandaio himself in cap and mantle, with his hand on his hip and looking out of the picture; it is the same that may be seen in the choir of S. Maria Novella and in the Adoration of the Magi at the Hospital of the Innocenti. Looking at the group on the left, one sees a bevy of decorous and high-born dames, prominent amongst whom stands one in profile in rich attire clasping her hands and expressing in her face an exquisite confidence. At a time when we cease to ask for ideal form, because the age was essentially one of portraiture, we concede to Ghirlandaio, in such a group as this, the art of rendering the human shape and features with incomparable nobleness, without an alloy of coarseness or vulgarity. The truth in its most pleasing appearance, and rendered with great perfection of relief by light and shade, is attained so far in a measure superior to that of Masaccio.

It is unnecessary to enter into details of the arrangement or grouping in the fresco of the Death of S. Francis, which is admirable for technical skill, for modelling, for precision and truth. The noblest realism supplies the place of ideal elevation, and if the religious calm of Giotto may be sought in vain, the scene in its completeness is the grandest display of the art of its time. We may remark with what skill Ghirlandaio takes advantage of the strong light on this side of the chapel to model his flesh, so that it shall have all the advantages resulting from that circumstance. Some heads are painted with surprising breadth, striking the beholder as perfect in detail, yet preserving their mass. Were it not for a certain staid nature in the figures, we should say, not Ghirlandaio, but Raphael, is the painter. But this scene as a composition invites comparison with a similar one executed by Giotto, the great founder of the Florentine school, in whom noble feeling, propriety, significance and judgment in the distribution of space were combined. How little of this combination appears in the creations of Botticelli or Filippino need not be pointed out. Taking the Death of S. Francis in the Bardi Chapel, contrasting it with this, we shall note that Giotto takes the saint in a glory to heaven, and that one of the monks at the bedside looks up and tempers his grief at the departure of Francis by the knowledge that he is already on the way to heaven. Were this incident withdrawn from Giotto's fresco, its significance would be lost. Ghirlandaio

neglected this episode. He increased the number of spectators about the death-bed. The scene assumes a more real appearance, but is less true to the spirit of the time of S. Francis than that of Giotto. Abandoning prescription, he sacrificed the simplicity of the older time to the pomp of a more modern epoch, an useless and disadvantageous luxury and a surrender of the severe simplicity of the earlier artist.

We may add that the comparison is equally in favour of Giotto, if we take for contrast his meeting of Francis with the indignant Bernardone, and that which Ghirlandaio gave with less than his wonted power in the lunette of the Sassetti Chapel.

Ghirlandaio, however, represented, as before remarked, the utmost perfection of the art of his time and all the progress which had been made in the lapse of two centuries. He so fully embodied the unity of this progress in all its branches, that his influence was felt by all contemporary and subsequent artists. The mode in which he affects the sculpture of his contemporaries is clear in the works of Benedetto da Maiano, whose pulpit at S. Croce in Florence is a plastic adaptation of the art which Domenico evolved. The altarpiece which completed the decoration of the Sassetti Chapel is now in the Academy of Arts at Florence. It is a fine Adoration of the Shepherds, dated 1485, in whose landscape distance the procession of the Magi may be seen advancing to the foreground. The portrait of Ghirlandaio described by Vasari is not to be found there, nor has the picture a pleasing appearance, because of the dull leaden tone caused by repeated varnishing; but the heads are in the style of those in the frescoes of the chapel.[1]

Domenico had hardly finished this great undertaking, than he was requested to renew the choir of S. Maria Novella and replace the damaged masterpieces of Andrea Orcagna. The Ricci, who were patrons of the altar and whose ancestors had left their arms on the scutcheons that studded the walls, were willing to admit that the injury which time and accidents had caused to Orcagna's frescoes was only to be remedied by a total renewal of the chapel, but their means were no longer equal to so vast an enterprise, and they feared with reason the loss of their patronage and the erasure of their arms. When, therefore, Giovanni Tornabuoni asked them to consent to the renewal of the decorations at his expense by means of Ghirlandaio, they only acceded to his request with misgiving, and stipulated by a deed drawn up in due form that, at all events, their arms should be

[1] [No. 195, Academy Catalogue.] Dated on a post of the pent-house, "MCCCCLXXXV." Vasari calls the heads of the shepherds *cosa divina*.

preserved in the most honoured place. Giovanni Tornabuoni signed the deed, and, with the cunning usual to his countrymen in that age, meditated the evasion of its terms. Nor had the Ricci reason to congratulate themselves in the sequel upon the fruits of their policy. The spirit of the deed was easily evaded. The arms of the Tornabuoni and Tornaquinci were carved in stone on the front pilasters of the choir and those of the Ricci were lost in a small shield in front of the tabernacle of the Sacrament. The rage of the Ricci, when they saw the quarterings of their antagonists so prominent and theirs so humbly concealed, can scarcely have been lessened when they found that Ghirlandaio had, in addition, painted no less than twenty-one portraits of the Tornabuoni and Tornaquinci in the frescoes of the choir.[1]

In this splendid chapel, Ghirlandaio placed four courses of frescoes on the three walls. He divided the lower one, pierced by a long window, into seven parts, depicting the Coronation of the Virgin in the lunette; beneath it, S. Francis before the Soldan to the left, and the Death of Peter Martyr to the right, of the window; lower down in the same order, the Annunciation and S. John the Baptist's departure to the Desert; and in the lowest, portraits of Giovanni Tornabuoni and his wife. On the wall to the left beginning from below, he placed, side by side, Joachim's Expulsion from the Temple and the Birth of the Virgin; above these, in the same order, the Virgin's Presentation in the Temple and her Marriage; above these again, the Adoration of the Magi and Massacre of the Innocents; concluding the series with the Death and Ascension of the Virgin in the lunette.

On the wall to the right, in the same order, are the Appearance of the Angel to Zacharias, the Salutation, the Birth of S. John, Zacharias Naming the Child, the Sermon in the Desert, the Baptism of Christ, and the Dance of the Daughter of Herodias. In the ceiling are the Four Evangelists.

A minute description of this vast and admirable series might weary the reader and occupy inordinate space. There are few but will have had occasion either to visit S. Maria Novella or to study the engravings executed with comparative care by Lasinio; but Ghirlandaio's style and artistic career are amply illustrated by these frescoes; and such comments as appear calculated to elucidate those points may be interesting and are certainly required. None who are enabled to view in their combined effect the whole of these wall paintings will fail to admire the architectural division of the spaces by pilasters and cornices represented perspectively so as to suggest the actual presence of an ornament which is merely imitated from nature.

[1] The story is told by VASARI, vol. v., p. 71 *et seq.*

But that which most surprises the beholder is the grasp of power exhibited by Ghirlandaio in the decoration of a vast space, and the boldness which shrinks before no misgiving as to the likelihood of completing so great an undertaking. One may conceive Ghirlandaio saying after he had done, "I wish I had the circuit of the Florentine walls to paint," [1] and the enterprise does not seem presumptuous or impossible; but a man who could mean as well as utter such words must have had the fibre of Michael Angelo, and was the fit person to give that great artist his early education. It is in the choir of S. M. Novella that Ghirlandaio shows himself completely master of the art of grand and animated composition; it is there that his novelty of conception and his aptitude for reproducing varied action are shown. If it were a question, where Raphael should have learnt to combine incidents, and to delineate form with its most finished precision of modelling, one should say it was in S. Maria Novella. There, too, noble form, without soaring to the ideal, satisfies the beholder, because it has dignified shape and movement and never suggests coarseness or vulgarity. Yet must it not be forgotten that here as at Rome, and in all the works of the master, the surface of colour is rough, and dimmed by time.[2]

It is necessary to premise further that Ghirlandaio did not execute this work without the aid of numerous assistants. But he reserved to himself the adornment of the lower courses, because they were nearest the eye of the spectator, and in these, accordingly, his powers are concentrated.

Most perfect as regards the reproduction of plastic form, most harmonious for colour, most powerful in the handling of impasto is the fresco of the Angel appearing to Zacharias, in which the painter finds a justification for the introduction of a splendid series of portraits in the necessity for depicting a congregation attending the service of the ministry at the altar. Without encumbering the sacred space with seats, he contrives to vary the planes upon which the spectators stand by placing some on the platform of the altar, others upon the flags below, others again ascending to the floor of the church.[3] To these portraits, but especially to the group of five

[1] VASARI, vol. v., p. 80.

[2] Contrary to the practice at S. Gimignano, where the design is pounced on the wall, the drawing of S. M. Novella is traced with a style through the original cartoon which gives a broad outline. The stippling in many parts has become black; and the painting generally wants light. [Benedetto di Luca Landucci made a list of the persons represented whom he had known. MR. GERALD S. DAVIES, in his *Ghirlandaio* (Methuen, 1908), prints this list in full.]

[3] These therefore are half-lengths, supposed to be—on the right—Federico Sassetti, Andrea de' Medici and Gianfrancesco Ridolfi, partners in the bank

immediately behind and to the right of Zacharias,[1] Ghirlandaio gives rotundity and relief exactly as Raphael afterwards did to his Leo X. between Giulio de' Medici and Cardinal Luigi de' Rossi in the masterpiece of the Pitti.[2] The imitation of plastic form is carried out with the success of Masaccio and improved to greater precision in the working out of detail without any sacrifice of mass. The central figure of the group, indeed, is striking for harmony of colour, unity of character and of form. Equally grand is the group of four near the angel,[3] whose shadows are cast on the floor, showing the artist's ability in simulating play of light. True perspective gives an additional value to classic architecture.[4]

But the extent of Ghirlandaio's experience in vistas of landscape and buildings is seen to still greater advantage in the Salutation, where the progress due to a diligent study of the science of converging lines and the influence of Roman antique models,[5] gives renewed interest to a well-composed and precisely executed episode.

The use which the painter made of classic ornament is most evident in the Birth of the Virgin, which is splendidly decorated, and admirable alike for the propriety of the vanishing lines of the architecture and the accuracy with which shadows are projected by the flow of light through an open window. One of the figures, of a girl moving forward and pouring water into a basin, is one among many illustrations of Ghirlandaio's tendency to paint drapery in its flight, imitating the stiffness of bronze; whilst the face of the nurse smiling at the babe assumes likewise an immobility almost betraying a plastic model. The drawing of this piece, exhibited at Manchester, was excessively remarkable as showing that the master in his preliminary sketch only busied himself with the general movement and in nowise with detail,[6] a peculiarity noticeable later in Michael Angelo.

of the Medici. Left, Cristoforo Landini, Angelo Poliziano, Marsilio Ficini, and Gentile de' Becchi.

[1] Supposed to be Giuliano Tornabuoni, Giovanni Tornaquinci, Gianfrancesco, Girolamo, and Simone Tornabuoni.

[2] [No. 40 in that Gallery.]

[3] These, according to modern judgment, are Giovanni Tornabuoni, Pietro Popoleschi, Girolamo Giacchinotti and Leonardo, brother of Giovanni Tornabuoni.

[4] On the frieze of the arch in the distance, to the right, one reads the words: "AN. MCCCCLXXXX, QUO PULCHERRIMA CIVITAS OPIBUS VICTORIIS ARTIBUS. ÆDIFICIISQUE NOBILIS COPIA SALUBRITATE PACE PERFRUEBATUR."

[5] The design for this piece is at the Uffizi. It represents S. Anna and S. Elizabeth meeting on a terrace from which a distant view of a city and hills is gained. Three graceful females form the suite of S. Anna, on the left. Two follow S. Elizabeth and three look on, the foremost of which, in rich attire, is clearly a portrait, probably that of Ginevra de' Benci mentioned by VASARI, vol. v., p. 77. The three of S. Anna's suite are slightly altered by time.

[6] In the ornament at the back of the room are the words "BIGHORDI" and "GRILLANDAI."

Less care is expended in the treatment and handling of Joachim's Expulsion from the Temple than in the subjects previously examined. The two groups at the extremes are, however, full of merit, and interesting, because Ghirlandaio represented himself again to the right in the attitude already assumed by him at S. Trinità, accompanied by Sebastiano Mainardi, whose vacant gaze is not prepossessing as he presents his head on the margin of the picture, and Baldovinetti who looks pensive, standing at the other side of Domenico in the hanging barret of the period.[1] The figure of Joachim expelled by the priest is feeble and more in the style of Mainardi than of his master.[2] The Birth of the Baptist in the second course is fine as a composition;[3] the episode of Zacharias giving the name less so, being also weaker in action and execution; yet there is much individuality in the heads. Richness of composition and a lively abundance of incident are conspicuous in the Sposalizio, where many of the figures accuse the modest attainments of Mainardi.[4] The Presentation in the Temple is equally below the average of Ghirlandaio's power.

But the Sermon of S. John is one of those symmetrically balanced compositions which, combining thought, grandeur and individuality not only prove their value by the effect produced on the beholder, but by the attention which other painters devoted to it. The Baptist, within a circle of people of all ages and sexes, stands forth as the precursor and seems to warn the Pharisees. Behind him, coming out of Galilee, the Saviour advances to the spot. "All Jerusalem and Judæa," beautiful females (on the left) communing or in thought, one in front between St. John and the spectator, watching and forgetting her child who plays naked on the ground, aged men seated on the right overlooked by two others; the more distant groups in rear, females to the left, males to the right, parted according to the rigid rules of the old Church, keeping their distance by proportion of height, a fine landscape of hills with traces of sparse wood and foliage; the several parts form an union attractive beyond measure, and appreciated in past times by Raphael, who, in the Bowood predella,[5]

[1] Yet some critics state that this is not Baldovinetti, but Tommaso, Ghirlandaio's father. *Note* to VASARI, vol. v., p. 73.

[2] The tone is redder and the treatment more mechanical.

[3] The hand of assistants is here. The heads of the figures to the spectator's right are injured.

[4] Some harsh contrasts of colour may be seen in the ground. The drawings of this fresco are at the Uffizi.

[5] Predella at Bowood of the altarpiece of the Servi at Perugia, now at Blenheim, representing also the Sermon of S. John.

remains below it, and only perfects the laws it evolves in the masterpiece of the Parnassus.[1]

The Baptism, also finely arranged, illustrates Ghirlandaio's capacity for depicting nude form. The distribution of the subject is the usual one from which no Italian painters had diverged, representing the Saviour in a rill with the Baptist pouring water over His head—on one side, two angels on their knees; on the other, the Eternal looking down from amidst the heavenly host; but close by stand those on whom the rite has been performed, two dressed, one tying the latchet of his shoe; and to the left are those awaiting their turn to be baptized. The landscape of rocks, divided into three great masses, is ably conceived to aid the effect of the three principal divisions of the group. True in proportion and outline, in shape of bone and muscular parts, Ghirlandaio's nude is a return to the unity of parts achieved by Giotto, without the chastened form which was the ideal of the first great Florentine. It was reserved to Fra Bartolommeo and Raphael to combine the qualities which brought them nearly to the level of the old Greeks.[2]

The Massacre of the Innocents, a seriously injured fresco, has not been engraved, which is a pity, for, as far as one can see, it is rich in striking episodes in momentary action and in the life of modern art. One may still mark by the engraved outlines:

How a rider on the extreme left has caught the hair of a dishevelled mother lying with her wounded child. Another soldier clings to the neck of his fallen horse, and strives to extricate himself, recalling to mind the bold action of a similar incident in Giulio Romano's Battle of Constantine. To the right again, a prostrate guard, and near him, a female dragging at the hair of another with such rage that his body is curved backwards, and threatens to fall, whilst the arm of a companion is withheld by a female. Women fly on the extreme right. The two principal groups are united by another more distant, of a soldier striking at a babe in its mother's arms. The whole scene is in front of a splendid series of antique arches whose terraces are filled with spectators.

Rich as a composition in the most modern style, the Adoration of the Magi is hopelessly damaged by the scaling of the wall and the consequent loss of the faces of Virgin, Child, S. Joseph, two Magi and a couple of spectators. Equally grand, the Death and Ascension of the Virgin is in a very bad state, especially in the upper part.

[1] This fresco is executed with some haste. A piece of colour has scaled off from the dresses of the two females on the extreme left; the heads of the two men standing on the extreme right are injured.

[2] The glory of angels and the Eternal are feeble, the figures being hard and slender.

The Dance of the Daughter of Herodias presents some analogy, as regards defects, with that of Fra Filippo at Prato; but is better distributed. The rest of the paintings in the chapel, including the portraits of Giovanni Tornabuoni and his wife, are more or less in bad condition.[1]

The altarpiece which completed the grand decoration of the choir was removed in 1804, and is now divided between the Galleries of Munich and Berlin. At Munich, we see the Virgin and Child appearing to S. Dominic, and the Magdalen between SS. Michael and John the Baptist. On the side panels are S. Catherine of Siena and S. Lawrence; the whole by one hand and a fine production somewhat injured by restoring.[2] The reverse of the altarpiece at Berlin represents Christ's Resurrection, with S. Vincent Ferrerius and S. Anthony at the sides,[3] vastly inferior to the parts at Munich, and apparently by assistants with the help of Benedetto and David Ghirlandaio.[4]

The chapel was opened on its completion in December 1490;[5] but the window, with designs by Ghirlandaio, executed on glass by Alessandro Fiorentino, whose name it bears, was not finished till 1491.[6]

We may picture the jubilant crowd of Tornabuoni and Tornaquinci, Sassetti, Medici, all of whom had sat in turns to Domenico for their portraits, present at the opening, and triumphing not less because of the splendour of the new decorations of the chapel, than because of their victory over the Ricci. We may fancy the con-

[1] The Four Evangelists in the ceiling are feeble in comparison to the rest, as are the sibyls of the Sassetti Chapel. [Mr. Berenson tells us that these frescoes in the choir of S. Maria Novella of the Life of the Virgin and the Baptist Execution are chiefly by assistants saving the portrait heads.]

[2] Centre is [No. 1011, Munich Gall.]; S. Catherine [No. 1013]; S. Lawrence [No. 1012].

[3] [The Resurrection, No. 75 in the Berlin Museum; the S. Vincent, No. 74; the S. Anthony, No. 76. The panels in Munich also are apparently the work of his brothers and assistants. Morelli, however, agrees with the authors that they are the work of Domenico.]

[4] The Saviour is on a cloud, with the banner in his hand. Two of the guards are running; one still sleeps. In the distance are the Maries. The Saviour has most the character of the master, though coloured of dull tone and without relief. The soldiers are common, lean and coarse, like those in a Resurrection at the Academy of Florence, assigned by Vasari to Raffaellino del Garbo. Their forms, action and dress are all in bad taste; they are executed in a style approaching that of Benedetto and David Ghirlandaio. The saints in the wings are done in a manner not unlike that of the soldiers in the centre panel.

[5] See MANNI'S life of *Ghirlandaio* in vol. xlv. of P. CALOGERA'S *Opuscoli*.

[6] The subjects in the window are—centre, the Virgin giving the girdle to S. Thomas; beneath, the Circumcision and the Miracle of the Virgin "della Neve"; at the sides, SS. Peter, Paul, John the Baptist, Lawrence, and another Dominican. See *note* to VASARI, vol. v., p. 72.

Numerous studies for the S. M. Novella frescoes, besides those mentioned in the text, are to be found in various collections, but need not be further described here.

gratulations heaped upon Ghirlandaio, the expansion of his fame, and the commissions which overwhelmed him Yet we know of no other series of frescoes in Florence except an apotheosis of S. Francis in the Novitiate of S. Croce which reveals his manner, and even that may be by his immediate assistants and pupils.[1] When the question of remuneration for the work done in S. Maria Novella was raised, Giovanni Tornabuoni excused himself. In his eagerness to spite the Ricci and to gild his own family with honours, he had been lavish of promises. Domenico was to receive twelve hundred ducats certain and two hundred more contingent on the painter's success in pleasing his patron. Giovanni Tornabuoni admitted that he was pleased, but begged Ghirlandaio not to press for the contingent sum ; and the artist nobly declared himself satisfied,[2] showing, in the ordinary business of life, the calm and repose which seemed to dictate his every action and to shed its influence on his painting. If, however, he were careless of worldly accumulations and comforts, his brother David was proud of the importance reflected upon himself by abilities in which he had a humble share ; and the fussy impatience with which he resented the tactless treatment of Domenico by the monks of Vallombrosa is illustrative at once of the character of the two men. The hard cakes and water soup which the abbot placed before them might possibly have been eaten without comment by the phlegmatic Domenico ; it roused the ire of David, who broke the tureens on the attendant friar's head, and replied to the superior's remonstrance by saying that the fame of his brother was greater than that of all the beggarly abbots of the monastery. Domenico was less sensitive and more practical, and used to tell his assistants that they were not to refuse any commission that should be brought to his shop, were it even for ladies' petticoat panniers ; and that, if they did not choose to accept them, he would.[3] We find accordingly that even during the time when the frescoes of S. Trinità and S. M. Novella

[1] S. Francis stands on the orb of the world, between SS. Louis, Bonaventura, and two other saints, with eight smaller figures in kneeling posture divided at each side. An inscription stating that the Novitiate was inaugurated in 1455, does not apply to the fresco, which is clearly of Ghirlandaio's school, excluding, however, Mainardi.

[2] VASARI, vol. v., p. 72. Ghirlandaio is described as having painted an Adoration of the Magi (round) in Casa Gio. Tornabuoni, which is not to be found (VASARI, vol. v., p. 69), and a small chapel "al Casso Maccherelli," a country seat of the Tornabuoni, of which the frescoes are well nigh totally ruined, (ibid., vol. v., p. 79). [The Adoration of the Magi painted for the Casa Tornabuoni is now in the Uffizi, No. 1295. It is dated MCCCCLXXXVII. This was Signor Cavalcaselle's suggestion. Rumohr says this picture was painted for the Orbatello Church. See *infra*.]

[3] VASARI, vol. v., p. 80.

were on hand, he delivered a great many altarpieces at Florence and in other towns of Italy. There are indeed panels to note whose style might indicate even an earlier time. Such, for instance, as two Madonnas between saints in S. Anna of Pisa; the first of which, with a portrait of a kneeling patron, displays, in spite of great injury, a style not unlike that of the master in 1480, whilst the second, of the same period, is broadly painted and exhibits a certain freshness in the heads.[1]

A Virgin and Child with saints, in the sacristy of S. Martino at Lucca might be added to the foregoing, as it develops a grace and feeling akin to those of the S. Gimignano frescoes. An exquisite predella repeats one of the subjects of Peter's Liberation used by Filippino in the Carmine, but shows that Ghirlandaio was not as yet so thoroughly practised in the painter's business as his rival.[2]

He begins to prove his riper greatness in combination with youthful freshness in an altarpiece representing the Madonna and Saints originally in S. Giusto and now at the Uffizi,[3] a noble picture in which the laws of the sculptor and goldsmith are applied, the power of distribution so highly developed by Ghirlandaio is apparent, and the

[1] The first of these represents the Virgin, with the Child in the act of benediction, between SS. Jerome and Joachim (left), John the Baptist and Bernard (right), the patron kneeling with a cap in his joined hands in the right-hand foreground. The figures are lean, the tone is dull, in consequence of the great injury caused by restoring (figures three-quarter life). The second altarpiece, of size equal to the last, not free from restoring, represents the Virgin holding a white rose in her right, with the Infant on her lap, between SS. Stephen and Catherine of Alexandria, S. Lawrence and a female decked as to the head with red roses. See MORRONA, *ubi sup.*, vol. iii., p. 211.

Vasari mentions frescoes by Ghirlandaio in the Pisa Duomo. Of these there remain only some angels in the arch of the tribune, too much repainted to permit of criticism. Those assigned to the master on the façade of the "Opera" are obliterated. Inside the Opera, an angel removed from outside is preserved, but is utterly repainted. *Vide* VASARI, vol. v., pp. 80–1.

[2] This picture, injured by restoring, represents the Virgin holding the Child erect between SS. Clement, Peter (right), Sebastian and Paul (left). In the lunette, which is not by the master, but in the mixed manner of Filippino and Botticelli, is a Pietà, *i.e.* the Saviour supported by the Evangelist, with four angels bearing the symbols of the Passion. In the predella, beside the subject above named are the Martyrdom of Pope Clement thrown into the sea by order of Trajan, the Pietà, the Martyrdom of S. Sebastian, and the Conversion of S. Paul. The S. Sebastian in the centre is a grand nude. See also VASARI, vol. v., p. 80. [This picture is now in the sacristy of the Duomo. Mr. Berenson ascribes the predella of this work to "Alunno di Domenico"; see *note* p. 463.]

[3] [No. 1297.] Life-size figures, noticed by VASARI, vol. v., p. 69. The Virgin is enthroned, the Infant holds an orb, at the sides two angels and S. Michael, two angels and S. Gabriel. In front adoring figures of SS. Zenobius and Justus; distance, a rich architecture and landscape. The drawing still peeps through the superposed colour, which is well and carefully modelled; but some glazes, especially those in the Virgin's head, are gone. [In 1857 this picture was bought for the National Gallery, but the Grand Ducal Government of Tuscany refused to allow the sale.]

tones are in the perfect keeping which distinguishes all his works. It is a gay and pleasing tempera, in which much of the older practice is simplified, proving the truth of Vasari's remark that Domenico had seen the disadvantage of surcharging draperies and dress with relief borders like Masolino or Fra Filippo, on the system exaggerated by Benozzo and preserved by the Pollaiuoli. Merely pausing to mention an equally fine Madonna and Saints painted about this time, and now in the Academy of Arts,[1] one may assign to the next succeeding time the splendid apotheosis of Christ adored by SS. Romualdo, Benedict, Attinia and Greciniana in the Badia of Volterra. The Redeemer, majestic, in a glory of angels, gives a blessing from the heavens, whilst the two first-mentioned saints stand looking or pointing upwards, and the females kneel in ecstasy in the foreground of a landscape. A Camaldolese monk is in prayer at the right-hand corner of the picture. The Benedictines of Volterra owed this grand work to the generosity of Lorenzo de' Medici,[2] who succeeded in thus obtaining from Ghirlandaio a masterpiece in which excellent proportion is combined with grace in the figures, and the whole is worked out with a resolute hand, great depth of impasto and a fine choice of colour.[3]

The grand altarpieces completed during the progress of the works at S. M. Novella are the Adoration of the Magi, a round at the Uffizi, of 1487,[4] and the same subject in the church of the Innocenti dated 1488.

In treating of the first, one can but repeat the enumeration of qualities incident to the grand style of Ghirlandaio; but one may note the persistence with which he held to the method of tempera and refused to venture upon any of the innovations of the painters of his time. The altarpiece of 1487 is painted, as usual, on an underground of faint verde, stippled with lights and shadows, much laboured, and to a certain extent fused; but with the verde cropping up; and whereas in frescoes a common defect is dulness of tinge, the reverse is the case here, the tones of dresses being too gaudy in

[1] [No. 66.] Its subject, the Virgin and Child between two angels with flowers, S. Thomas Aquinas (right), and S. Denis Areopagite (left), whilst in front kneel SS. Clement and Dominic. In the predella, the Pietà between four episodes of the saints' lives. [This predella, Mr. Berenson tells us, is by Alunno di Domenico.]

[2] VASARI, vol. v., p. 82. [This picture is now in the Municipio of Volterra. It is only in part by Ghirlandaio, according to Mr. Berenson.]

[3] This noble piece is injured by restoring in oil, and by oil varnishes. The story of Vulcan in the Spedaletto of Volterra, assigned by VASARI, vol. v., p. 70, to Ghirlandaio, is now all but obliterated.

[4] Probably for the church of Orbatello; see RUMOHR, *Forschungen*, vol. ii., p. 285. [See *supra*.]

their contrasts, though correct as regard their harmonic value in juxtaposition.[1]

The Adoration at the Innocenti is richer in figures, more compact in distribution, and there are charming forms of children kneeling at each side of the principal group. A noble architecture and landscape enliven the distance; a cavalcade advances through the side of an arch, and far away the angel announces to the shepherds. In the fields to the right the Innocents are massacred by order of Herod. Amongst the more distant figures of the group to the left of the Virgin, the fourth from the picture's side is a portrait of Ghirlandaio.[2] This in fact is the finest panel by the master, being more calculated to bring out his qualities than the Visitation of 1491 at the Louvre, where the hand of assistants, and perhaps of Mainardi, may be traced; but in which we may still admire the tall commanding shape of the Virgin, the statuesque beauty of Mary Jacobi, the motion of Salome shown not merely by the position of the limbs, but by the flight of the drapery.[3] It is surprising to find in pictures painted so late the freshness of a man in all his strength, and without a symptom of decline, and to notice to the last the lingering trace of the art of the *orafo*.

The records of Prato do not explain why Ghirlandaio did not carry out in 1491 the order for the altarpiece of the Franciscans del Palco.[4] The painter's career seems to halt in the strangest way in that year.[5] Vasari describes the Visitation at the Louvre, originally ordered for the church of Cestello, as having been left unfinished at this time;[6] and we find the Tornabuoni soothing a period of sickness by a present of a hundred ducats.[7] It is enough that no pictures exist with a date more recent than 1491, and that such mosaics as

[1] This picture [No. 1295, Uffizi] is injured by retouching. The date MCCCCLXXXVII is on a stone in the foreground.

[2] Four angels, of whom two hold a scroll, form the upper glory. On a border in the arch are the ciphers of the date, MCCCCLXXXVIII. Though slightly restored, this picture is by no means injured. See VASARI, vol. v., p. 69; ALBERTINI, *Mem.*, p. 13; and RICHA, vol. viii., p. 128.

[On this altarpiece, *cf.* BERENSON, *Alunno di Domenico*, in *Burlington Magazine* (1903), vol. i., p. 6 *et seq.* Especially docs. quoted p. 20. He ascribes the incident of the Massacre of the Innocents to Alunno di Domenico (see *note* at end of this chapter). The predelle (Nos. 63–70) in Gallery of the Innocenti are also, he says, by Alunno (c. 1486).]

[3] [No. 1321, Louvre.] [4] Executed by Filippino; see *antea*.

[5] VASARI, vol. v., p. 80, says he laboured in Pisa, and on the façade of the Opera he painted King Charles recommending Pisa. It has been supposed that the subject was an allusion to the peace signed in 1494, between Charles VIII. and Florence (see SCHORN'S VASARI, vol. ii., p. 214). The painting, however, is absent.

[6] VASARI, vol. v., p. 69. [7] Ibid., vol. v., pp. 84–5.

Alinari, Florence.

ADORATION OF THE SHEPHERDS

DOMENICO GHIRLANDAIO. Academy, Florence.

Alinari.

S. JEROME AND THE LION

BENOZZO GOZZOLI. Church of S. Francesco, Montefalco.

Ghirlandaio is known to have executed were produced before that date. Whether he be really the author of a mosaic dated 1485 above the portal of the church of Orbatello, those who have seen that work may best answer.[1] Richa vaguely notes that Domenico was one of the restorers of the mosaics of the Florence Baptistery.[2] The Annunciation on one of the portals of S. Maria del Fiore, worked with power equal to that of the master's best works, proves his ability in all phases of his art, but bears no date.[3] The mosaics of the chapel of S. Zanobi in S. Maria del Fiore, entrusted to Domenico, David his brother, Botticelli, and the miniaturist Gherardo, remained unfinished[4] but such parts as may have been carried out have disappeared; and history only records that they were left incomplete in 1494 at the death of Lorenzo the Magnificent. It is remarkable, however, that the really practical mosaist of the Ghirlandai family, in so far as records enable us to trace the fact, is David, who repaired the mosaics of the Duomo of Orvieto in 1492,[5] and who undertook in 1493 those of the façade of the Siena Cathedral, assigned by Vasari to Domenico.[6]

The death of the great painter has been approximatively guessed from the knowledge that Benedetto, as next of kin, took the guardianship of the family *in loco patris* in 1498;[7] but Domenico may have died earlier.[8]

He had been twice married; to Costanza, who died in 1485, and to Antonia, a widow at S. Gimignano. His descendants formed a long and honourable line running to sand in convents and monasteries in the seventeenth century.[9]

A number of works which have not found a place in the foregoing narrative may be classed as follows:

Florence. Galleria Pitti. [No. 358.] Round. Adoration of the Magi, with a slight variation, repeated from that of the Uffizi [No. 1295], but not so able.[10]

Rimini. Palazzo Pubblico. S. Dominic between S. Sebastian and another saint, under niches on a feigned altar of marble. A lunette, now parted from the body of the piece, represents the Eternal. Three compartments at the base, injured by scaling, are filled with incidents from

[1] *Note* to VASARI, vol. v., p. 83. [2] RICHA, *Chiese*, vol. v., p. xlii.
[3] Noticed by VASARI, vol. v., p. 83.
[4] See the record already quoted in VASARI, vol. vi., p. 240.
[5] *Note* to VASARI, vol. v., p. 83.
[6] See the contract in *Doc. Sen., ubi sup.*, vol. ii., p. 452. Of pictures by Ghirlandaio at Siena we know nothing. There are no traces of frescoes in Palazzo de' Spannocchi. VASARI, vol. v., p. 84.
[7] GAYE, *Carteggio*, vol. i., p. 267. Domenico was buried in S. M. Novella in 1493, according to Vasari.
[8] See the root of the family in *Com.* to VASARI, vol. v., p. 88. [9] Ibid.
[10] [This is a school picture.]

the lives of the saints. The picture is not one of Ghirlandaio's best, but hasty in execution and conveying the impression that assistants had an extensive part in it.[1]

Volterra. Duomo. Cappella S. Carlo. The Virgin and Child between SS. Bartholomew and Anthony the abbot is by an inferior painter of the time in the mixed styles of Ghirlandaio, Filippino, and Cosimo Rosselli.[2]

Modena Gallery. No. 25. Round. A very poor Nativity coarsely worked by a feeble artist, only noticed because catalogued.

Munich Gallery. Saal. [No. 1009.] Pietà assigned to Ghirlandaio, but by Filippino. [See *antea.*][3]

Berlin. Museum. No. 88. The Virgin and Child in a glory of five cherubim, adored from below by the erect SS. John Evangelist and Baptist, the kneeling SS. Francis and Jerome. The arrangement of the Virgin, with the naked Infant grasping her neck, is repeated from the Tornabuoni altarpiece at Munich [1011] and similar to that in a picture by Mainardi in the choir of the Pieve of S. Gimignano.[4] It is an arrangement of a pleasing kind, possibly carried out in the Berlin picture with Mainardi's assistance, being less masterly than that of Munich. The two standing saints are clearly weak productions of assistants, being poorly drawn especially as to hands and feet. The kneeling saints, in oil, are by Granacci.

Same Museum. [No. 84.] Virgin, Child, and saints. This picture, of all those assigned to Ghirlandaio in this Gallery, most truly represents his manner, but the outlines are hard, the colour sharp and of a dusty red in shadow. The hand of apprentices appears in the figures of saints.[5]

Same Museum. [No. 68.] Virgin and Child between two saints, inferior to Domenico, but recalling Mainardi at his school.

Same Museum. [No. 83.] Profile, bust portrait of a female supposed to be a member of the Tornabuoni family. A repetition of the same belongs to W. D. Lowe, Esq., and was at Manchester (66),[6] assigned to Masaccio. Both are by some pupil whose handling is naturally below that of Ghirlandaio.[7]

Same Museum. [No. 85.] Portrait of a man, in the character of the foregoing.[8]

Same Museum. [No. 21.] Assigned to A. Mantegna, dated 1489, and engraved in Agincourt (plate cxl.) Judith carrying the Head of Holofernes. This piece is of Ghirlandaio's school, and clearly a Florentine work, in tempera of a dull tone.[9]

Dresden Gallery. No. 19. Round, tempera, Virgin and Child and S. Joseph. Poor, by some pupil of Sebastian Mainardi, and so recalls the school of Domenico.

[1] VASARI, vol. v., p. 82.
[2] Ibid., vol. v., p. 82, *note* 2.
[3] Possibly this may be the Pietà assigned to Ghirlandaio by RICHA, vol. ix., p. 177, in his time at S. Fridiano of Florence.
[4] See *postea.*
[5] [This picture no longer appears in the *Berlin Catalogue.*]
[6] See *antea.*
[7] [Dr. Bode and Mr. Berenson agree in giving the former work to Mainardi.]
[8] [Dr. Bode and Mr. Berenson agree in giving this work to Mainardi.]
[9] [Mr. Berenson gives this work to Mainardi.]

Vienna. Harrach Collection. By the same hand as the foregoing. The Virgin adoring the Infant, who lies on the ground, S. Joseph on one side, the pent-house and the usual episodes in distance; figures one-fourth of life size. This is a more pleasing picture than that of Dresden. The flesh tones in the face and hands of the Virgin are retouched.[1]

London. National Gallery. No. 296. The Virgin adoring the Infant Christ, assigned with a query to Ghirlandaio, but not by him.[2]

London. Mr. Barker's Collection. Life-size Virgin and Child, between SS. John Baptist, Buonaventura, James, Catherine, angels above at the sides of an arch in perspective. This picture, with the stamp of Ghirlandaio's school, is hard and raw in colour. The SS. John and Catherine, the first especially, are in the master's style, but the hardness apparent in the rest recalls the youth of Granacci.

London. Sir Charles L. Eastlake's Collection. Virgin and Child, half-length, life size, weighty figures lightly coloured and shadowed in a bluish grey, the head of the Virgin pleasing, a step below Ghirlandaio, but a fine picture.

Paris. Collection of Mr. Reiset. A Virgin and Child in the character of the foregoing. Though a softness different from that of Mainardi may be noted in these two productions, his name may not be excluded.

We may conclude with a notice of a large altarpiece in S. Girolamo of Narni representing the Coronation of the Virgin, and crowded with about a hundred figures in a rich architectural arch supported on pilasters, filled with cherubs and figures of six saints. The Saviour crowns the Virgin in the midst of a glory beneath a vast dais, supported by two angels. Innumerable people stand or kneel below. In a predella is the Resurrection, S. Francis receiving the Stigmata, and S. Jerome in the Desert.

This vast and well-preserved tempera, assigned to Spagna because of a likeness of subject and groups between it and two other Coronations by him in Todi and Trevi, is feebly distributed and painted in a cold yellowish tone, with little relief of light or shade by assistants in the school of Ghirlandaio. The attribution to Spagna was confirmed, for a time, by a statement that a record existed proving the fact. But this is not so. A record exists and may be found at length in Lorenzo Leoni's *Memorie Storiche di Todi*,[3] in which "Magister Joannes *alias* Spagna, the Spaniard" is commissioned to paint a tavola like that of S. Girolamo of Narni. It does not, therefore, say that the Narni picture is by Spagna;[4] nor ought one to

[1] [Mr. Berenson gives this work to Mainardi.]

[2] See *antea* in Peselli and Verrocchio. [This exquisite picture is now labelled Tuscan School. Mr. Berenson gives it doubtfully to Verrocchio. It is worthy of him.]

[3] Todi, 1856, p. 119.

[4] It has been assigned by Orsini in his Perugian guide to Raphael. See also PASSAVANT'S *Life of Raphael*, vol. i., p. 509.

confound the Umbrian style of that master apparent in the Coronations of Todi and Trevi with the Florentine manner of the Narni altarpiece.[1]

Ghirlandaio's pupils and assistants include his brothers David and Benedetto, Granacci, Jacopo del Indaco (of whom nothing is known), and Alessandro of Florence. Besides, and chief amongst them, Sebastian Mainardi occupies a worthy place near him, and may be dealt with in this place to the exclusion of the three first names, whose works illustrate a later phase of Florentine art. We have already had occasion to trace the hand of this favourite disciple of Domenico in some of the greatest undertakings of the time, pointing out the inferiority of the execution. Mainardi has been in certain cases confounded with his master, and namely in the frescoes of the Baroncelli Chapel at S. Croce,[2] representing S. Thomas kneeling before the tomb and receiving the girdle from the Virgin in the heaven above him amidst angels. The space to be filled requiring the introduction of figures larger than life, must have been trying to Mainardi, who still succeeds, however, in giving to the Virgin something much resembling the character of Ghirlandaio. The figures generally tend to slenderness, and lack feeling. Mainardi's style may be discovered

[1] The following works by Ghirlandaio, as noticed by Vasari, are not now to be traced. At S. Croce, to the right of the entrance, a story of S. Paolino (VASARI, vol. v., p. 67; and ALBERTINI, *Mem.*, p. 15). In the same church, a small Visitation (RICHA, vol. i., p. 238); in S. M. Ughi, Florence, a Virgin and Child between two angels, restored in 1731 by F. M. Pacini (RICHA, vol. iii., p. 183); Arte de' Linaiuoli, Florence, a Tabernacle (VASARI, vol. v., p. 70); Compagnia di S. Lorenzo in S. M. Novella, an altarpiece (RICHA, vol. iii., p. 104); Compagnia della Scala, a Madonna (ibid., vol. iii., p. 108); Badia di Settimo, frescoes in the choir and two altarpieces (VASARI, vol. v., p. 80); S. Maria Nuova, Florence, a S. Michael in armour (ibid., vol. v., p. 81; and ALBERTINI, *Mem.*, p. 13); Badia di Passignano (VASARI, vol. v., pp. 81–2); altarpiece for the Signori de' Carpi (ibid., vol. v. p. 82).

[There are several genuine works in existence of the artist that escaped the authors. Mr. Berenson ascribes the Male Portrait, Uffizi, No. 1163, to Ghirlandaio, and suggests that it may be a portrait of Perugino. Miss Cruttwell, as we have seen, says it is a portrait of Verrocchio by Lorenzo di Credi. In Pisa, Mr. Berenson gives Ghirlandaio a part in the SS. Sebastian and Roch (Museo Civico, Sala VI., No. 21). In London, Mr. Berenson tells us that the Portrait of a Youth, National Gallery, No. 1299, is a repainted work by Ghirlandaio, and speaks of six works in the collection of Mr. Robert Benson, Mr. George Salting (two), and Mr. Ludwig Mond. He also attributes the picture of an Aged Man and a Boy, Louvre, No. 1222, to the master. The beautiful portrait of Vanna Tornabuoni, in the possession of M. Rudolphe Kahn, is, of course, a well-known work by the master. For a complete study of Ghirlandaio, see H. HAUVETTE, *Ghirlandajo* (Paris, 1908); and *cf.* the admirable essay on the master by F. J. MATHER, in the *Nation* (New York), August 20, 1908.]

[2] Assigned by ALBERTINI, *Mem.*, *ubi sup.*, p. 15, to Ghirlandaio. The S. Thomas is in a good state. The dresses of the first and second angel from below, and of the Eternal, are repainted. Vasari says that Mainardi used Ghirlandaio's cartoon for this piece (vol. v., p. 84).

in the two side figures of an altarpiece in the sacristy of S. M. Maddalena de' Pazzi at Florence, whose centre, a S. Jerome, is by another hand.[1] The whole piece is attributed to Cosimo Rosselli, but the wings are painted in the mode of the figures described as beneath Ghirlandaio's usual powers in the fresco of the Expulsion of Joachim in S. Maria Novella. It is the work of a man accustomed to decorate large spaces and to give his figures a weighty aspect, but who degenerates also into heaviness. The draperies are comparatively ill cast, the colour leaden with sharp lights, the execution cold and mechanical. These saints may in fact hâve been designed by Mainardi in the shop of his brother-in-law after 1490.[2]

If we should desire to point out where Mainardi assisted his master at S. Gimignano, we should say that he did so, not in the Cappella S. Fina, where the hand of assistants is not easily traceable, but in the Annunciation of 1482.

A fresco in which the spirit of Ghirlandaio almost seems to have passed into his pupil is that which adorns a Tabernacle in the Via S. Giovanni at S. Gimignano, representing a life-size Virgin and Child in glory, above a landscape. Part of a saint still remains in the side of the arch. We may continue the record of Mainardi's works as follows :—

S. Gimignano. Pieve. Choir. Altarpiece of a Virgin and Child in glory, as in the Tornabuoni panel at Munich and in the panel (88) at Berlin, with SS. Gimignano, Nicholas, Mary Magdalen (left), Fina, John the Baptist and another saint (right, life size). This piece shows the falling-off of a man following Ghirlandaio's style, but losing power when deprived of the support of the master near him. The colour is more dull and leaden, redder, in this than in previous pictures.

S. Gimignano Gallery. [Nos. 8, 9.] Two rounds—a Virgin and Child, all but life size, the latter in benediction, between pretty angels, originally in S. M. de' Lumi—the most graceful creation of the master perhaps ; and a Virgin with the Child, patting the infant Baptist on the chin, an angel near, inferior to the foregoing and of reddish tone. The S. John particularly is heavy and large headed.

Louvre. [No. 1367.] Round, slightly varying from the above, called Domenico Ghirlandaio, with three angels and a colonnade in the distance.

Naples Museum. No. 277. Round, repetition of the last mentioned.

London. Dudley House. We note further here under the name of Pesellino (see *antea*) a Virgin, Child, and infant Baptist superior to those

[1] This S. Jerome is reminiscent in style of the parts of the Tornabuoni altarpiece at Berlin [Nos. 74–76], which bear traces of the hand of David and Benedetto Ghirlandaio. See *antea*.

[2] [Are these two saints the SS. Ignatius and Roch by Raffaellino del Garbo in the Cappella di S. Sebastiano in S. M. M. de' Pazzi ?]

just described and finished with great care, but marked by heavy character in the form and head of the Baptist.

S. Gimignano. S. Agostino. Cappella S. Bartolo. Here is a fresco representing S. Lucy between SS. Gimignano and Nicholas of Bari in the end wall of the chapel, and the Four Doctors of the Church in the ceiling. In this piece Mainardi exhibits decline of power. The S. Lucy recalls the Virgin of the Presentation in S. M. Novella as to type. The figures are long and slender, and the heads are small. A rude style, inky shadows, and absence of mass in chiaroscuro, brick-red flesh colour, are some of the most prominent defects. The S. Jerome is the least defective figure in the ceiling; an inscription now obliterated ran as follows: S. B. M. G. H. O. F. A.D. MCCCCC.[1]

S. Gimignano. S. Agostino. In the same character as the foregoing, beneath the organ, a fresco of S. Gimignano enthroned, and adored by three figures of Matteo Lupi, Domenico Mainardi and Nello Nelli de' Cetti, with the date of 1487 in the border, and beneath it, a recumbent figure of Domenico Strambi on a tomb. This is a common production, the counterparts of which, S. Peter Martyr between the Augustine monk, F. Giunta, and the Dominican F. G. Coppi, on the wall near the bell-room and dated 1488, has disappeared.[2]

Berlin Museum. [No. 77.] A pretty Virgin erect, caressing the Child sitting by her on a parapet, is in the style of the two rounds at the S. Gimignano Gallery. Sharp in tone and with bister shadows.

Berlin Museum. [No. 86.] Portrait of a Youth, fine. Besides these there are portraits assigned in various galleries to Ghirlandaio which may be by Mainardi, as at Rome Palazzo Barberini, Portrait of a Man.

Rome. Museo Cristiano. Press VII. A Nativity—the Virgin adoring the Child, S. Joseph on the other side of it, and above, five singing angels. This is by Mainardi.

Mainardi is supposed to have died about 1515.[3]

The windows of the choir at S. M. Novella were completed in 1491 by one Alessandro Fiorentino. This Alessandro is to be classed amongst the pupils of Ghirlandaio:—

In the chapel of the Palazzo del Podestà at Florence are a Virgin and Child, and a S. Jerome painted like a picture from the atelier of Ghirlandaio. The first is dated: "AN. SAL. M.CCCCXC." The second is inscribed: "ALEXANDRINI PTORIS FLORENTINI. A.D. MCCCCLXXXX." Here is therefore one more of Domenico's assistants, to whom we may assign by comparison with the pictures at the Palazzo del Podestà, the following:

Florence. Academy of Arts. No. 31. A Virgin and Child between the kneeling SS. Francis and Catherine, SS. Matthew and Louis erect, dated: "A DI XX DI SETTEMBRE MCCCCLXXXIIII."

[1] PECORI, *ubi sup.*, p. 545. [2] Ibid., *ubi sup.*, p. 540.

[3] Ibid., *ubi sup.*, p. 496. [We now know that Mainardi died in 1513. He was the brother-in-law of Domenico Ghirlandaio, having married his sister Alessandra, herself a painter. For a list of his works, see BERENSON, *Florentine Painters* (1907), p. 125 *et seq.*

Another painter in the same style is Ambrogio d'Asti, by whom we have the centre part of an altarpiece in the Academy of Pisa, representing the Saviour enthroned between the Virgin, an angel pouring ointment over his Head, with an Eternal in a lunette above, inscribed: "AMBROSIUS ASTĒSIS P M.D.XIIII." Ambrose, however, is a rude executant, and not author of the sides of the foregoing, which represent SS. Ursula and Ularia of Barcelona.

Returning to S. Gimignano, another painter, deriving his style from the school of Ghirlandaio, but of feeble powers, is Pietro di Francesco, by whom a Virgin and Child between six saints may be seen in S. Agostino. This work bears the painter's name and the date 1494, and is excessively rude. The predella contains the Pietà, Resurrection, Ascension, and four half-lengths of saints. A half-length of the Virgin and Child by this artist is in the S. Gimignano Gallery. A Virgin and Child taking the breast, in his style, but more pleasing because of the Virgin's regular forms and something in the manner reminiscent of Botticelli, is in the Oratorio of S. Maria at Pancole. A Pietà in this character is in the Pretorio at Certaldo (assigned without grounds to Giusto d'Andrea in *Comm.* to Vasari, vol. iv., p. 192), inscribed with the date of 1490. A Virgin and Child between saints in the Pieve at Empoli, is of this class.[1]

[1] In the Campana Gallery, now in Paris, is a Virgin and Child under the name of Gozzoli, with SS. Lawrence, Peter Martyr, a bishop, and John about her, a gable work by Fra Francesco of Florence [? No. 1320, Louvre.]

[NOTE.—As Mr. Berenson has gathered up the lost artistic personality of an unknown follower of Botticelli under the name of Amico di Sandro, so he has under the name of Alunno di Domenico sought to revive for us the personality of a pupil of Ghirlandaio, who was influenced both by Botticelli and by Piero di Cosimo. *Cf.* BERENSON, *Alunno di Domenico*, in *Burlington Magazine* (1903), vol. i., p. 6 *et seq.* Alunno di Domenico is a sufficiently distinct artistic personality, whose real name appears to have been Bartolommeo di Giovanni (see pamphlet by G. BRUSCOLI, *L'Adorazione di Maja, Tavola di Dom. Ghirlandajo nella Chiesa dello Spedale degli Innocenti*, where the documents recording Bartolommeo's promise to paint the predelle of the work is given in full). Mr. Berenson gives a group of works to "Alunno" besides those mentioned above:—

Two cassone pictures, the Rape of the Sabines and the Reconciliation with the Romans, in the Colonna Gallery at Rome; two cassone fronts with the story of the Trojan War, in the collection of Mr. Brinsley Morlay, of London; a cassone panel with a scene from the story of Jason, formerly in the collection of the Earl of Ashburnham; a cassone piece with the story of Io, belonging to Mrs. Baillie-Hamilton, at Langton, Duns, Scotland; two panels in the Louvre, representing the Marriage of Thetis and the Triumph of Venus; two cassone pieces with the Marriage of Pirithous and Hippodameia and Battle of Centaurs and Lapithæ in Mrs. Austen's collection at Harrow-on-Hill; a cassone piece belonging to the Marquess of Bath, at Longleat; two cassone fronts with story of Joseph, in the collection of Mr. Brinsley Morlay; two pilasters with Annunciation and Saints (Nos. 268–269) in the Florence Academy; an Adoration of the Magi in the ex-Panciatichi Collection; a Deposition from the Cross, belonging to Marchese Mannelli-Riccardi, at Florence; a S. Jerome in the Chiaramonte Collection at Palermo; a Madonna and Child (No. 85), in the Uffizi; a "Justice" in the lunette of S. Apollonia at Florence.]

CHAPTER XXIII

BENOZZO GOZZOLI AND HIS ASSISTANTS

An artist versatile in the appropriation and absorption of pictorial features characteristic of divers masters and periods may be powerful as a machine, prolific by nature; he is seldom great, and never original. Such an artist may excite surprise, by the readiness with which he assumes and forsakes a manner, by the rapidity of his execution and the consequent fecundity which it engenders; he cannot claim a high place in the history of art, and thus, whilst we acknowledge in Domenico Ghirlandaio the talents which form an epoch, we concede to Benozzo Gozzoli little more than industry and an aptitude for collecting and superficially applying, with the aid of a somewhat extravagant fancy, the gains acquired by the united energy of the painters of the fifteenth century. The principal interest which might attach in our eyes to the works of Benozzo is due not so much to their intrinsic value, as to their influence on a certain section of Umbrian painters; and it is curious to remark that whilst the example of Giotto left little or no trace in Assisi and its neighbourhood, that of a second-rate Florentine of a later time produced an impress equally strong and lasting, proving a greater facility in painters of these parts to assimilate a showy and coarse style than a pure and great one.

Gozzoli's real name is Benozzo di Lese di Sandro. He was born at Florence in 1424,[1] followed, as we have seen, Fra Giovanni to Rome, and acted as his assistant at Orvieto in 1447.[2] In 1449 he parted from his old master to seek his own fortune; and, with more instinct than luck, applied to the council of the Duomo of Orvieto for permission to complete the unfinished labours of Angelico.[3]

[1] So according to his father's income paper of 1470, in 1420 according to his own of 1480.

[2] Vasari (vol. iv., p. 186) says Benozzo painted a fresco in the Cappella Cesarini, at Araceli in Rome, representing S. Anthony and two angels in a niche above the altar. The heads in this piece are the only parts that are not repainted; and it is true that they reveal Benozzo's hand, as do likewise traces of paintings on the lunettes of the portals. A predella, No. 35 in the Gallery of the Vatican, representing a story of S. Hyacinth, assigned to Benozzo, is by a Ferrarese artist of his time, of whom we may have occasion to speak.

[3] On April 3, 1449, his application is met by a request that he shall give proof of his skill. See Della Valle's *Duomo di Orvieto*, pp. 125 *et seq*, and 307, and *Com.* to Angelico's life in Vasari. vol. iv., p. 48.

Unsuccessful in this attempt, Benozzo, then in the flower of his age, proceeded, not to Florence, the Mecca of artists, but to Montefalco, near Foligno in Umbria, whither he was led, no doubt, by his early connection with the Dominicans, and the hope that perhaps the recommendation of Angelico might be of service to him. In this comparatively solitary spot he settled in 1449, and obtained instant employment. In S. Fortunato, about a mile from the town, he painted a Virgin and Child amongst saints and angels above the portal,[1] an Apotheosis of S. Fortunato on the altar of that name,[2] an Annunciation in fresco on one of the walls, and S. Thomas receiving the Girdle[3] on the altar. The fastidiousness of the Orvietans becomes almost inexplicable in presence of these creations, which are amongst the best that Benozzo ever produced. Deeply imbued with the lessons of Angelico, he does not equal the master who guided his early years, but he follows his manner to the best of his inferior talents. Depicting the kneeling Angel of the Annunciation, he comes as near the mark of Fra Giovanni as possible, keeping the form without the intense feeling of the Dominican, painting with colour more lively and less coarse than that which marks his later works.[4]

The monastery of S. Francesco at Montefalco was the next scene of his labours, and there he filled the hexagonal choir with a triple course of episodes from the life of S. Francis, copious adjuncts of saints in the ceiling and window, and portraits in medallions along the lower skirting of the principal subject and in the vaulting of the entrance arch. Scrolls held by angels in the pilasters of the entrance contain inscriptions, from which it appears that Benozzo's patron was the Franciscan Jacopo di Montefalco, and that the whole choir was completed in 1452. The spirit which animates the master is still the religious and kindly one derived from contact with Angelico, and

[1] This fresco is on the portal outside the church, and the seven angels forming the glory are injured by the scaling of the colour of the dresses. The Virgin and Child are between SS. Francis and Bernardino. This and the rest of the paintings in the church are clearly of the same period.

[2] All but the head of S. Fortunato is repainted by a restorer of the eighteenth century.

[3] This altarpiece is now in the Museum of S. Giovanni Laterano [No. 60] at Rome. The usual garland of playing and singing angels is about the Virgin. Six saints are in the pilasters, and of six predella scenes the Sposalizio is slightly damaged. The drawing is accurate and shows less defective form, less immobility and less angularity of drapery than later examples. Still prettier are the predella scenes, which appear like slightly inferior reductions from originals by Angelico. The picture indeed has been assigned to him.

[4] The Virgin is seated on the left on a throne, in the pediment of which are the words: "BENOZZII D. . . FLORENTIA . .CCCCL." The angel kneeling to the right plays a tambourine. The figures are all but life size, in a feigned arch, with a landscape like those of Angelico. The left side is cut down by the work of an altar.

some of the compositions, such as the fine one of S. Francis' Birth, the rich one of his Death, and the Quarrel with Bernardone, are worthy of admiration, whilst others, of the saint supporting the falling Church, or expelling the devils from Arezzo, are reminiscent of Giotto.[1] There is clear evidence indeed of Benozzo's esteem for the patriarch of Florentine painting, in the fact that his portrait by the side of Dante's and Petrarch's fills a medallion in the base of the choir window and bears the inscription: PICTORUM EXIMIUS JOTTUS FUNDAMENTUM ET LUX. The execution is already more hasty and the action more realistic than at S. Fortunato; and one scene on the side nearest the right pilaster, representing the Virgin warding off the thunderbolts of the Eternal with her cloak is marked at once by rigidity of form, by defective extremities, by hard colour and wiry outlines, by angular draperies and a vulgarity of thought or shape which become more frequent at a later period. Nor is it less interesting to note, in this series and in the portal fresco of S. Fortunato, originals which carried Angelico's manner at second-hand into Umbria, the very best creations of a class whose least attractive unit is Mesastris, and which comprises Alunno of Foligno, the Boccati of

[1] The scenes from S. Francis' life fill four sides of the choir, beginning on the lower course of the nearest left side with the birth, and ending with his death in the lunette of the nearest side to the right. The order of the subjects is as follows:—1. Lower course, the Birth, and the episode of the cloak thrown on the ground for Francis to walk upon. 2. S. Francis gives his dress to the poor. He sees a palace in a dream. 3. He is protected from his father's anger by the bishop of Assisi. 4. Meeting of SS. Francis and Dominic, and the Virgin warding off the thunderbolts. Second course, also from left to right:—5. S. Francis supporting the falling Church. 6. Expelling devils from Arezzo. 7. S. Francis and the Sparrows. S. Francis blessing the donor Jacopo di Montefalco and Marco, who kneel before him. 8. S. Francis and the Cavalier of Celano. Lunettes:—9. The Presepio of Greggio. 10. S. Francis before the Soldan. 11. S. Francis receiving the Stigmata. 12. Death of S. Francis. On the base of each of the four sides are five medallion portraits of Dominicans; three at the base of the window—of Petrarch, inscribed, "LAUREATUS, PETRARCA OMNIUM VIRTUT MONARCA"—he wears a laurel crown;—of Dante, full face, inscribed, "TEOLOGUS DANTES NULLIUS DOGMATIS EXPERS." These portraits were all repainted by the so-called restorer Caratoli in 1858; as indeed are all the frescoes more or less. Amongst the six saints in the window side is one of S. Severus, the design for which is in the collection of drawings at the Brit. Mus. The scrolls held vertically by angels in the pilasters contain these words—that to the right: "IN NOMINE SANCTISSIMÆ TRINITATIS HĀC CĀPELLAM PINXIT BENOTIUS FLORENTINUS SUB ANNIS DOMINI MILLESIMO QUADRINGENTESIMO QUINQUAGESIMO SECUNDO. QUALIS SIT PICTOR PREFACTUS I SPICE LECTOR"; that to the left: "AD LAUDEM OMIPOTENTIS DEI BEATUS... HOC OPUS FECIT FIERI FRATER JACOBUS DE MONTEFALCONE ORD. MINORUM." An inscription at the base of each fresco describes its subject. The saints in the vaulting are SS. Francis in glory, Anthony, Catherine, Bernardin, Rosa of Viterbo and Louis [As to the restoration of these frescoes, see an article in *Arte e Storia* (Firenze, 1889), an. viii., No. 24. A very interesting paper on the fresco of the Meeting of S. Francis and S. Dominic will be found in *Miscellanea Francescana* (Foligno, 1902), vol. ix., p. 13 *et seq.* It is by D. M. Faloci Pulignani.]

Camerino and Matteo da Gualdo. But Benozzo did not paint merely the choir of S. Francesco, he also furnished the chapel of S. Jerome in that edifice with a fresco of the Madonna and Saints on the wall simulating an altarpiece on its altar, a Crucifixion above it, Four Evangelists in the ceiling, scenes from the life of S. Sebastian on the pilasters, and figures of saints in the vaulting of the entrance.[1] Imitating still the manner of Angelico, Benozzo accuses the comparative inferiority of his talent in the coarse type, the false anatomy and proportion of the Redeemer, and in the wooden mask of the infant Christ. He repeats the Evangelists of Fra Giovanni in the chapel of Nicholas V. at Rome, and labours in the water-colour system of his master. The character of the decorations at S. Francesco, of which the earliest are no doubt those of the chapel of S. Jerome, is that of a work throughout by Gozzoli; but the painter had even thus early an assistant, and Mesastris is already in relation to him as Benozzo had been to the Dominican of Fiesole. His stay at Montefalco may have extended till 1456, when, for a Perugian church, he finished a Madonna with Saints, now in the Academy of that city [No. 34 Sala del B. Angelico], whose prettiness and careful handling rival those of S. Fortunato.[2] Shortly afterwards he became a resident in his native city.[3]

In considering the causes which might induce Benozzo to face the competition of the metropolis at this time, the conclusion is almost inevitable, that a paucity of artists had become perceptible there after 1457. Andrea del Castagno and Pesellino had been carried off; Domenico Veneziano was on the verge of his career, and Fra

[1] At the side of the Virgin and Child enthroned between SS. John the Baptist, Jerome and two other saints, and overlooked by an Eternal in a pinnacle between the Four Doctors of the Church, are two scenes from S. Jerome's life, one of these, where he extracts the thorn from the lion's paw. On the pediment are five scenes from the lives of the saints, the whole inscribed on the upper cornice: "OPUS BENOTII DE FLORENTIA." Lower, at the side, are the words: "CONSTRUCTA ET DEPICTA EST HĒC CAPPELLA AD HONOREM GLORIOSI HIERONYMI M.CCCCLII. A I°. NOV." Above the Madonna, the Redeemer Crucified, four angels and a kneeling monk at each side of the foot. In the pilasters of the chapel are the Martyrdom of S. Sebastian and other incidents from his life. Amongst the saints in the arch vaulting, SS. Catherine and Bernardin, with the Eternal in the key. The work is injured here and there.

[2] The Virgin and Child is between the kneeling saints, Peter, John the Baptist, Jerome and Paul. On the background are the words: "OPUS BENOTII DE FLORETIA MCCCCLVI." Two pilasters have each three saints. In the predella are the Resurrection, and SS. Thomas, Lawrence, Sebastian and Bernard. According to MARIOTTI, *Lettere Pitt., ubi sup.*, pp. 66–7, the picture was painted for Benedetto Guidalotti, founder of the Collegio Gerolimiano at Perugia.

[3] Benozzo's name is registered in the Guild of Florentine Painters, but the published date 1423 is clearly an error, as he was not born till after that year. GUALANDI, *ubi sup.*, ser. vi., p. 178.

Filippo, frightened by his creditors or the plague, had retired finally to Prato. The Medici must, therefore, have been really at a loss for hands to adorn their Florentine palace, and glad to find a man of skill and fancy like Fra Giovanni's pupil to decorate the walls of the chapel now known as that of the Palazzo Riccardi. Three characteristic letters addressed to Piero de' Medici by Benozzo prove that he had already made some progress in these frescoes in 1459, and that the work was approaching completion towards the close of the year.[1] Instead of choosing a series of scenes from the legend of a patron saint, the artist was induced to select the journey of the Magi to Bethlehem as a fitting subject; and, in imitation of those who had already given to the incidents of that journey an increased value of detail on the panels of family chests, he shaped the various episodes of a pompous progress into one long series filling the walls of the body of the building. The Kings, in gorgeous state, are accompanied on their march by knights and pages in sumptuous dresses, by hunters and followers of all kinds, and the spectator glances by turns at the forms of crowned kings, of squires, and attendants with hunting leopards, all winding their solemn way through a rich landscape country.

Benozzo had thus already divested himself of the purely religious character which had given his earlier pieces a resemblance to the style of Angelico, and resolutely emulated the realists in their habit of making Scripture incidents a vehicle for the reproduction of luxurious dress, animal life and landscape. In this new phase of his art he was not unsuccessful. His work has a pleasant spirit and animation in it, and the style which he assumes so quickly and with such good results almost resembles that which on a smaller scale attracts the spectator in the painted chests at the Torrigiani Gallery.[2] Yet on close comparison the wall paintings of the Riccardi Chapel, although carefully executed and rich in episodes and costume, are not drawn with the consciousness of a perfect mastery over form. The old defects of Benozzo in rendering extremities or articulations are conspicuous as before, and the Journey to Bethlehem is effective not as the inspiration of an original genius, but as the facile reproduction, on a large scale, of a style imitated from the works of others. The student is thus enabled to gauge the true value of Benozzo in the two manners which he had successively adopted at Montefalco and

[1] See the letters in GAYE, *Carteggio*, vol. i., p. 191 *et seq.*

[2] These pieces of *cassoni* indeed look at first sight as if they might be by Benozzo, but they are too well drawn and in too good a style for him. See *antea*, the Peselli.

Florence, and to place him on the level to which he is called by the peculiarity of his artistic development.[1]

The sanctuary or tribune of the chapel is filled with choirs of angels in various attitudes in a landscape, some in flight, some kneeling, others plucking flowers; and the idea of an Eden of which the heavenly host are gardeners is rendered with some poetry of thought.[2] The picture formerly on the altar is lost,[3] and the only part of one preserved in Florence is a predella in the Uffizi,[4] but we are enabled to judge of Benozzo's talent in panel pictures at this time by the valuable one at the National Gallery originally painted for the Compagnia di S. Marco in 1461, and ordered with special directions that the Virgin Enthroned should have the form and ornaments of Angelico's on the high altar of the monastery to which the brotherhood was affiliated.[5]

From Florence, Benozzo migrated to S. Gimignano in 1463–64, and there completed a series of works under the patronage of Domenico Strambi, better known as Parisinus, because of his long stay in the French capital. Above the altar of S. Sebastian in the church of S. Agostino, the titular martyr may be seen erect in prayer on a pedestal in a long mantle, supported aloft by angels so as to shelter a multitude of people. The Virgin baring her breast, the Saviour showing the lance wound at the sides, implore the mercy of the Eternal, who from above launches thunderbolts intercepted by the cloak of S. Sebastian. This trivial subject, conceived by Benozzo in the fashion of an earlier fresco at Montefalco, was no doubt intended to realise pictorially the intervention of S. Sebastian to preserve S. Gimignano from the plague which raged there in 1464. It was completed in that year and served as a model for numerous Umbrian painters of a later time.[6] The Crucified Saviour beneath, with four

[1] One may praise in this decoration of the Riccardi Palace the harmony of the painting with the splendid carved and gilt ceiling.

[2] This part, however, is the most damaged and restored in the building.

[3] It has been said that the altarpiece is in the Munich Gallery. This is not so. See SCHORN'S VASARI, vol. ii., 2, p. 67. It may, however, be in the private collection of the King of Bavaria. See *supra*.

[4] This predella is [No. 1302], formerly in S. Croce, and represents the Resurrection, *i.e.* Christ between S. John and the Magdalen, the Marriage of S. Catherine between S. Anthony and a Benedictine.

[5] See the whole record in *Alcuni Documenti artistici, ubi sup.* (Nozze, Farinola-Vai), pp. 12, 13. Benozzo received 300 livres (*piccioli*) for his pains. [The picture is No. 283 in the Nat. Gallery.] Another panel by the master there, representing the Rape of Helen [No. 591], supposed to be part of a painted chest, has some marks of Benozzo's manner, and, at all events, is clearly by one who issued from the school of Angelico. Some restoring may be noticed.

[6] On the pedestal of the saint and under his feet are the words: "ANNO DOMINI MILESIMO QUATTRIGENTESIMO LXIIII. XXVIII. JULII FUIT HOC OPUS EX-

adoring saints and twelve medallions at each side, is the votive gift of Domenico Strambi, whose kneeling presence in miniature form in front is declared by the words F . D . M . P .[1]

In the course of the same year and part of 1465 the whole choir of the church was decorated with a triple course of scenes from the legend of S. Augustine, from the first moment of his entering the grammar school at Tegaste, to his burial.[2]

Most of the seventeen subjects into which the walls are divided have been injured, and the intrinsic value of each compartment is unequal. One may note amongst the best that of S. Augustine teaching rhetoric at Rome, seated *in cathedra*, with rows of hearers on seats at each side; one in which the death of S. Monica, the saint's mother, is represented; but the best is that in which the death of

PLETUM, DIEQUE SEQUENTI HOC IN ALTARI EXTITIT PRIMITUS CELEBRATUM MCCCCLXIIII."

[1] "FRATER DOMINICUS MAGISTER PARISIENSIS."

[2] The subjects run in courses from the lowest compartment on the left, to the lunette on the right side, and embrace—the entrance of S. Augustine into the grammar school. On the left S. Augustine is consigned to the master by his father and mother, Patrizio and Monica. To the right a child is on the back of an usher in the act of receiving a flogging on his bare posteriors, whilst the master points to S. Augustine as the model of an industrious pupil. 2. Admission of S. Augustine to the University of Carthage. Only three or four figures to the right are preserved. 3. Monica praying for her departing son, fresco, part obliterated, part repainted. 4. Passage of S. Augustine from Africa to Italy, totally repainted. 5. Reception of S. Augustine on disembarkation. The lower half of the fresco is ruined. 6. S. Augustine teaching at Rome. This has been well given in the publications of the Arundel Society. 7. Departure of the saint for Rome. In the upper part of the composition two angels bear a scroll with the inscription: "ELOQUII SACRI DOCTOR PARISINUS, ET INGENS GEMIGNANIACI FAMA DECUSQUE SOLI, HOC PROPRIO SUMPTU DOMINICUS ILLE SACELLUM INSIGNEM JUSSIT PINGERE BENOTIUM MCCCCLXV." 8. Meeting of S. Augustine with Ambrose at Milan. In centre foreground a servant takes off the saint's spur, whilst another holds his horse. To the right S. Augustine meets Ambrose and between the two episodes S. Augustine kneels before Theodosius. 9. S. Augustine hears Ambrose preach. Monica begs Ambrose to convert her son, and conference of S. Augustine with Ambrose. A great part of the episode of the Sermon is gone. 10. S. Augustine reads S. Paul's epistles. 11. Baptism of S. Augustine by Ambrose, with the inscription on vase: "ADI PRIMO DAPRILE MILLÆCCCCLXIIII." Partly damaged fresco. 12. S. Augustine visits the hermits of Monte Pisano, explains the rules of his order to his brethren, sees the vision of Christ in the shore. Well preserved. 13. Death of S. Monica: two monks stand on the foreground, one of them, Strambi, indicated by the inscription F. D. M. PARIS—a fine composition. A naked child runs away from a dog on the right. Lunettes:—14. S. Augustine and his congregation; lower angle to the right obliterated. 15. Triumph of S. Augustine over Fortunatus; much injured. 16. S. Augustine in ecstasy before S. Jerome. 17. Death of S. Augustine. On the front faces of the pilasters are superposed—Right: 1. Tobit and the Fish. 2. Angel and Tobit. 3. S. Fina. Left: 1. Martyrdom of S. Sebastian. 2. S. Sebastian. 3. S. Monica. Inner sides of pilasters—right: SS. Nicolas of Tolentino, Nicolas of Bari, Elias; left: SS. Bartolus, Gimignano, and John the Baptist, with a small Martyrdom of S. Bartolus on a lower frieze. In the entrance vaulting, Christ between the Apostles.

Augustine is depicted, where Benozzo fairly arranges a great number of people in a good composition, and gives to some of those in the foreground a character at once akin to that of Angelico and of Fra Filippo. It is, indeed, characteristic of the series that something of Lippi's spirit in stature and build of figures may be seen commingled with a touch of Fra Giovanni's religious feeling; yet Benozzo remains naturally inferior to both. It must not be forgotten in the meanwhile that one of the assistants in this undertaking was Giusto d'Andrea, a Florentine, who had by turns served under Neri di Bicci and Fra Filippo,[1] and who relates in a diary of his own that, being in the employment of Benozzo, "who was an excellent master of wall painting," he painted all the saints at the sides of the window in the choir of S. Agostino and the four apostles on the vaulting of the entrance.[2] The obliteration of the former deprives the student of means for judging Giusto's value as an artist, but the lowest medallions of Apostles in the vaulting of the entrance are so much below the usual mark of Benozzo that they are doubtless those to which the diary alludes; and their manner is repeated in two angels holding a scroll in the fresco of Augustine's Departure from Rome.[3] Giusto remained three years with Benozzo,[4] and no doubt had his share also in the work at the altar of S. Sebastian. An example of the mixture of styles to which a painter might be liable after wandering from the school of Neri di Bicci into that of Fra Filippo and others may be seen in a so-called Fra Filippo at the Esterhazy Gallery in Vienna, in which the life-size Virgin and Child are enthroned between SS. Anthony the abbot and Lawrence. At foot is the half figure of a monk in prayer. The hand is clearly that of an inferior artist who had been in Fra Filippo's atelier, and carried off from thence the types and character which he imitates in a feeble manner. The picture besides is injured by varnishes.

After completing for Domenico Strambi the wall paintings of S. Agostino, Benozzo began those between the portals in the Pieve of S. Gimignano, representing there the Martyrdom of S. Sebastian and various episodes and figures,[5] inferior in style and execution to

[1] See Neri di Bicci's journal, *ubi sup.*, *Com.* to VASARI, vol. ii., p. 258. He served under Neri in 1458–9, and with Fra Filippo in 1460.

[2] See the journal in GAYE, *Carteggio*, vol. i., pp. 212, 213.

[3] In these two angels note the coarseness of the figure, the round and vulgar heads, the strong outlines and broken folds of drapery which seem a caricature of Fra Filippo.

[4] Ibid., ibid.

[5] The saint is colossal and stands on a pedestal surrounded with figures shooting arrows, whilst two angels hold a crown above his head. Above, Christ and the Virgin (half-lengths) are in glory of seraphim and cherubim. Beneath

anything that he had as yet done in the place. With equal rudeness and haste, Benozzo seems to have laid in, with much help from the feeble hand of Giusto, the Crucified Saviour and saints, a fresco in the court of the convent of Mont' Oliveto outside S. Gimignano.[1] He devoted more conscientious labour in 1466 to two Madonnas amongst saints and a Marriage of S. Catherine, painted severally for S. M. Maddalena and S. Andrea of S. Gimignano and S. Francesco of Terni, all of which bear his signature, and are of the best that he finished in these years.[2]

Not confining himself, however, to the immediate neighbourhood of S. Gimignano he undertook and carried out the adornment of the chapel of the Giustiziati, at the foot of the Ponte dell' Agliena in the outskirts of Certaldo, a small edifice enclosing a Tabernacle painted on all its sides with a Deposition from the Cross inside, the Crucifixion and Martyrdom of S. Sebastian outside,[3] with other incidents and figures, a damaged decoration in which Giusto d'Andrea had a share. Nor is it improbable that he entrusted to the same assistant most of the paintings in a tabernacle at S. Chiara of Castel Fiorentino, where

are the Crucified Saviour and saints, with figures also of saints in the painted borders. On the pilaster to the left of these frescoes are—front: SS. Bernard and Augustine; side: S. Anthony. On the opposite pilaster, in the same relative situations, SS. Bernardin and Jerome and the Virgin. There is also a saint on the pilaster face, by the portal, to the spectator's left of the Martyrdom.

[1] The Saviour, four angels about the horizontal limb, the Virgin and Evangelist erect at the sides, S. Jerome penitent on his knees at foot, all life size. The Redeemer is a caricature of Benozzo's at Montefalco.

[2] Madonna of S. M. Maddalena, now in the choir of the Pieve. It represents the Virgin and Child enthroned between kneeling SS. M. Magdalen, John the Baptist (left), Martha and Augustine (right), inscribed: "OPUS BENOTII DE FLORENTIA MCCCCLXVI." Madonna of S. Andrea three miles outside S. Gimignano: Virgin and Child enthroned with angels holding baskets of flowers between kneeling SS. Andrew and Prospero, inscribed: "OPUS BENOTII DE FLORENTIA, DIE XXVIII AUGUSTI MCCCCLXVI," and lower down: "HOC OPUS FECIT FIERI VENERABILIS SACERDOS DÑS HIERONIMUS NICOLAI DE ŠCO GEM . . RECT. DICTE ECCLESIE." In the predella is the Resurrection between SS. Jerome and Guglielmus. At Terni, S. Francesco Chapel of the Rustici family, the Marriage of S. Catherine, two angels supporting a dais of tapestry. At the sides of the principal group are (left) SS. Bartholomew and Lucy kneeling, (right) S. Francis. Above, the Eternal and three angels, inscribed: "OPUS BENOTII DE FLORENTIA MCCCCLXVI."

[3] The Deposition contains eleven figures. Sides of tabernacle, SS. Anthony Abbot, James the Elder (right), John the Baptist and another (left). Vaulting, the Eternal and Four Evangelists. Face of arch, the Annunciation. The Annotators of VASARI, vol. iv., p. 192, after quoting a passage of Giusto d'Andrea's diary, in which he says he painted with Benozzo at the Tabernacle de' Giustiziati, add that the work here alluded to is a Pietà in the Pretorio of Certaldo, Stanza del Giudizio Criminale (noticed in these pages as a work in the style of Pietro di Francesco, see *antea*). But this must be an error. The tabernacle above described is a public foundation bearing the arms of the Florentine republic and traditionally called still Cappella de' Giustiziati.

Alinari.

S. AUGUSTINE AT SCHOOL

BENOZZO GOZZOLI.

Fresco, Church of S. Agostino, San Gemignano.

DETAIL FROM THE WORSHIP OF THE GOLDEN CALF

COSIMO ROSSELLI. Sixtine Chapel, Rome.

DETAIL FROM THE LAST SUPPER

COSIMO ROSSELLI. Sixtine Chapel, Rome.

a Virgin and Child with saints and incidents from the life of Mary form a compact, but much injured series.[1]

Benozzo, who in 1465 had caused himself to be registered in the Guild of Speziali at Florence, remained in S. Gimignano till 1467. At the latter date, he restored Lippo Memmi's frescoes in the Palazzo del Podestà, and his presence there till at least the summer of that year is proved by a curious letter which he wrote to Lorenzo de' Medici, begging him to assist Giovanni da Magello, a brother of Giusto we may conjecture, who had been accused of stealing some sheets from the cells of the monks in a monastery at Certaldo.[2]

By far the greatest and most important labours of Benozzo were those which he now undertook at Pisa, where as early as January 1469 (Pis. st.) he had already completed the fresco of Noah and his Family,[3] an engraving of which accompanies these pages.[4] Following this successful effort he continued the series with two subjects, forming the lower course of those by Pietro di Puccio west of the Ammanati Chapel, representing the Curse of Ham, and the Building of the Tower of Babel. It is characteristic of Benozzo's temper that his earliest fresco in the Campo Santo is also his most pleasing composition, the most striking one for the richness of its episodes, its architecture, and its landscape. He drew it more carefully than usual, and almost succeeded in showing that he could produce graceful impersonations. Yet a severe criticism may still reprove defective proportions in the articulations, extremities, and total conformation of the human frame, a wooden stiffness in the mode of presenting them circumscribed by an endless and mechanical line. It was very natural that being thus cold and lifeless in action, he should fail altogether in expression; and it is equally apparent that, whilst in muscular forms his conventional art does not suffice to infuse life into a laboured anatomy, in the play

[1] The Virgin and Child are between S. Paul and other saints, part standing, part kneeling. The lower half of the fresco is gone. In the vaulting are the Evangelists and Doctors of the Church. The compositions are Benozzo's. But on one of the pilasters is a figure of a monk, with a heart in his hand, quite in the manner of Neri di Bicci. A saint on the opposite pilaster has the same character. Both are painted in strongly marked and contrasted colour. These features would clearly prove the presence of Giusto in a work whose *ensemble* is that of a feeble Benozzo.

[2] GAYE, *ubi sup.*, vol. i., p. 209.

[3] CIAMPI, *Notiz. Ined.*, *ubi sup.*, p. 153. The commission was given in May 1469 (Pis. st.). He therefore took nine months to paint his first fresco. See FÖRSTER, *Beiträge*, *ubi sup.*, p. 131.

[4] The whole figure of Noah lying on the right foreground is new, as well as all the lower part of the group about him. Other parts here and there are scaled. A long perpendicular flaw, in the centre of the fresco near Noah drinking, cuts away part of a female near him. On the collar of the figure pointing with both hands to the prostrate patriarch are the words: ". . . . US BENOTII DE FLORENTIA MCCCCL. . ."

of features it cannot suggest any one of the passions. It is that Benozzo being endowed with certain simious qualities and having had occasion to contemplate many masterpieces in his life, but being unable to fathom all the sources and mysteries of the art of his contemporaries, tries to imitate results, and thinks it enough if he has approximately succeeded. Nothing that he does is founded on any principle more profound than that of superficial imitation. If he foreshortens a figure, it is not that he has inquired into the laws of perspective, but because he copies with a certain speed and ease a petrified model. The same absence of scientific principles marks his architecture, which is surcharged with planes and ornament, and imperfect like that of Masolino and Angelico, without their excuse for imperfection; because Masaccio, Fra Filippo, Botticelli and Filippino had already shown how it should be applied. Whilst Benozzo thus proves himself devoid of original talent in some important branches, he is not much more successful as a colourist. His tones are somewhat entire and frequently inharmonious. His technical method on wall as on panel is simple. In flesh he paints his shadows grey, with a warm general liquid tint for light by their side; and he stipples the whole together with red. In draperies, he places the lights and shadows with a copious and high surface over a general local colour. By thus using the method of tempera panel-painting on the wall, he carried out a perishable system whose disadvantage is apparent in the present state of the Campo Santo pictures, in which vast quantities of colour have scaled off even in flesh parts, and the stippling has frequently become black.

In the midst of all these shortcomings, however, Benozzo has moments of luck, and in the twenty-one frescoes of Pisa, there are occasional pretty episodes and fair bits of composition. The comparative inferiority of other parts may be due to assistants; and whereas, in Montefalco, we trace the hand of Mesastris, in S. Gimignano, that of Giusto d'Andrea, that of Zanobi Macchiavelli is apparent in the Campo Santo.[1]

In the Curse of Ham, the group of Noah pouring out his malediction on the left is all but gone, but in the attendant peaceful episodes which form the rest of the picture, there are pleasing groups of a girl leading a child and carrying a pitcher on her head, of a mother in profile with a child in her arms; yet the feeling is marred by the unwrought nature of the more minute parts.[2]

The Building of the Tower of Babel is supposed to take place before

[1] For instance, in the fresco of Abraham and Lot in Egypt, where two combatants grasp each other by the hair.

[2] The blue of the sky is all repainted.

a great number of spectators. To the left stands Nimrod and many persons of high station, amongst whom one recognises, side by side, Cosimo de' Medici, Lorenzo "il Gottoso," Lorenzino, an adolescent, and Politian. In the air, the Eternal appears, commanding the confusion of tongues.

Above the Cappella Ammanati and facing one of the gates of the Campo Santo, Benozzo painted the Adoration of the Magi with more than usual breadth, inserting a portrait of himself on horseback at the very tail of the suite on the left of the picture.[1] Beneath this he placed the Annunciation, with two angels below it, pointing to the Mystery.

Following the wall to the eastward, the double course of frescoes, all by Benozzo, includes :—

No. 5. Abraham and the Worship of Baal (upper course not so damaged as others). 6. Abraham and Lot in Egypt (lower course), with good episodes and fair studies of horses in the cavalcades. 7. Abraham's Victory (upper course), where there are two fine figures of men fighting on horseback and many fallen ones foreshortened with little art.[2] 8. (Lower course) Abraham and Hagar. Much injured. The angel appearing to Hagar is reminiscent of Angelico, which cannot be said of those appearing to Abraham, whose heads, however, are gone. The face of the patriarch is very fine, whilst nothing more vulgar can be conceived than the grimacing agony of Hagar in the scene which shows her beaten by Sarah. 9. The Destruction of Sodom and Escape of Lot (upper course). Some of the contradictions in Benozzo are very apparent here. A confused group of naked figures on the left is striking for its lame action and the wooden nature of the forms, whereas the angels and celestial soldiers, casting thunderbolts, are much more animated and vigorous. One angel, indeed, with his two arms raised in the act of throwing the fire, is very energetic, and seems a type bequeathed to Benozzo by Angelico. Lot's wife, turned to a pillar of salt on the right, imitates the form of a classic statue. The rest of the group is good ; but the expression and action of Lot are vulgar and exaggerated.[3] 10. The Sacrifice of Isaac, rudely executed (lower course). 11. The Marriage of Rebecca (upper course). This is one of the best ordered compositions of the series. The group at the well is attractive ; but there is something colossal in a few of the figures. The distant episodes are as usual the best. 12. (Lower course), The Birth of Jacob and Esau, almost obliterated. One of the incidents on the left foreground offers an useless luxury and surcharge of architecture and figures. 13. The Marriage of Jacob and Rachel, and Jacob's Dream (upper course). The angels in the Dream are pleasing, and a group of dancers and spectators offers one of the prettiest passages in all these works of Benozzo. 14. Meeting of Jacob and Esau, and Rape of Dinah (lower course). This piece is remarkable for the richness of its landscape still life, but also for its beautiful group of Jacob and Rachel

[1] He wears a blue dress and a cap, and looks at the Virgin on the right, whose blue dress is new, whilst her head, neck, and breast are gone.

[2] The fresco is not seriously injured.

[3] The fresco is fairly preserved.

with the youthful Benjamin, of which, however, a part (the top of the heads) is gone. A portrait of Lorenzo de' Medici, amongst the sons of Jacob and the Sichemites, has almost faded away. 15. The Innocence of Joseph (upper course). The groups of this compartment are truly described by Rosini as huddled together. One of them is good, which shows Jacob recognising the clothes of Joseph. 16. (Lower course) Joseph made known to his Brothers. The foreground parts are almost completely new, but an adventitious interest accrues to the piece from the inscription on a scroll held aloft by two angels, eulogising the talents of the painter. It is this inscription, placed in the fresco just above the funeral vault and stone given to Benozzo by the Pisans in 1478, which is alluded to by Vasari, when he says that it was placed in the middle, *i.e.* the centre, of the work which he had completed.[1]

The rest of the series, of which two (the Destruction of Dathan and Abiram and the Death of Aaron) are obliterated, is devoted to the life and works of Moses. 17. His Infancy and First Miracle.[2] 18. The Passage of the Red Sea.[3] 19. The Tables of the Law;[4] and 20. Aaron's Rod,[5] both reminiscent of Cosimo Rosselli's frescoes at the Sixtine Chapel. 21. The Fall of Jericho, and David and Goliath;[6] of great variety in the episodes, but composed of figures in extravagant proportion and movement. 22. The Queen of Sheba's Visit to Solomon, almost obliterated, but preserving the upper portion of a large number of people, male, female and children, to the right. Of this rich composition, an old drawing, a copy from the fresco, not an original design for it, is in the Academy of Pisa. In the lower part of the right-hand group, at the Campo Santo, the intonaco has fallen away and left the original red drawing on the rough-cast. It is curious to remark that, whereas most of the figures find a natural completion in the drawing on the rough-cast, that of a child whose head alone appears in the finished part does not extend to the under plaster. The whole of this child is in the drawing at the Academy, and proves it to be a copy from, not the sketch for, the fresco.[7] A number of designs for this series by Benozzo were some years since, and may still now be, in possession of Don José Madrazo at Madrid, who bought them at Pisa; but they were all retouched.

The whole of this mighty collection of frescoes was completed by Benozzo in sixteen years; and the payment for the last subject, representing the meeting of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba, was made on the 11th of May 1485.[8] Five years previous to that time, Benozzo

[1] VASARI, vol. iv., p. 187. The inscription is correctly given in the Aretine biography.

[2] Not free from retouching.

[3] All the lower part is gone, and the original drawing in red is still left on the first intonaco.

[4] This fresco shows some resemblance to Cosimo Rosselli's paintings in the Sixtine Chapel, though it is in bad condition and many parts all but gone.

[5] Much injured, and again reminiscent of Rosselli.

[6] In great part gone, and the centre very dusty.

[7] The drawing might be that from which the design on the rough-cast was corrected; but on artistic grounds this seems unlikely.

[8] FORSTER, *Beiträge, ubi sup.*, p. 131.

wrote out the income paper now in the archives of Florence,[1] in which he states, that besides property in land and houses at Florence, he owns a house in Via S. Maria at Pisa, in which he resides with his brother Domenico and their joint families. His indefatigable industry may be conceived from the number of extant pictures dating from the period of his stay in Pisa; a list of which would comprise the Apotheosis of S. Thomas Aquinas, painted for the Duomo of Pisa and now in the Louvre,[2] a Conception, once in S. Marta, now in the Academy of Pisa,[3] a Virgin and Child among saints in the same gallery, originally in S. Benedetto a Ripa d'Arno,[4] and a Virgin and Child between two angels in the "Coretto" of the Monastery of S. Anna at Pisa.[5] These pieces might be supposed to issue from the shop, and therefore not to have employed more than the painter's leisure hours; but he had also the habit of accepting commissions at a distance, as is proved by the frescoes of the Tabernacle on the road to Meleto, two and a half miles from Castel Fiorentino, where the Virgin and Child between saints are depicted over an altar, her Death on the left side, her Burial, Ascension, and Gift of the Girdle on the right; and the whole work is signed with Benozzo's name and dated 1484.[6] The execution is rude enough, but not so feeble as that of a series in bad condition in a chapel at Legoli, between Pontedera and Volterra, apparently painted by some one attached to Benozzo's school.[7]

[1] GAYE, *ubi sup.*, vol. i., p. 271.

[2] [No. 1319 of Catalogue of the Louvre.] The picture is reminiscent of the S. Thomas by Traini, has reddish flesh tints, and dresses in changing hues; it reveals the style common in the Campo Santo frescoes. It is much injured by restoring. (VASARI, vol. iv., p. 188.)

[3] [No. 24 in Sala VI. of Museo Civico.] Four miniature figures kneel at the sides of the principal group, which as usual represents the Virgin on the lap of S. Anna, the latter giving a flower to the infant Christ. The triangular cusp is filled by a figure of the Eternal. The Infant's type is reminiscent of that of Fra Filippo. The picture is pleasing, but injured in the draperies, chiefly by old varnishes. (VASARI, vol. iv., p. 188.)

[4] [No. 23, Sala VI.] Virgin and Child between SS. Benedict, Scholastica (left), Ursula and Gio. Gualb°. (right). The Infant holds a bird, two angels a crown over the Virgin's head. A vertical split runs down the centre of the latter. This is a defective picture, but undoubtedly by Benozzo. (VASARI, vol. v., p. 188.)

[5] The Virgin takes flowers from a vase.

[6] The date is clear from the inscription on the front of the tabernacle: "HOC TABERNACULŨ FECIT FIERI DOMINUS GRATIA PRIOR CASTRI NOVI AD HONOREM SCĒ MARIE VIRGINIS, DIE XXIIII DECEMBRIS MCCCCLXXXIIII;"—the authorship from the following on the wall on which the altar rests: "MA.... F. M. BENO... FLORENTINUS DEPI..." The saints at the Virgin's side are Catherine, Peter, Margaret, and Paul, the scene opening out from beneath two curtains, each of which is held back by an angel. In the picture of the Virgin's Death, one of the kneeling figures in front is probably the patron.

[7] The chapel is that of Monsignor della Fanteria, and the picture represents Christ Crucified, a Virgin and Child, and Saints, and the Annunciation.

The erection of a tomb for Benozzo in the Campo Santo by the Pisans, and the inscription on that monument long kept up the belief that the painter's death occurred in 1478, but Ciampi's records satisfactorily proved that he was living in 1485.[1] A still later record recently discovered convincingly shows that Benozzo was still alive at Florence in 1496, having in January of that year been chosen by Alesso Baldovinetti to value his frescoes in the Gianfigliazzi Chapel at S. Trinità of Florence.[2] Vasari's catalogue of works by Benozzo contains, as usual, a few that have not been preserved to our day.[3]

Having devoted a few remarks in the course of the foregoing narrative to the career of Giusto d'Andrea, and alluded cursorily to the presence of Macchiavelli, another of Gozzoli's assistants at the Campo Santo, we may be interested by some details respecting works in which the style of Benozzo, commingled in some particulars with that of Fra Filippo, is imitated by inferior men.

Pisa. Residence of the Cappellani del Duomo, in S. Lazzaro fuori Porta S. Luca at Pisa. Virgin and Child between SS. Lazarus, Anthony Abbot and Bernardino, a kneeling male and female in front originally inscribed: "GIAMPIERO DE PORTA VENERE E MONA MICHELA DELLA SPETIE FECIONO FARE QUESTA TAVOLA MCCCCLXX." In a predella is the Resurrection between SS. Peter and Stephen. This much injured picture, assigned to Benozzo, is a rude production by a third-rate follower of the master during his residence at Pisa; by a man, however, who is acquainted also with other styles besides the dominant one of Gozzoli.

S. Gimignano Gallery. In Pretorio of Duomo (No. 12); originally in S. Michele of Casale—Virgin and Child between four saints, feeble, lean, and grotesque in character, flatly coloured in rosy tones, assigned to Gozzoli, but showing some reminiscence of Fra Filippo in the Child, and less rude than the foregoing.

Volterra. S. Girolamo (fuor di), Virgin and Child between SS. Anthony

[1] *Notiz. Ined., ubi sup.*, pp. 153–5.

[2] *Alcuni Documenti non mai stampati* (Nozze, Farinola-Vai), *ubi sup.*, p. 18.

[3] The list comprises a Transit of S. Jerome in S. Friano (VASARI, vol. iv., p. 185), a Virgin and Saints in the Torre de' Conti, and frescoes in S. M. Maggiore at Florence (ibid., p. 186), two altarpieces in S. Caterina, one in S. Niccolò and two in S. Croce of Pisa (ibid., p. 188), one in the Duomo of Volterra (ibid., p. 189). An Annunciation, No. 1165A in the Berlin Museum, assigned to Benozzo, is a poor but old copy from the same subject by Fra Filippo.

[Benozzo died in 1498. The Annunciation, No. 1165, in Berlin, is no longer catalogued. There is a picture by Benozzo in that Gallery, however, No. 60B, a Madonna, Saints and Angels. There is also a Madonna and Saints (a predella), in Vienna, No. 251. In the King's Collection at Buckingham Palace there is part of a predella—the Story of Simon Mago. See CUST and HORNE, "Notes on Pictures in the Royal Collection," in *Burlington Magazine* (1905), vol. vii., p. 377 *et seq.* Mr. Berenson mentions other works at Béziers, in Palazzo Alessandri, Florence; in the collection of Mr. Drury Lowe at Locke Park, a Crucifixion; in the Ducal Palace at Meiningen, and in the collection of Rodolphe Kann and Count Robert Pourtalès in Paris.]

of Padua, Lawrence, Cosma and Damian, with SS. Francis and Jerome kneeling in front, assigned to Ghirlandaio, drawn with mechanical rudeness and with defects which may be noticed in the works of Macchiavelli.

Prato. Galleria Comunale. No. 12. In the same style as the foregoing, with a mixture of Benozzo's and Filippo's manner, a Virgin giving the breast to the Infant, amongst saints. Something in the Virgin and Child also recalls Ghirlandaio, the colour being reddish and leaden, the outlines sharp, the draperies double and of many folds, the figures straight and long, the heads small.

Florence. Academy of Arts. No. 16 [?]. A Virgin and Child between saints like the foregoing.[1]

All these works may be assigned to Giusto d'Andrea, whose characteristic features are more or less those of a better, but still second-rate, assistant of Benozzo, Zanobi Macchiavelli.

This painter is merely alluded to by Vasari as Gozzoli's pupil,[2] and has been cursorily mentioned in these pages as an aid in the Campo Santo frescoes. The least favourable aspect under which he presents himself is in a Coronation of the Virgin at the Louvre, dated 1473;[3] the next best, in a piece at the Academy of Pisa, representing the Virgin, Child and saints, undated, but signed with his name.[4] Yet in the latter, which, though injured, is what Vasari calls "*ragionevole*" the long figures are rigid; the open mouths impart a stupid air to the faces, and the drapery is at once broken and involved. The Child is the best part of the picture, which is a caricature of the manner of Fra Filippo rather than of that of Benozzo, but still shows a mixture of both.

Better and equally authentic is a Virgin with the naked Child, seated between SS. Nicolas and Jerome (right), Bernardino and another (left), as late as 1859 in the hands of Mr. Bacci, a picture-dealer, Via Ghibellina, Florence, and inscribed "OPUS ZENOBII DE' MACHIAVELIS." This is a creation showing how an artist of no high powers can at times approach other masters. It is, like the previous ones, a mixture of the manner of Fra Filippo and Benozzo, that of the Frate being dominant, especially in the form of the Infant. The Virgin's figure has a certain ease, and its proportions are fairly correct. Gentleness is in the face, at whose sides long locks fall to the shoulders. The nude of the Child is, however, angular in drawing. There is a want of purpose in the attitude and an absence of fitness in the super-

[1] [I cannot trace this work.]

[2] VASARI, vol. iv., p. 191.

[3] This piece, No. 245 [?] of the Louvre Catalogue, is inscribed: "OPUS CENOBII DE MACHIAVELLIS MCCCCLXXII."

[4] Originally in S. Croce fuor di Pisa: it bears the inscription, "OPUS ZENOBII DE' MACHIAVELLIS."

abundant angular drapery of the standing saints. The extremities are coarse and large ; the flesh tints are carefully painted in a monotonous tone, and lined with wrinkles.

The value of this piece is great as leading the critic to a just appreciation of a Madonna and Child, enthroned between angels and saints, in our National Gallery.[1] Though assigned there to Fra Filippo Lippi, it has the mixed character of that master and of Benozzo. The angels in front, though much injured by restoring, are most in the Frate's style, but the draperies are like those of Benozzo, and the saints have the same listless and aimless attitudes, the same coarse extremities as those previously described. The reddish prevailing tone is flat and without softness. It may be right in a public gallery not to change the nomenclature of pictures hastily, but this one bears the impress of a single hand, that of a painter who had studied in the school of Fra Filippo and mingled his manner with that peculiar to Benozzo.[2]

Omitting Mesastris, whose labours must be classed amongst those of the Umbrian school influenced by Benozzo, we may conclude this chapter with a few words devoted to the Florentine, Domenico di Michelino, and others of still less note.

Domenico di Michelino is named by Vasari amongst the pupils of Angelico.[3] We have seen him paint a portrait of Dante in S. M. del Fiore on a design given by Baldovinetti. This figure was long assigned to Orcagna, and represents the poet, of life size, holding the *Divina Commedia*, which emits rays illuminating the city and fortifications of Florence in the distance. Dante is dressed in a red cap and tunic, and crowned with laurel. In the distance to the left are the condemned, a hill, and figures of Adam and Eve. The style is that of the fifteenth century, like a continuation of that of Masolino, and thus justifies Vasari's assertion as to Domenico's education. The painting is careful, the drawing precise, and the colour warm but flat.

Another painter whose style approaches to that of Michelino is Piero Chelini, whose injured scenes from the legend of Peter Martyr on the front of the Bigallo at Florence are proved by Rumohr to have been completed in 1444.[4] To this class of paintings may be added :—

Florence. S. Croce, Cappella Medici. A life-size Bishop whose dress is supported by two angels, carefully drawn and flatly coloured.

Same place. S. Bernardino in Glory supported by two angels, with a miniature patron offering a cup, and a smaller figure kneeling ; dated MCCCCXXXXIIII.

[1] [No. 586. It is now assigned to Macchiavelli.]

[2] [An interesting picture of the Coronation of the Virgin by Macchiavelli is in the Gallery at Dijon. It bears the inscription : "OPUS CENOBII DE MACHIAVELLIS MCCCCLXXIIII." (*Cf.* GUOLI, in *Rassegna d'Arte*, an. vii., 11.) Mr. Perkins ascribes to this master a Virgin and Child with angels at Colalto, near Colle in Val d'Elsa.

[3] VASARI, vol. iv., p. 39.

[4] RUMOHR, *Forschungen*, vol. ii., pp. 169, 170.

Florence. Academy of Arts. No. 52 [? No. 16]. The three Angels and Tobit.

Finally, Zanobi Strozzi is to be mentioned as a miniaturist who may have been Angelico's assistant, for notices of whom the reader must be referred to Vasari (vi., 39; ii., 234; and vi., 187–189, 253, 259, 327) and Baldinucci (*Opere*, v.).[1]

Passing from the comparatively obscure companions of Benozzo Gozzoli, and reverting to his contemporaries, the last of the Florentine artists of the fifteenth century who claims present attention is Cosimo di Lorenzo Filippi Rosselli, commonly known as Cosimo Rosselli, the direct descendant of a family devoted to painting and sculpture for at least a century and a half previous. Looking back at the ascending line of Rosselli, we find three great-uncles and some of their sons following the paternal profession of art; the father Lorenzo an architect, the cousins all painters, the brother a miniaturist, and a niece married to Simone Pollaiuolo, better known as Cronaca.

Cosimo was born in the Via del Cocomero at Florence in 1439,[2] and belongs to the same artistic class as Benozzo di Lese. He had the misfortune to become in 1452 or 1453 assistant to Neri di Bicci, a master who was ill calculated to prepare him for a brilliant future. He left Neri in October 1456,[3] about the time of Gozzoli's arrival in Florence; and presumptive evidence may be adduced to prove that some sort of connection was formed between the two. Their styles were not unlike, and it seems as if they might have had a common atelier. Looking at the Last Judgment of 1456, assigned to Angelico and Rosselli in the Berlin Museum,[4] and bearing in mind that the style evolved in it is that of a weak pupil of Angelico, the conclusion might be, supposing the attributions to be correct, that Cosimo, whose later works are reminiscent of those of Benozzo, had thus early exhibited the lowest form of a manner modelled at a respectful distance on that of Fra Giovanni.

Several pictures noticed by Vasari still exist in Florence—an Ascension of the Virgin, on the third altar to the left of the entrance

[1] He was born in 1412, and known to be alive in 1463. As regards a portrait of Giovanni di Bicci de' Medici, repainted by him, and now in the guardaroba magazines at Florence, it is a much damaged and repainted work of a second-rate character. [There are two works known to me by Giusto d'Andrea in the immediate neighbourhood of Florence—an Annunciation in the church of S. Martino a Mensola (Mr. Berenson's attribution), and some frescoes under the portico of S. Maria a Peretola. For these followers of Benozzo, consult SUPINO, in *Archivio Storico dell' Arte* (Rome, 1891), p. 234, and IDEM, *Benozzo Gozzoli* (Alinari, Florence).]

[2] See income papers of 1457 and 1469, in GAYE, *ubi sup.*, *note* to p. 458, vol. ii.

[3] See records of Neri, *ubi sup.*, in VASARI, vol. ii., p. 258.

[4] No. 57. See *antea*.

to S. Ambrogio ;[1] an Apotheosis of S. Barbara, originally at the Servi, now in the Academy ;[2] a Coronation of the Virgin, to the left as one enters the church of Cestello, or S. M. de' Pazzi ;[3] and a Virgin giving the breast to the Infant amongst saints, in the sacristy of the same church.[4]

The first of these is a poor example of Cosimo's not first-rate talent, dull in tone and weak in the figures ; the second is comparatively of greater value, and the two others are amongst his best. Throughout the whole of these pieces the figures are lame and without grace of outline, the draperies straight or broken into rectangles, the colour on the innovating system, raw, dull, low in tone and opaque.[5]

Rosselli seems to have spent some of his years in Lucca, where a fresco of Christ taken down from the Cross, inside and above the portal of S. Martino, reveals, in spite of its bad condition, his style and defects. His influence in that city may be traced in pictures falsely assigned to Lucca Zaccagni, such as a Virgin and Child surrounded by saints, on the altar della Consolazione in S. Agostino,[6] and others too numerous to mention.

He gained some sort of name when he strove to emulate the great men with whom he competed in the Sixtine Chapel at Rome. There indeed he proved, like most Florentines, that he was more competent to carry out frescoes than subjects on panel, yet he remained far behind all his rivals. Nor can we consider Vasari's story of his success in the competition against them, because Sixtus IV. preferred copiously gilt work to walls painted with well-wrought figures, as anything else than an ironical protest against the bad taste which could not be stigmatised by more direct means.

Moses Delivering the Tables of the Law, at the Sixtine Chapel, is a fresco in which Cosimo Rosselli combines so many traits characteristic

[1] The Virgin is surrounded by five seraphs, and welcomed by four angels offering her lilies, the Eternal appearing above. Below are S. Ambrose and S. Francis in a landscape, and in a predella three scenes from the life of S. Francis. (VASARI, vol. v., pp. 27, 28.)

[2] No. 45. Galerie des gr. Tableaux. S. Barbara is erect between SS. John the Baptist, S. Matthias, life-size figures, with the inscription, "BARBARA DIVA TIBI TABULAM SANCTISSIMA CETUS THEUTONICUS POSUIT QUI TUA FESTA COLIT." (VASARI, vol. v., p. 28.)

[3] This Coronation has been erroneously assigned to Angelico. (RICHA, *ubi sup.*, vol. i., p. 322 ; see also VASARI, vol. v., p. 28.)

[4] The Virgin is enthroned on a flowery meadow, and pats the head of the infant Baptist. S. James and S. Peter are at her sides, and two angels suspend a crown above her head. (VASARI, vol. v., p. 28.) [Now in Uffizi, No. 1280B.]

[5] We may not forget here that the Annunciation, two prophets and the Eternal, pinnacles of an Adoration of the Magi by Lorenzo Monaco, have already been mentioned (vol. i.), in connection with the name of Rosselli.

[6] The Virgin and Child are between SS. Augustine and Monica, Nicholas and Jerome.

of Benozzo Gozzoli's style, that the impression already suggested by other works is strengthened, and the spectator is tempted to believe that the two men laboured together. One might even believe, were it affirmed, that some of the Campo Santo frescoes were their joint production. This resemblance is to be found in the disproportion, defects of extremities, and exaggerated movements of the figures; in the aimless draperies which suggest nothing as to the inner forms, the reddish tinge and dark shadows of the flesh parts, and the constant use of wiry outlines.

As Benozzo, in his great compositions, tethers his defective manner with the support derived from numberless episodes, and a will to render momentary action, so Rosselli partially succeeds in the Passage of the Red Sea at the Sixtine.[1]

The best of his compositions in the chapel is the Sermon on the Mount, where he is more regular in the distribution of groups; and types of either sex are casually better than before.[2] The Last Supper, however, is the poorest of his series and the worst fresco in the chapel, and it emulates in colour the brick tones of Gozzoli.

It is not possible to ascertain the exact date of Cosimo's stay at Rome, but Vasari suggests that it was previous to 1484, by giving that year falsely, it is true, as that of the artist's death.[3] There is reason to believe that the paintings of the Sixtine date before that of the Beato Filippo receiving the dress of the Servites from the Virgin, which is still visible in the court of the SS. Annunziata at Florence; and Richa authorises us to believe that Cosimo completed this defective piece in 1476.[4]

His best wall painting, completed, one may conjecture, within the foregoing dates, and not in 1456 as Rumohr would persuade his readers,[5] is in the chapel of the Sacrament at S. Ambrogio, where the exhibition of a chalice, in which the blood of the Redeemer was said to have been miraculously deposited,[6] is represented. A priest holds the cup to the adoration of churchmen and nuns, kneeling before him and at his sides on the platform before the portal; and a crowd fills the space in front of the steps. The distribution of the scene accuses an absence of motive or thought. The figures are placed side by side without a

[1] This fresco is now thought to be by Pier di Cosimo.
[2] The vast landscape is described by Vasari as by Pier di Cosimo, vol. v., p. 32.
[3] VASARI, vol. v., p. 32.
[4] RICHA, *Chiese*, vol. viii., p. 108. See also VASARI, vol. v., p. 28. The Beato Philip kneels naked and of life size in the space. The types of the figures are vulgar; the flesh tones red with inky shadows; and the outlines are wiry.
[5] *Forschungen*, vol. ii., p. 265.
[6] *Vide* RICHA, *Chiese*, vol. ii., p. 248.

bond of union. Some females in the middle distance—the nuns at the church door—are better, and tell of some feeling in the artist; the drawing is fairer, the colour laid on with more impasto; and a juster distribution of light and shade is attained; and it would seem as if Cosimo had endeavoured to improve his style by the study of Ghirlandaio's great masterpieces;[1] yet he still remains far below that great master. The Four Doctors in the ceiling, the angels playing or burning incense round the altar designed by Mino of Fiesole, are, like the rest—much injured—so much so, indeed, as to be hardly visible.

Cosimo Rosselli is known to have valued Baldovinetti's frescoes at S. Trinità in 1496.[2] He died after 1506, the date of his will, which proves him to have been in good circumstances, and is preserved as if to contradict Vasari's assertion that the pursuit of alchemy had ruined him.[3]

Of the remaining works given to him the following is a list:—

England. Mr. Fuller Maitland's Collection (No. 62 at Manchester). Possibly the original once in S. Marco at Florence (Vasari, v., 30). It represents Christ on the Cross with the chalice at His feet surrounded by angels and seraphs; in front, the kneeling SS. John the Baptist, Dominic (kneeling), Jerome (kneeling), and Peter Martyr, life-size figures. This is one of Rosselli's best works, the figures being more reasonable and handled with more breadth than usual. The picture, however, has been restored in part.

London. Late Bromley Collection. Virgin, Child, and Saints, dated 1443, and therefore erroneously assigned to Cosimo, yet the style resembles that of later pieces by Rosselli. We have shown the similarity between this piece and a so-called Pesello at the Uffizi (No. 27, corridor).

London. National Gallery. [No. 227.] S. Jerome in the Desert, between SS. Damasius and Eusebius, Paolo and Eustochia; injured somewhat by restoring.[4]

Berlin Museum. [No. 59.] The Virgin in Glory, with a vast number of kneeling adorers of both sexes, and a bust of a monk below. A good picture of the master.

Same Gallery. (No. 63) [?]. The Virgin and Child blessed by the infant Baptist, S. Francis on the right; a much damaged example of Cosimo's manner.

Same Gallery. [No. 71.] Christ in the Tomb, with saints; genuine.

Same Gallery. [No. 75.] The Virgin, Child, and Saints, and the

[1] This is especially true as regards the female heads and draperies, particularly in the group of females in the middle distance to the left. The fresco is in a very dark place and obscured by time. The lower part of the whole fresco is repainted, and the distance is black. On the side of the steps to the right one still reads: "COSIMO ROSSELLI F. L'AN. . 4 . . . ." (? 1498.)

[2] *Alcuni Documenti* (Nozze, Farinola-Vai), *ubi sup.*, p. 18.

[3] GAYE, *Carteggio*, vol. ii., *note* to p. 457.

[4] [Mr. Berenson suggests Botticini as the painter.]

Murdered Innocents of Bethlehem. This is a good specimen, akin to the S. Barbara in the Florence Academy.[1]

Paris. Louvre. [No. 1482.] Virgin and Child.[2]

[1] [This is of the school of Ghirlandaio.]

[2] The pictures of Rosselli not known to exist are: figures in S. Jacopo della Murate (VASARI, vol. v., p. 28); an altarpiece and banner in the Compagnia di S. Bernardino (ibid., vol. v., p. 29); a standard in the Compagnia di S. Giorgio (ibid., ibid.), at Florence.

[Apart from the pictures already mentioned, Mr. Berenson gives to Cosimo a Madonna at Breslau (171); a Madonna, Child, and Saints, of 1493, in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge; a Virgin, Child, and Holy Innocents at Cologne (an early work, No. 730c); a S. Mary of Egypt at Lille (667); the Combat of Love and Chastity in the National Gallery (1196); S. Catherine of Siena initiating her Order, in Mr. Charles Butler's Collection at London; a Madonna in same collection; a Madonna at Münster; two Saints at Oxford (Univ. Museum, No. 19); a Madonna in Mr. Mond's Collection at London; a fresco (Story of the Cross) in the Duomo of Lucca.]

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